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*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in
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THE GREATER TEMPLES OF PAGĀN.*

I

"The Burmese", says Fergusson¹ "would seem to be the only people who having discovered the constructional value of the arch proper, not only never employed it as a decorative feature, but seem to be ashamed of its invention, and endeavoured to hide or mask it". The answer to all such criticism is that the original architect had an idea far more vital to enforce than the beauty of well radiated voussoirs. No great Pagan temple is important artistically on account of its ornament; the latter is only important on account of the temple, and the idea or emotion it conveys. All such ornament is structural in the true sense.

Our western point of view is right in this—that we value a building in proportion as it is adapted to the end in view. But the dignity of art, however perfect, varies according to the dignity of that end. To build a church to last for centuries and protect large congregations from sun and rain, is indeed something; but if this is the mere or main object of the architect, let us not call it religious art, nor deny that there are higher and less material ends. Otherwise our judgement, once satisfied with the soundness of the building, is starved of joy, or must be content with barren interest in meaningless elaboration of detail. But true art appeals at once to the emotions, and the mind dwelling next on the details feels their meaning in relation to the whole. The joy suggests the explanation, and the explanation justifies the joy.

How does this apply to the temples of Pagan? At first sight we cannot help leaping to their main idea—their straining upwards—and we must feel, according to our capacity, the emotions of aspiration and reverence. Without, we chiefly feel elevated; within, humbled; but both emotions are present and correlative, and both are essentially religious.

Entering the porches at midday we cross the vestibule and the lines of corridors, outer and inner, and penetrate the darkness of the image-chamber, passing through all the gradations from tropic sunlight to deep gloom. Yet the effect is not oppressive. The pointed arches, the groined ceiling of the chambers, the half vaults of the corridors shouldering up, one above the other, towards the mighty attitude of the central mass—nothing impends; everything rises. The very stairways straiten upwards as a telescope. The window-apertures where the monks sat to read or meditate, are rarely level at the sill. Steps lead up to them from within and down beyond them into space. In fact the one grand descending line in the whole structure is the right

* Read at the ordinary meeting held on 29th August 1918. We are indebted to the Burma Archaeological Department for the plates and to Maung Ba Nyan, working under the direction of Mr. K. M. Ward, for the sketches. The references in footnotes to the plates have been added by Mr. Ward.—*Editor*.

¹ I refer to the 1910 Edition of Fergusson's History. But the chapter on Further India has been "partly re-written" by Mr. R. Phené Spiers.

arm of the colossal Buddha, seated against the central pile and touching earth—the attitude which has made by far the deepest appeal to the Burman's imagination. The symbolism of all this is noble, and certainly intended. The prime purpose of the temple is to enshrine the image of the Master who has achieved enlightenment. He alone can stoop while the many rise; and his touching of earth establishes a living contact between aspiration and attainment.

The bareness of the interiors which has disappointed several travellers, approves itself on reflection. The architect would have nothing to detract from the complete enforcement of his idea. Diaper paintings in soft earthen colours might relieve the monotony of the vaults. Pointed niches with small stone images or reliefs might be framed within the walls, in perfect harmony with the idea of the whole. Altar-rails where candles might be lighted and flowers laid, a stand for offerings, and occasionally arching doors—"noble frames of timber with lattice-work panels" as Yule calls them—might serve a useful purpose. If further detail is allowed, it usually takes the form of rude yet tender illustrations of the Jātakas, or life-stories of the Buddha, useful to remind the illiterate of the wonders of their religion. These will appear in small green-glazed reliefs, done in terracotta or sandstone, and set in panels along the basement and terraces of the exterior, where their colour and arrangement serve also a structural purpose which I will speak of later. They are also found occasionally within the corridors, unglazed, since their colour there would be obtrusive and glaze is not needed to protect them from the weather. There are cases too where they appear in fresco on the interior walls; but these are nearly always the later daubs of piety misplaced.

But if the bare interiors arouse a sense of humility alien to the west, the aspiration so potently expressed in the exteriors does not fail of its appeal. Symonds' description of Northern Gothic architecture is more truly applicable to Pagan:—"Horizontal lines are as far as possible annihilated. The whole force employed in the construction has an upward tendency, and the spire is the completion of the edifice; for to the spire its countless soaring lines—lines not of stationary strength, but of ascendant growth—converge."

Plaster²—apart from its preserving quality—serves the negative purpose of destroying the horizontal effect of bare brick faces. The mouldings of plinth and cornice, with ovolo, astragal, and ogee curves and lotus foliation, make dead monotonous masses heave and writhe and climb and blossom.³ All salient quoins are rounded upwards to a point, and the horizontal bands of the recesses are broken at intervals by panels in which are set the green enamelled plaques referred to above; this annuls all sense of weight, and when we find the same de-

² All the mouldings are executed in plaster, which is not the coarse stuff of the present day, but a material as strong and lasting as Portland cement and finer in colour and composition. See Yule's account of the mouldings, and the "instinctive art and suggestive skill" shown in the carving.

³ See mouldings Plate, I.

vice repeated on succeeding storeys, and again on terrace after terrace, the eye leaps up from point to point of cool and brilliant colour. A series of pilasters all round the tiers run up from plinth to cornice,⁴ their shafts adorned with ordinary and inverted V-shaped mouldings with rosettes or diamonds between, and where they bend round the corners, in particular, give an upward tendency to the mass. Their tori are connected below with a dado of small inverted V's, and above, the cushioned capitals are caught in bands of pearl and looped with chaplets issuing from the jaws of dragons. Above the cornice is a parapet slit into peaceful crenellations which, to quote Yule, are "but the settings of embossed and glazed and richly coloured tiles, which must have formed a brilliant coronet to each successive terrace of the temple". Yet all these details are simple in effect. They are taken in at a glance without injury to the religious emotion; and each is the direct and necessary expression of the artist's aspiration.

Soaring lines are of course of no effect unless they spring from the horizontal; to give the sense of *lift*, there must be a weight to be lifted. So the architect had to keep a nicely varying proportion between his vertical and horizontal lines, giving a prominence in the lower stages to the latter, which gradually lose, as the former gain, in importance towards the top. Here lies the value of the terraces, of which there are usually three receding above each of the two main tiers. The lower three, in spite of their crenellations, are in effect distinctly rigid and horizontal; but the upper ones are far shorter in length, and besides the extra *lift* due to the closer grouping of the corner-stupas, the centre of the four faces of each terrace is broken by a pointed archway, beneath which the final flights climb steeply up the outside to the spire⁵. Thus the rate of upward motion seems to steadily accelerate.

But the chief means by which the soaring effect is obtained, are three. First, by the regular use of the pointed arch within and without. Secondly, the flame-pediments above and around all the door-ways and windows, which curl upon the contour of the arch below, narrow and flatten against the wall as they rise, and project in tongues of masonry above, exactly like a wind-swept fire.⁶ And finally the series of *stupas*, which begin from the lowest roof of the portico, extend to the corners of the terraces and platforms, crowning each in turn in narrowing succession, and build up a pyramid of flame, as it were, around the spire.

The perfect beauty and simplicity of the arches, only relieved in the major door-ways by receding orders of the same design, are evidence of the architect's self-control. In immediate counterpoise to this is the elaboration of the pediment surrounding them, which so overpowers every other detail in the temple, as to leave no doubt that here, if anywhere, the artist's meaning has been clearly told. Each face of

⁴ See basement of Ananda Plate V, also the shaded squares along the terraces above the portal of the Gawdawpalin, indicating spaces formerly occupied by plaques (Plate IV).

⁵ See Plate I, fig. 3.

⁶ See Plates II, III, IV.

each of the two main tiers, and also of the porches, will have one giant pediment of this kind. It is supported on tall pilasters, a similar one within it at a lower level, while on each side of it a half pediment of the same design also springing from pilasters, leans up to it and builds up a very conflagration. The many windows, ranged in double tiers along the lower mass and single line along the upper, are each dressed with the same pattern on smaller scale. At the apex of the pediments the tongues usually break free altogether from the wall-faces, and in the porches, at least, tower far upwards into space. As if this were not enough, Yule finds on the Tilominlo that "the flamboyant rays and spires of the pediments even up to the highest remaining terraces had their tips composed of pointed glazed white tiles which must once have given an extraordinary lustre and sparkling effect to the elevation."

I cannot imagine a means more exquisitely conceived to solve the chief problem of the Pagan architect—namely, to combine reach of aspiration with majesty of mass. Within, majesty is achieved mainly in the central pillar, which (in many of the temples) climbs uninterrupted, like some gigantic obelisk, from base to summit. Without, where majesty is centred in the superposition of square masses, the original architect had a well-nigh insoluble problem to face, unless his expression of aspiration was to be abandoned. One might almost picture him in despair one day, when perhaps a neighbouring monastery or cave-temple, built in stone with timber doorways and teak lintels, happened to catch fire; and he, going out to see the sight, noted the flames pouring out of the windows and licking up the walls, and the wooden *mandapas* in front of the porches surging upwards in a great pyramid of blazing spires, the whole building lifting itself into the air in one ecstasy of passion. Nature alone, the great Art-Master, seems capable of teaching a means so simple and tremendous.

The small stupas that uplift each of the corners, numbering in all about thirty around one of the major temples, make harmony with the flame-idea of the pediments. Those on the projecting porticoes avert monotony by lending a curve of ascent to the series, and impart a sweeping energy to the building which might otherwise be too monumental. Though usually the same in shape on any one temple, those on each temple will differ from those on any other. Nor are these similarities and differences unimportant, for usually their forms repeat in little the idea of the whole. Having studied the complete majesty of the That-byin-nyu, one may pause over a stupa on its platform, and feel the same gray beauty of spire, the same dark grandeur of square pilastered base, in one as in the other.

The form of the pagoda-spire or *sikhara*, is said to be taken from Hindu architecture, but one has only to compare those of the Gawdawpalin, That-byin-nyu, and Ananda, to see that the treatment was anything but conventional, but in each case was adapted at once to the general idea of aspiration and to the individual genius of each temple. Square at the base, it almost fills the platform of the highest terrace.

After a succession of mouldings boldly recessed and strengthened by projecting buttresses, four great knobs or cusps guard the corners from which the temple takes its final leap. The main corner lines of the spire now take a vertical curvature inwards, and near the corners other lines run parallel up the face. Between these vertical lines the faces are deeply marked with a series of short horizontal grooves which even pierce the corners, the intervening quoins being curved upwards to an apex, so as to carry, in spite of the jags, the upward line of the pyramid. The central part of each face has thus a flat lancet shape, curving inwards to the spire; it is usually left bare except for plaster, but is sometimes pierced with three or four niches, one above the other, containing seated images. Before the quoins of the *sikhara* come to a point, four cusps interrupt the series, and leaning in, exactly like the claws that hold a jewel, grasp the final pinnacle or ringed pagoda-form, terminating in the small tiara of a gilded iron *htee*.

The architectural importance of the *sikhara* seems to lie in its beautiful transition from the square to the round, the former being the dominant shape of the lower masses of the building, the latter being the necessary form of the topmost terminal pagoda. The climbing arc of its curvature bears a relation to the looping curves suggested by the line of pinnacles at the corners of the terraces. Nor are the grooves, I think, without meaning. It seems as though the soul, arrived thus high in native stature, must now climb with difficulty, jag by jag, ere it reaches the freedom of enlightenment.

2

The above description is not of any one temple, but aims at giving an idea of their general character. I realize the dangers of this method. Even those who know Oriental architecture best, are too fond of speaking of it in terms of styles rather than buildings—a practice not to be commended in dealing with works of art. The Pagan temples are not built on geometric pattern or conic sections, but bear every stamp of original free-hand design. The architects (the dates prove there were many) had a sort of half-Indian alphabet of forms in common, but each man expressed by different combinations very different ideas. The festoons and pendants which lighten the Gawdawpalin, give weight and mass to the Nanpaya.⁷ In fact the first impression of similarity vanishes on study.

The long *mandapa* porches, the spread of gables and door-ways, the depression of the upper storey, the ogee roofs and slender height of the Ananda, lend it a draped and static grace, a somewhat feminine intensity. In spite of its elaborate external ornament, its grandeur is hardly felt till one enters the corridors, and raising one's eyes beyond the mighty doors sees a colossal image standing in radiant gentleness within each face of the central obelisk. Then one realizes that the sacrifice

⁷ The same comparison can be drawn between the Tilominlo and the Kyaukku Onhmin (Plate I, figs. 1 and 2).

of the middle storey was necessary, and that the Pagan architect could express aspiration almost as potently within his temples as without.

The That-byin-nyu is utterly different. Here a Miltonic architect concentrated all his passion with an awful self-control. All meaner attractions are foregone. There is no facile flight of aspiration, but the whole intensity of the temple in the square spire. Porches are rejected, or admitted only to give energy to the height. On the ground-floor there is no image-chamber facing east; no sooner has one entered than one must climb. The basement is unusually massive and horizontal, with a single corridor, as if to show by contrast the energy that lifts it. The next storey, or entresol, has a double corridor but no image. Once more we must ascend, this time a narrower stairway, and emerge on the level of a terrace from the centre of which a broad exterior flight of steps, significantly ramped, leads between converging lines of stupas towards the central shrine. The height and, above all, the flatness of this upper block, its door-pediments strained against the wall, indicate the tenseness of emotion, bursting and repressed. The stupas above and below rise in grand detachment, their pinnacles forming a line of strength rather than beauty. No temple has suffered more in detail from restorers. But even so it dominates all others in a classic grandeur, a majesty of line, and a tragic beauty worthy of Michel Angelo.

Time has lent a grimness of colour and a mountain mass to the Damayangyi which were not originally intended. Yet the gloom and depth of the long narrow vaults, and the grotesque elaboration of the mouldings that remain, argue a weird and haunted imagination in the architect. Similar in plan to the Ananda, it has far more grandeur. For though the corner-pinnacles seem to rise in steady gradation, interrupted by no great donjon as in the That-byin-nyu, the upper storey is given prominence by the projection of its gables, which repeat the gigantic height of the pilasters and pediments of the doors below. This gives a continence and meaning to the extended porches which is not in the Ananda. But no two aspiring buildings could be less alike in their emotion. The calmness of the Ananda has scarcely anything in common with the terrors of the Damayangyi, where we seem to meet the yearning of despair and penetrate the caverns of a conscience. One might almost think that Narathu himself designed it.

The Gawdawpalin, though its exterior plan is almost a replica of the That-byin-nyu, has a very different emotional effect. It is, in fact, the difference between classical and romantic. There is a demonstrable objective completeness in the That-byin-nyu, a self-control at once checking and emphasising the passion, which almost fixes ecstasy in an attitude. The appeal of the Gawdawpalin is less noble but more intimate; aspiration is suggested rather than defined. The basement is much smaller and more compact; the upper mass, in spite of the size of its door-pediments, is weakened in height and importance; the flights are generally steeper and narrower; the spire far more elongated. This

results in a closer grouping of the corner-stupas in four continuous curves of steep ascent from the basement to the spire; and herein chiefly lies the beauty of this temple. In the days when its colour and ornament were not defaced, and the delicacy of its mouldings stood in fair relief, it must have been second to none—not even the Tilominlo—in splendour of effect. Yet this was not gained without a loss in dignity and strength. There is a slenderness in the pinnacles, an over-emphasis in the lines of aspiration (e. g. in the double ramps leading to the upper tier), and a general display of energy excessive in proportion to the mass lifted. The vertical lines seem capable of extension without injury to the design. Yet no temple has door-pediments finer in form than this; the peculiar arch-dressings of the door-ways, without giving up the flame-design, set it off with tapering horizontal tiers well calculated to add weight to the basement; and if the Gawdawpalin lacks what Yule calls “the stupendous architectural majesty of the That-byin-nyu”, it bears the impress of a great emotion.

The other major temples have suffered too much to enable one to speak of their art with the same assurance, and I have said enough, I hope, to show that though all are dominated by the same idea of aspiration, each has marked peculiarities of form, intention, and effect.

3

No criticism of these temples should ignore their setting. In reference to this, however, I have been happily anticipated. Mr. Hugh Fisher has noted effects of colour, Mr. Scott O'Connor those of light, and the pictures of Professor Martin Ward⁸ the significant forms in which these temples group themselves against cloud or mist on the sandy plateau, amid cactus and millet and thistle and the ancient trees, tamarind and white acacia; with the bald yellow scarps of Tangyi-daung, or the “crinkled silk” of the ~~Tabayin~~ hills and the lip of Popa in the distance. Visitors of Nyaung-u will always be grateful to Mr. Scott O'Connor for his pages on the Chaukpala ravine and the plateau beyond. But his impressions are not always, I think, so just. He (as well as other writers) has contrasted the oldtime splendour of Pagan with the “squalid mat-huts” of to-day. This, I fear, is sentiment misplaced. The huts are not squalid. In olden times no less than now, huts and temples must have together framed the soul of the city. To those who cannot imagine a great city given up to the spiritual more than the material, one can say—Read the numberless inscriptions of the period, richly human and intensely devout. Contemplate the 100 square miles of Pagan, all dedicated to religion, with scarcely a vacant site even now, within the walls or without, for a king's palace of any size or splendour, not to speak of the vast population of the city's prime. Notice the careful beauty of each separate brick, even when taken from

⁸ I am particularly grateful to Professor Ward for numerous suggestions helping me to appreciate these temples. No one, I think, has a firmer grasp of their significance than he.

the depths of a great stupa, and contrast with it the rubble of our Norman pillars. And reflect that each temple was built not in centuries, but months. Weigh the significance of this sentence in Yule's account of one of the later and less frequented temples, remembering how short was the period when Pagan was inhabited: "The plaster on the walls of a staircase leading to the upper terraces, at the height of a man's shoulder, was rubbed and polished, as if by the passage of multitudes during ages of occupancy". Read Forchhammer about the literary activities of the Kyaukku Onhmin. And turn finally to the native chronicles, and making allowance for mediæval fads of thought and the flowery style of later court-historians, question whether these campaigns for books and relics can altogether be dismissed with a smile. And if the crimes of Narathu and the coarseness of Tayok-pye-min obtrude themselves, balance with them the character of Alaung-sithu, who wrote prayers like St. Augustine and dealt with kingdoms like St. Louis. Add to all these our natural pre-conception of the conditions necessary to the production of great religious art: and one can scarcely, I think, resist the conclusion that the desire to escape *Samsara* was genuine and widespread, and was reflected in the poorness of their huts no less than in the grandeur of their temples. The present condition of Burmans, backward in all but the essentials of civilisation, yet so advanced in those, argues to the same effect.

THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE.

1.

Since Himawunta crimped thy hills
And rivers in their grooves
inlaid,
As some niello-worker fills
With filagree his hammered
blade,

2.

And wreathes in foliation deep
Scarce visible his figured part,
So histories in thy jungle sleep
Where wake the wonders of thine
art.

3.

Who built the kilns of Hmawza?
Who
Pointed the ardours of the gray
Flame-pyramid of Tha-byin-nyu?
God knows not such an art in
clay.

4.

The lotus-towers of Angkor rise
In swamp and forest; and Pagān
Buried in burning sand defies
The scattered dust of Kubla
Khan.

5.

Though Alaung-sithu's Cave is
decked
With prayer more sweet than
lotus-scroll,
Though Damayan's great glooms
reflect
The terrors of Narathu's soul,

6.

Nameless the architect who gave
Each terrace tongues of rapt
desire,
Who made each portal's architrave
Lick up the walls like flattened
fire,

7.

Who narrowed to a point of light
 The stooping vault, the steepen-
 ing stair,
 And heaved in epicyclic night
 The silent cloisters tall and bare.

8.

There sits alone the Buddha, Calm
 He bends o'er earth his forehead
 wide;
 His rounded knees are spread; his
 arm
 Falls forward as a plunging tide;

9.

His brooding eyelids dome; his lips
 A solemn distant smile expand;
 The robe across his bosom slips
 Toward the levels of his hand

10.

He touches earth. Dynamic
 Thought
 Has Māra's armies put to flight,
 Unravelling fate through fate, yet
 wrought
 No wrinkle on his visage white.

11.

This face a thousand thousand
 spires
 Called up along the plain and
 still
 With leaf of flaming gold it fires
 The crest of every tangled hill.

12.

From Chaukpala's embowered ab-
 yss
 To Lawkananda's open strand,
 Where Myinkaba's old channels
 kiss
 And coil their tamarinds in sand,

13.

As far as Pōpa's stormy lip
 Where frowns the Mahagiri
 witch
 To see Sarabha's gateway strip
 Her potency to a painted niche,

14

Close-huddled folk and kings who
 dared
 In myriad temples, mile on mile,
 To soar beyond Samsara, spared
 No palace room, no civil pile;

15.

No pomp of avenues or towers
 Like Yasovarman's moated seat
 In Angkor, where the jungle flow-
 wers
 Entangle Mahesvara's feet.

16.

To Tilominlo's coloured heights
 At dawn the cactus-shadows
 win;
 Eve o'er the tarnished river lights
 The candles of Gawdawpalin;

17.

By night, beyond the acacia boughs
 Warped upward as an out-
 stretched hand,
 The porches of Ananda drowse
 In scrolls of silver moonlight
 spanned.

18.

Within, the Cosmic Cycles wait
 Review by four colossal Powers,
 While pigmy people bowed with
 fate
 File on and kneel and lay their
 flowers.

19.

What men are we! Our infidel
 And tender-hornèd souls rely
 On casing churches squat—the
 shell
 We shrink into awhile to die.

20.

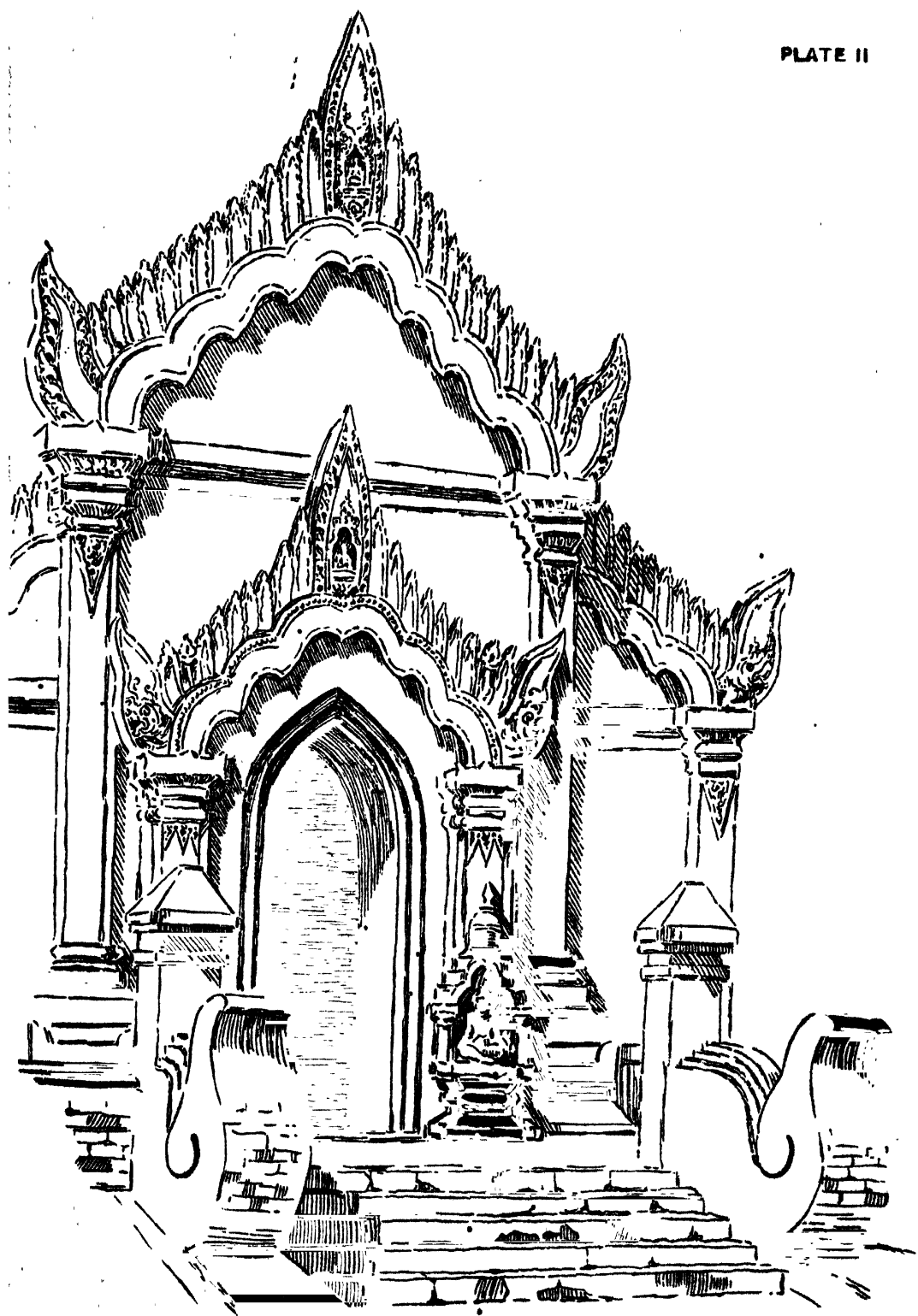
Impersonal, unseen, the fire
Of life, whose tinder all things
are,
Mid smoking jungle lifts its spire,
Where mind and matter writhe
and jar.

21.

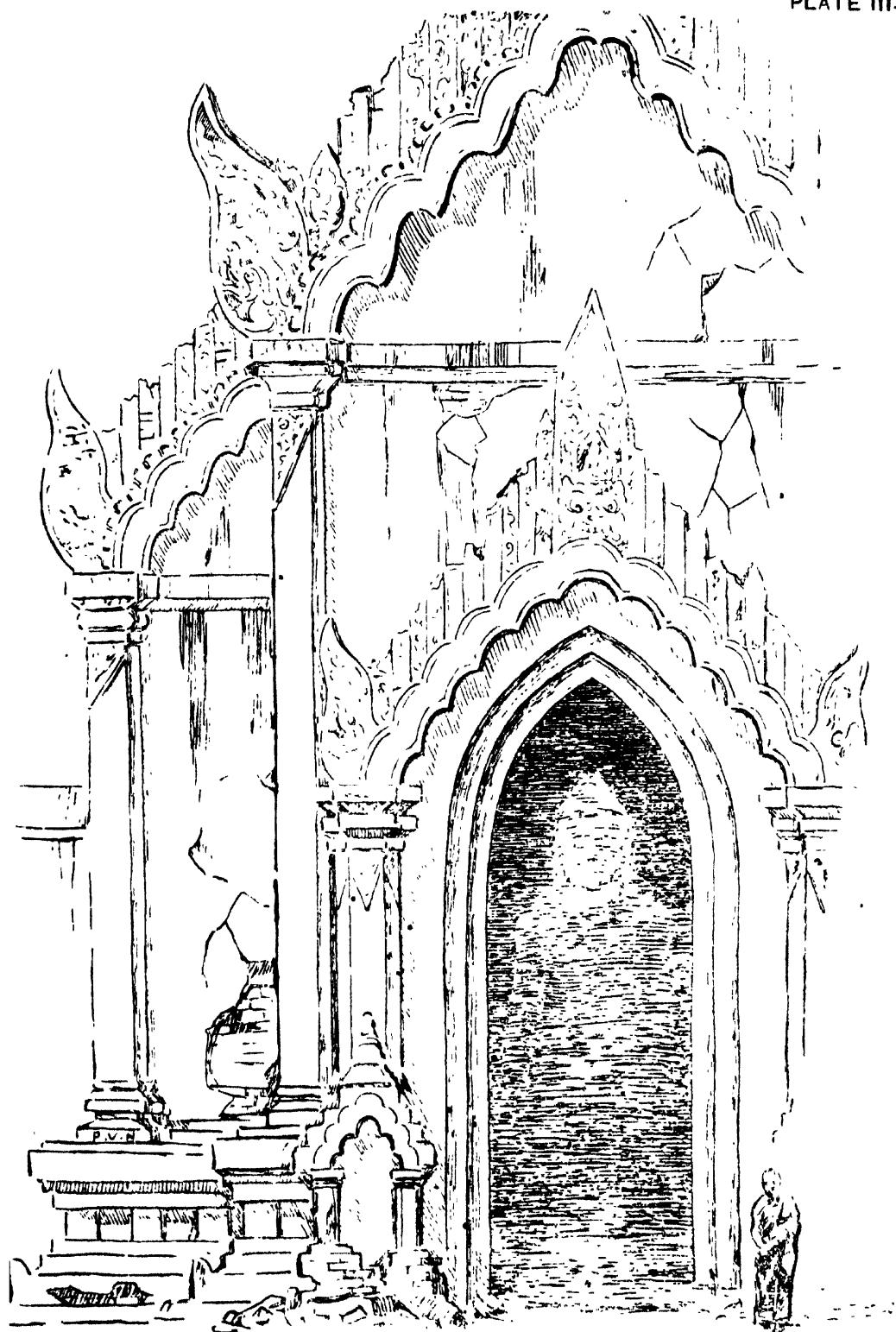
Yet feel we, under death and birth,
In masonry of souls proceed
Man's architecture of his earth,
Built not on luxury but need.

G. H. LUČE.





PORTAL OF THE THAT-BYINNYU.

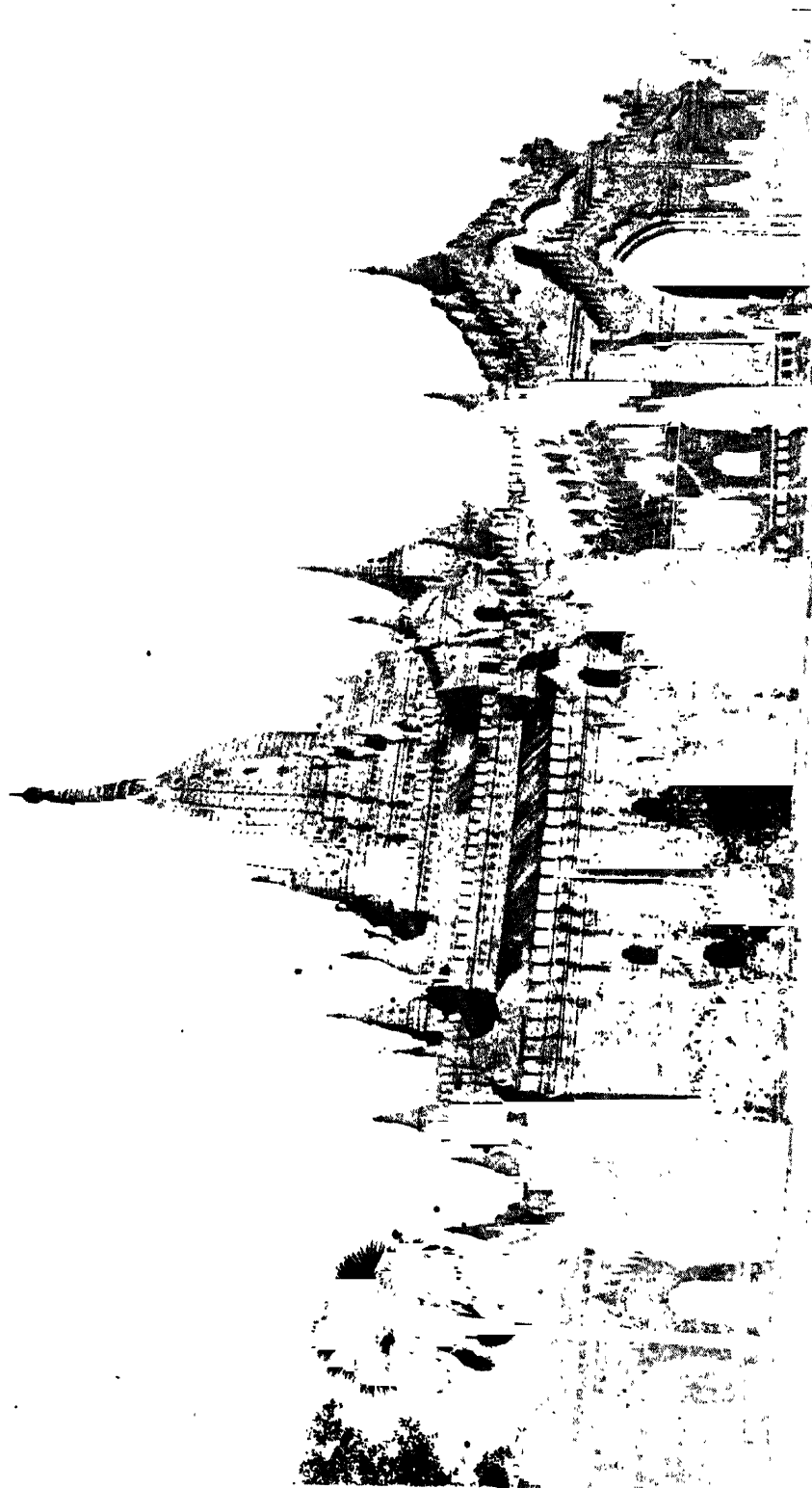


PORTAL OF THE DAMAYANGYI

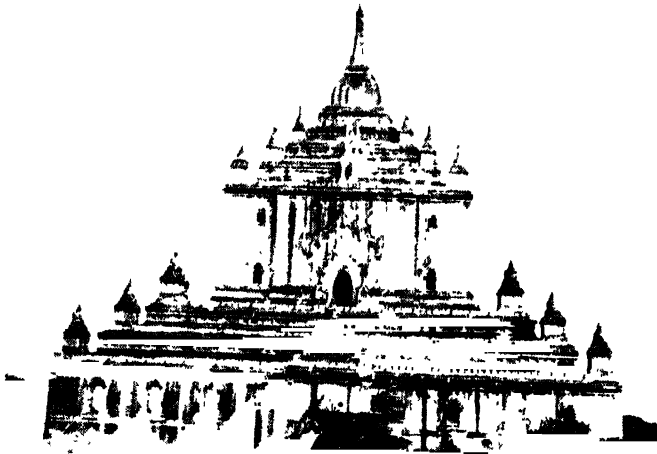


PORTAL OF THE GAUDDAWPALIN.

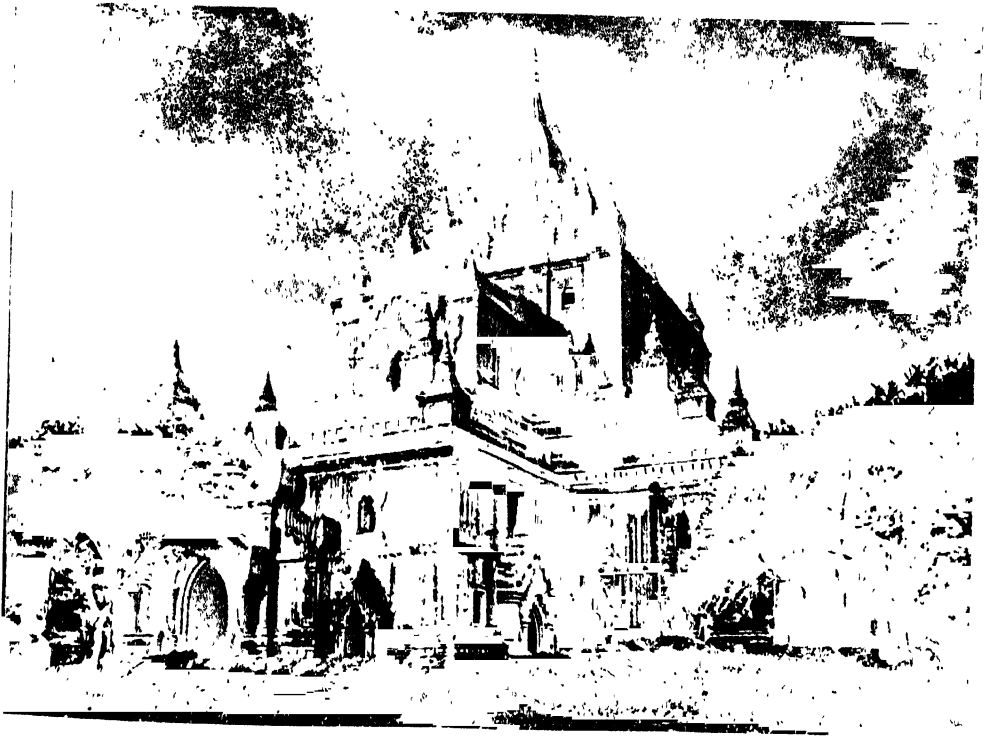
Comparing this with Plates II, III one sees that it is the smallest, the most pointed and the most flamboyant. The corner 'flames' fly out in a wide sweep which would not have been suitable for the classic dignity of the That-byinnyu—K. M. W.



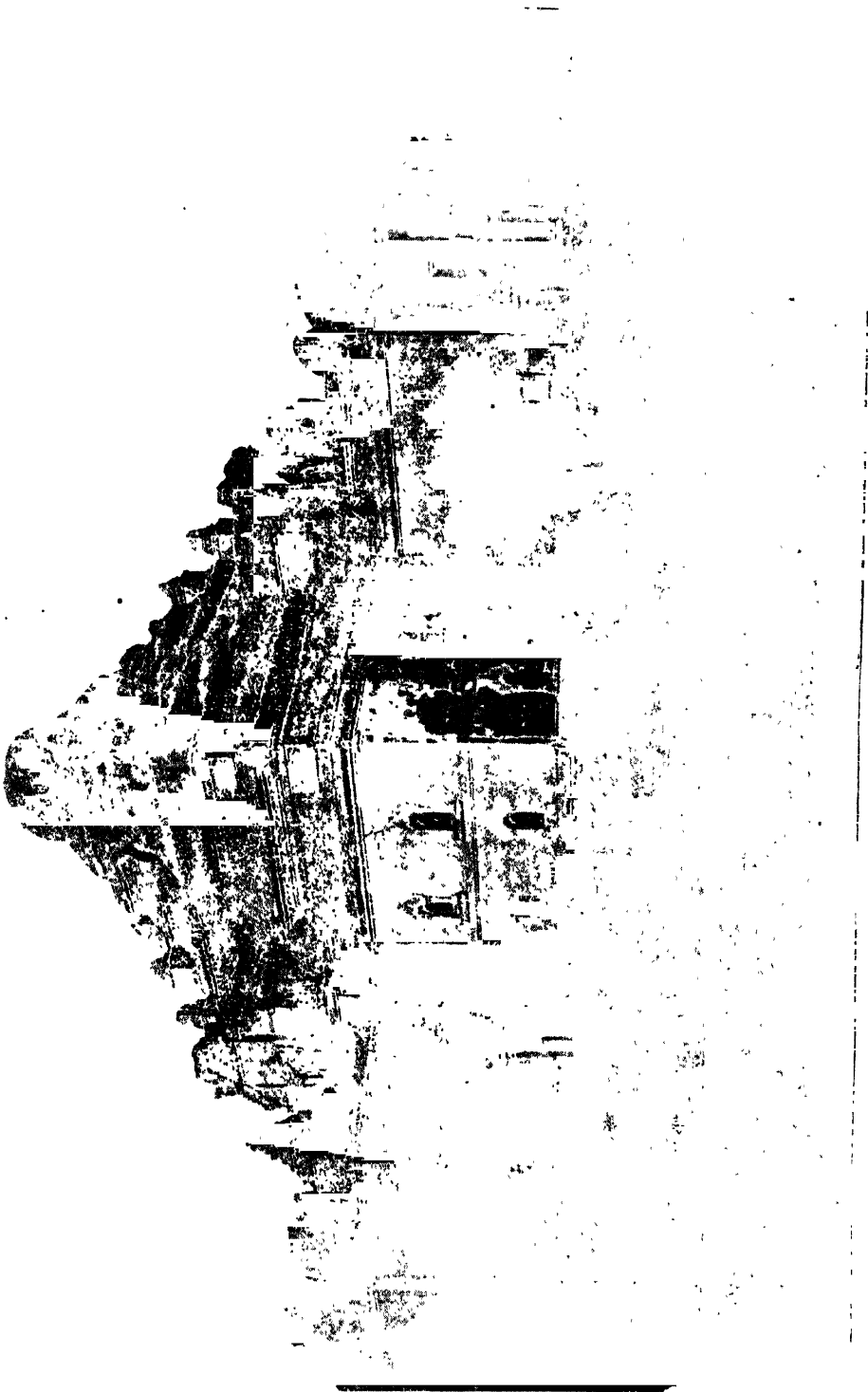
ANANDA



West Face.

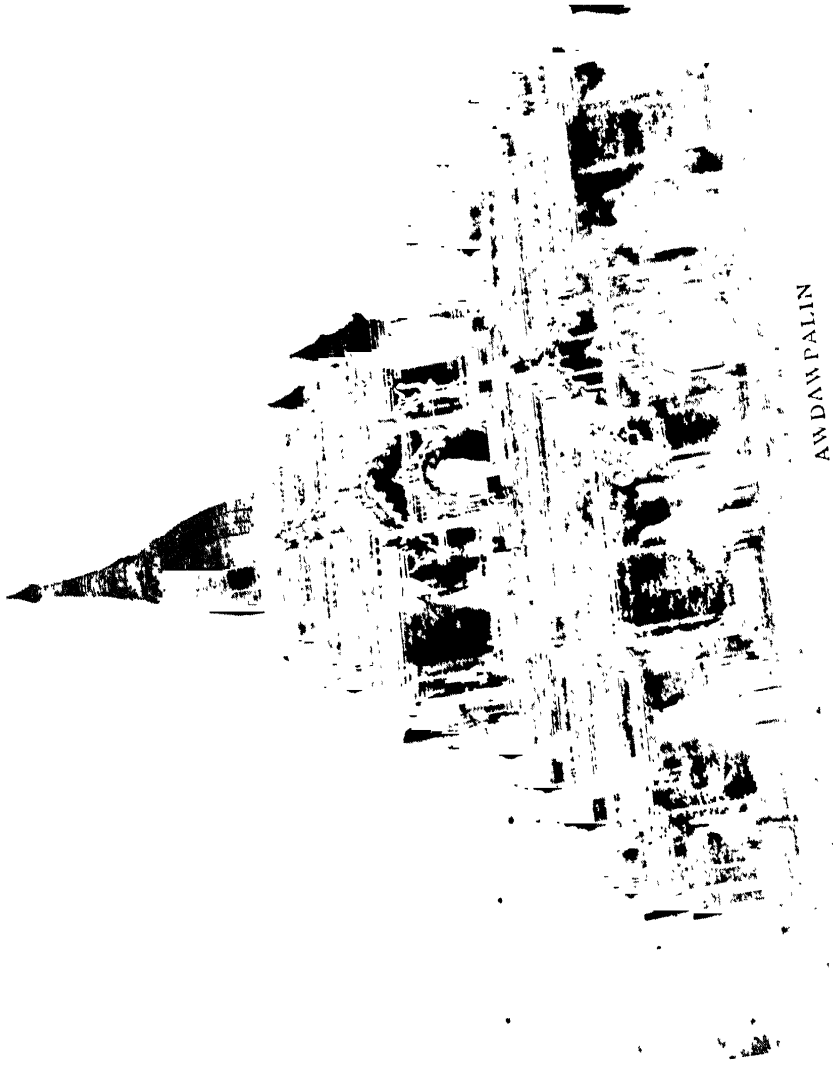


East Front.
THAT-BYIN-NYU

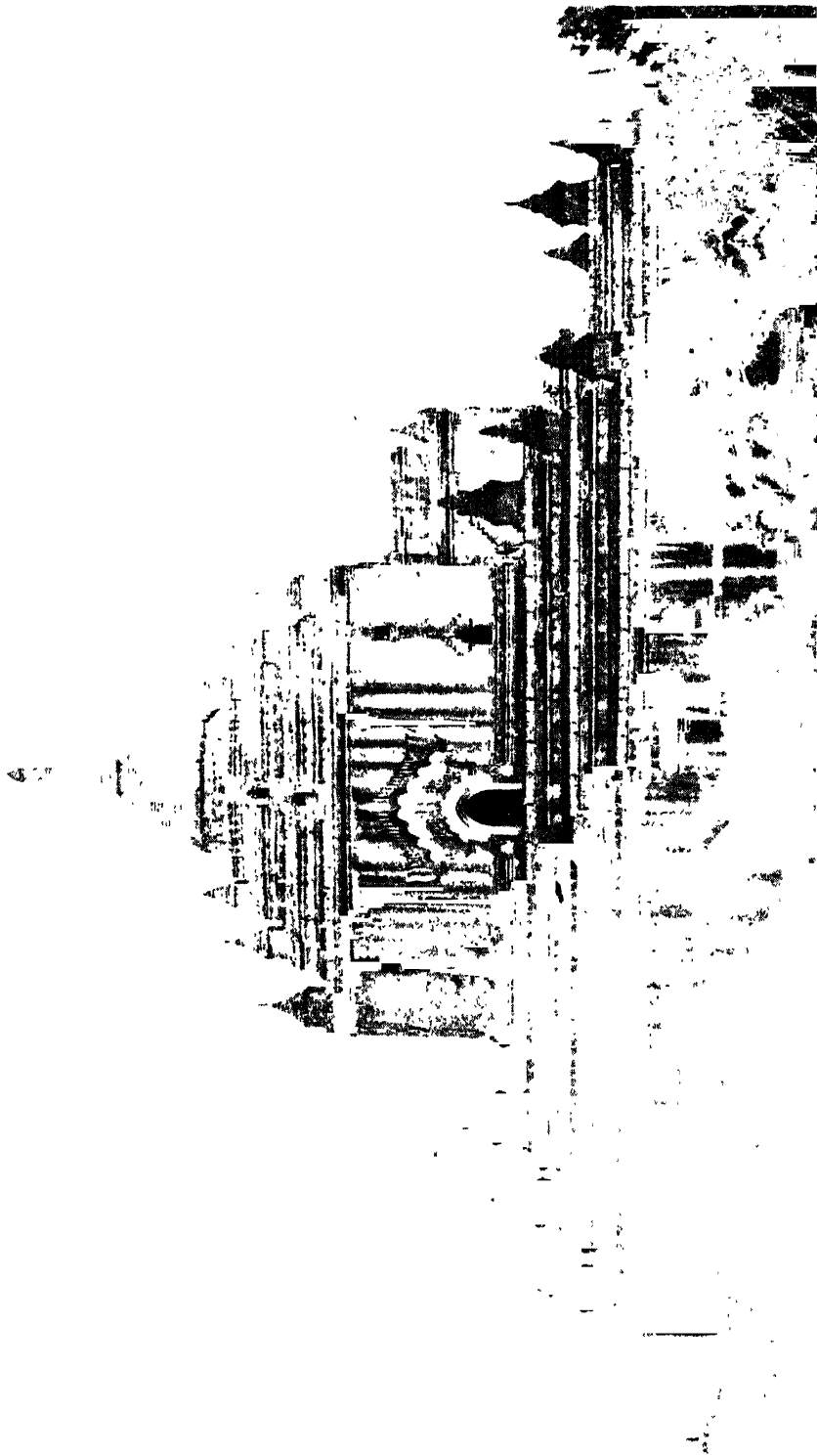


DAMAYANGYI

PLATE VIII



AW DAW PALIN



THAT BYIN-NYU
South View.

SUNLIGHT AND SOAP.*

You will all, I suppose, remember the little incident of Parelles and the drum. Now I must admit that at the present moment I can sympathise with Parelles. I knew just exactly how he felt when the drum had to be produced. But I can urge extenuating circumstances for having undertaken to give this lecture. It has I believe for some time been generally felt that this annual exhibition of arts and crafts which is the occasion of our meeting was incomplete as long as the art and craft of literature remained unrepresented, that some annual stock-taking of literary progress was desirable. And many I think have also felt that there should be some connection between this exhibition and our Society for the study and encouragement of literature, art and science. In attempting to comply with these demands we are making a new departure and in mitigation of my rashness I can plead that some one had to take the first step. That may excuse but cannot justify me; my only justification can be that I shall interest you in what I am going to say. I have at least some confidence that you are interested in what I want to talk about, you have shown that by your presence here. The subject of my lecture is suggested, almost prescribed, by the occasion of our meeting. This is the first meeting of our Society at which attendance has been thrown open to the public, and it is the first time that we have held a meeting in connection with this exhibition. Obviously this is a convenient opportunity for considering what we mean by it all, what is the use, the practical benefit of exhibitions such as this, and of a Society such as ours. *Can* we contribute in any way to the progress of Burmese arts and crafts, can we encourage literature, art and science; within what limits and by what methods and, most of all, is the game worth the candle; are we just wasting our time, or, at best, indulging in a harmless pastime?

You will notice that on the syllabus "Arts and Crafts" is given as the subject of this lecture. I am afraid however that the title is rather misleading. It is not quite the title that I should have chosen, it is not, in fact the title that I chose. I wanted to call it "Sunlight and Soap", but our energetic secretary, either because of his imperfect sympathy with the allusiveness of a southron, or because he considered the phrase lacking in decorum, demurred to my suggestion and directed me to choose a substitute by telegram, or he would invent one of his own. He had not prepaid the reply, so I left it at that, but if I can succeed in making clear what I am driving at I think you will agree that "Sunlight and Soap" would have been a more accurate description.

It is not my phrase, not even my idea. I owe both the phrase and the root idea of the matter to a Burman, a casual acquaintance whom

* A lecture delivered on the 22nd January, 1918 at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition.

I met on Mergui pier. Some of you will know Mergui, the Island of Delight, the Malays call it. It is a pleasant place with blue seas and wooded islands. Beyond the town there is a little pier, and one evening when I had walked out there to enjoy the freshness of the breeze I found a Burman on the pier, sitting, meditating. We watched the colours change and fade, and at the time that two brothers meeting could hardly recognise each other I turned homewards. The Burman also rose and as we went along the pier we fell to talking.

"You know," he remarked, "we need that, we Burmans. You people who wear trousers, like soap and disinfectants and drains and bye-laws and conservancy inspectors; if there is dirt lying about you seem to feel unhappy; perhaps, if there was too much dirt, it might make you ill. That's the way we feel, working day after day, earning our bread; we feel unwashed; unless we have our fill of sunlight and shadow and the blue mist over the river our mind is perturbed. If we are deprived of it too long we fall ill. That is the difference between you and us; we need sunlight, just as you need soap".

That is only one way of saying that east is east and west is west, but the difference had not struck me in quite that way before. Now if there is this fundamental difference between east and west, as is so often alleged, or until recently was so often alleged, if there is no meeting place whatever this exhibition that we have attended is of very little use, and our Society is of no use, no serious use, no practical use at all. It behoves us then to examine that old tradition, which like so many of our old traditions is really of quite modern growth. Fortunately the case has been recently and very ably stated in a book entitled "Form and Colour" ¹ by Mr. Phillips, the art-critic. He has worked out in detail, and amplified with abundant illustration, the suggestion of my Burman acquaintance that the east is emotional, governed by the senses, and the west practical, governed by the intellect. He finds in Art and Nature a corresponding antithesis between Form and Colour. Let me state his theory in his own words; "Form is always in all circumstances of art or nature intellectual in its essence. It speaks directly to the understanding. Moreover in consequence of its intellectual nature it appeals most strongly to intellectual races and periods. It is strong wherever and whenever intellect is developed, and weak wherever and whenever intellect is undeveloped. If the sense for form has always prevailed in the west it is because the west has particularly relied upon and cultivated the intellectual faculty. Further, in the West it has prevailed most and achieved its finest successes when the intellectual stimulus behind it was freshest and most vital, as in classic Greece and Renaissance Italy. On the other hand colour being emotional in its essence has always appealed most strongly to emotional races. Thus the colour sense is indigenous to the East because the East has always relied upon the emotional faculty, the faculty of passive intuition as opposed to active thought." He proceeds to draw up categories of contrasting qualities; hard and soft, positive

(1) "Form and Colour" L. March Phillips, (London, Duckworth & Co. 1915.)

and negative, active and passive, masculine and feminine, solid and fluid, intellectual and emotional, form and colour; the former, he says, characterise the West, the latter the East; soap and sunlight, as my Burman acquaintance put it.

Now it would hardly be possible to state the antithesis between West and East more strongly; if this great difference does exist between them how futile are the professions of our Society, and how sterile these annual exhibitions! Let us then examine his arguments. You will notice that there are three parallel antitheses. He contrasts Form and Colour, Intellect and Emotion, West and East. In nature the emotional appeal of colour increases as it is liberated from the control of form. In daylight there may be vivid colouring, but objects strike our attention by their form, and the colour only serves to denote their form more clearly and thus to accentuate their intellectual appeal. At dusk, in deep woods, in cloudy sunsets, or in the moonlight, the play of light and shade exerts its influence directly on the emotions, the quality of form is veiled, objects hold our attention by their colour, our rational faculties are drugged and our emotional nature is set free. It is the same in art. We have Greek sculpture and Greek architecture appealing to the intellect through form, and representing the West untouched by oriental influences. On the other hand, where eastern influences have impinged upon the West, we have Byzantine interiors, mediaeval glass work and the Venetian painters, appealing to the emotions through colour.

In the East there is no history nor progress because these are intellectual achievements; emotion is personal and not to be communicated. Even in the theory of life, in philosophy, the East has repudiated form; *Ancissa*, *Anatta*, matter is an illusion, impermanent and consequently form is meaningless. But colour is supreme in daily life; in the clothing of the people, in the streets and the bazaars we find a wealth of colour that betrays the predominance of emotion over intellect, just as the sombre trapping of the west bespeak the supremacy of reason.

That is a broad outline of his argument, a summary incomplete and over-simplified, but sufficient for our purpose. In the East sunlight for ever warm, and still to be enjoyed, for us the weariness, the fever, and the fret, the busy cares of polishing and scrubbing. East is East and West is West, and he has shown us the reason why. Let us apply this theory to Burma, to the East we know. •

What better example could we find than Burma, this "land of colour, light and laughter." The emotional nature of the Burman is emphasised in every annual report and every tourist's handbook; it is a commonplace of universal and every day experience. How is it with art in Burma? The national art, the art in which the Burman is probably unrivalled, the art of dress, is wholly, in Burma, an art of colour. With that exception the arts of form and colour hardly exist. Excluding the era of Pagan, a few traditional models have satisfied the architectural instincts; there is carving of wood and ivory, but no sculpture, and the

paintings are merely conventional designs or coloured patterns. None of these have great artistic interest. But the buildings are plastered with gold, vermilion and mosaic; the carvings and drawings, though inaccurate and lacking in detail, have bold suggestive outlines. Take the typical figure of a horse. You have never seen a horse quite like it, anatomically it is incorrect, but, far better than many drawings technically accurate, it does convey the ideal figure of a horse, the horse of the Psalmist, his neck clothed with lightning, stamping the ground and saying ha! ha! to the enemy. Again, what European artist could be more successful than the Burman in suggesting the weight and wisdom of the elephant? The form is wrong but the feeling is there. Let us just glance through the hand-book in this exhibition. In the silver work "the shapes are few and the differences are rather in ornamentation and size than in outline..... The figures have traditional poses, cramped and unnatural to European eyes, but to those who understand, they tell the story much more completely than would mere accurate drawings." The jewellery again, is "mostly of a rather stereotyped design." Or turn to the remarks on the use of wood in architecture. "Unlike architectural ornament in Western countries, which as a general rule emphasizes structural detail, the Burman wood carver sought rather, by his work, to hide and disguise the skeleton which he covered. His work was ornamentation pure and simple; it has no structural meaning." Other excerpts might be made but these will suffice to show that the fundamental contrast alleged to distinguish East and West not only can be traced in Burmese art but finds official recognition in the local Art Department.

Mr. Phillips has only considered the arts of form and colour, of sculpture, architecture and painting, but in every art there is form and colour, reason and emotion; in literature also and in music. In literature, prose is the language of reason, poetry the language of emotion. In Burmese literature there is no prose. Or rather, we may say that the prose is not literature; there are law books, and chronicles, and historical records, but these are not art forms. Here you may wish to interrupt me with the remark that I have forgotten the novel. The novel is a recent development, we will deal with that later. There is also the specialised form of poetic prose, but that is euphuism, rather it is *vers libres*, poetry lacking even the form of verse. Thus Burmese Literature is really confined to poetry, and this is super-poetry, poet's poetry, it is so largely built of colour, of emotion, that it is almost unintelligible to the European; and much of it is unintelligible to many Burmans. As I have suggested elsewhere, the poet creates the ornaments conscious that a fit audience will supply the argument. Again, in Burmese music the European ear which is not deafened by the strident clarion will recognise ever recurring emotional crises in continual succession. I do not say that the music is devoid of form, but the form is of the simplest, and though straightforward in intention, is always on the point of vanishing in a coruscade of variations. Throughout the whole range of Burmese

life and art, colour and emotion are supreme; form, the intellectual quality, is almost non-existent. Here in Burma, if any where, East is East and West is West, and we of the West are out of place as quakers at a carnival.

What more is there to say? "Look how far the East is also from the West." Our fathers have told it unto us and men of old time have declared it. Here we have the whole mystery explained; the West is intellectual, the East emotional; intellect is expressed through form, emotion is expressed in colour; the art of the west is the art of form, the art of the east is the art of colour. We test this explanation and out of our own private experience we find it corroborated. With Mr. Phillips we may contrast the "steady unhurried step, the self controlled almost emotionless manner, the purpose expressed in look and bearing, the disciplined clear scientific well-organised system of life" among western peoples with "the passion, the emotional force, the spiritual bias and the weak indefinite impulses in the sphere of practical execution which make up the play of forces in Oriental life."

And yet.and yet.we are of the West and criticism is our heritage. As business men, as practical men, we have no use for such a theory. If it is true it is superfluous; if untrue, it is dangerous. If the theory be true and the East has no faculty for business it is waste of time to talk about it. We need only do business, and take business profits. If, however, the east has a faculty for business, the theory may blind us to the fact until we wake up one day and find that the business has been taken over by the East. And some of us, all of us here perhaps, will resent the suggestion that we are moving among impenetrable mysteries, that we may touch not, taste not, handle not; that the sanctuary is closed against us, that we may never venture beyond the outer court, the court of the gentiles.

Let us then test the theory by some particular applications. Mr. Phillips, in contrasting the principles of Eastern and Western architecture, cites the War Office as an example. "The quality of Western architecture," he says, "is unmistakable. I do not pretend that it is always or even that it is often beautiful, but it persistently retains the attributes which mark a constructive race.Among the ugly buildings of London it is probable that the New War Office will secure in the judgment of history a high place. But let the reader the next time that he passes it force his reluctant eyes to appreciate the rigid, perfect construction of every part of it, and he will agree that there is something here more noteworthy even than ugliness. Not a throb of pleasure in the work itself, in the things taking shape under their hands, not a moment's pride in the thought that their fellow citizens would look with delight at their achievement, helped on those workers. It was mere dull stupid routine from beginning to end.Is it not evident that to these workmen the clear and exact definition of form is something sacred, so sacred that even when it is put to senseless uses, even when it is wholly cut off from the life of the present and made to convey a few classical allusions

and ideas which nobody understands, or cares for, they still instinctively treat form with care and reverence."

Now you will notice that this eulogy is not of the architect; it is of workers. But if you look down the road at the new hospital you will see something equally marvellous. I do not wish to suggest that the new hospital is as ugly as the London War Office; in its way, and if there were room to look at it, it is as fine a specimen of bureaucratic byzantine as any building in the east; but it has this quality in common with the War Office, that it shows no signs of tumbling down, and the workmen must presumably have been inspired with the same reverence for form. These workmen, of course, were orientals, and if the mechanical accuracy of the War Office buildings indicates the instinctive respect of the workmen for form the same instinctive respect is manifested in the hospital.

Let us try again. "The best of Hindu thought," he says, "is recorded in the apses and domes of a Byzantine interior, in the mosaics of St. Mark's and in the domes of St. Sophia." However much these shrines may owe to oriental influence they are strange repositories for the best of Hindu thought. On the other hand we need not go outside of Burma to find Eastern examples of the art of form; granted that the Ananda lacks simplicity, the mass of the Thatpyinyu and the majesty of the Dhammayangyi depend for their effect on form alone, far more so than do Greek temples with the play of light and shade thrown from their columns on the marbles of the wall of floor. Here we have form in the East and colour in the West.

Form then is not the prerogative of the West nor colour of the East, and the theory is unsound. Even more unsound are the deductions from art to life. For one meeting place of east and west is obvious; they meet in the market place, in the bazaar. I do not refer to exceptional cases, such as the Tata works in Bengal, the Parsi banks and cotton mills of Bombay, nor to the practical achievements of Japan; but here, in Burma, in the rice trade, in timber, in cotton, in beans, in every article of import and export, East and West do meet, I do not say on equal terms, but on the same terms, and any one who considers that the East cannot furnish men of business will be cured of his delusion if he tries to rent a house in Cantonments in Rangoon. We find then that there is no fundamental necessary difference between East and West. They meet in the market place, and on the race course. They may meet in our Society. We have led Burma to the Market place; in the nature of things there is no reason why we should not lead it further by encouraging literature, art and science, and by assisting the development of Burmese arts and crafts. But we are as far as ever from ascertaining how we can do and what limits are set to our endeavours.

Let us briefly glance at what has been attempted in the past. The history of these attempts begins with Bentinck who, as Macaulay has told us in the inscription on his statue, made it "his constant study to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed

to his charge ". But in those days there was only one standard of propriety in art and conduct, one standard of civilization: our own. Macaulay, looking forward to the days when all the Idolaters would forsake the Waters of the Ganges for the pure Fountain of the Protestant Religion, had visions of them seated in mid-Victorian attitudes on mid-Victorian chairs with orthodox antimacassars to protect the leather from cocoanut oil. In those days the school-master was abroad, panto-pragmatic, and very much abroad in India, instructing the Indian's untutored mind. It was above all the age of practical instruction; Mr. Squeers was teaching his scholars to spell winders and—a little later—in South Kensington budding scientists were learning how to measure off millimetres on glass rods. Here also we have been giving practical instruction in aesthetics. We have built a cathedral and in effect told the Burman that that is our idea of Beauty dedicated to Religion, a Chief Court to show him our idea of Beauty dedicated to Justice, a Secretariat, representing our idea of Beauty dedicated to Bureaucracy, and a Jubilee Hall to give him our idea of Beauty dedicated to Jubilation. We have been at that some time and we do not seem to have affected his sense of beauty very greatly, Burmese architecture continues much on the same old lines. The Art Department was another medium of instruction. That was given away in a report dating from the eighties where you will find an *obiter dictum* upon art. I have quoted it before but it will bear repetition. "Of all the artists working under the Art Department Mg. So-and-so is the best. He works up to time, complies with orders in rotation and takes apprentice pupils."² The perfect artist! We had tried to lead the Burman along the way that he should go, and had only reached the point of putting art on a commercial basis; we had come back to the market place, to utilitarianism, where we started.

By then, however, the vein of mid-Victorian inspiration had petered out; in Burma, as in India, there was a period of stagnation during which there was nothing doing in the art line. We had recognised the futility of endeavours and marked time awaiting the new impulse that Lord Curzon brought. He was the apostle-missionary of a new gospel, the gospel of helplessness. The ancient monuments that the mid-Victorian had despised now became sacred edifices, sacrosanct. It was sacrilege to improve them, Philistine to restore them; the proper course, the only artistic course, was to conserve them. We confessed frankly that the genius which they enshrined was dead, and conservation became the order of the day. The authorities emphasised "the importance of not adding in the course of repairing a building, any feature to it which does not actually exist at the time the repairs are first taken in hand, however strong the presumption may be that it originally existed before the structure fell into decay."³ The pious Kyaungtaga who wished to embellish with a back ground of mosaic the golden figures of the Ananda was regarded as a Vandal. When the Petleik Pagoda was unearthed

² Report on General Administration, 1886.

³ Report of Supt., Archaeological Survey, Burma for 1906-07, p. 9.

the ambulatory was given a roof of concrete that certainly can never be mistaken for any part of the original design. For such an attitude there is something to be said; this much at least, that if the spirit of great deeds be dead, it is unprofitable to attempt them. But conservation of the letter was sin against the spirit, we no longer attempted to tell the Burman what to say, we were just helpless. There was a picture in *Punch* with the legend, "Go and see what little Cissie is doing and tell her not to." That was the attitude we adopted. We posted up notice boards warning the Burman off all paths but the one that he had already been along. That, we thought, was safe. Conservation may have been history but it certainly was not art, and the only positive result was utilitarian, utilitarian in two senses, that it was concerned, not with artistic, but with historic values, and secondly that it gave us structures like the concrete roof of the Petleik which had no merit but utility. Thus we had taken the Burman down another blind alley and the helpless school like its predecessor led directly to the market place.

It did not take very long to find that out, and there was a somewhat curious result. For the discovery resulted in a reaction to a pessimistic type of philosophic *laissez faire*. Mr. Havell was the master of the new school, and he and his disciples urged that, save for a few elect souls such as themselves, we were so helpless before the mysteries of eastern art that it was hopeless to look for any good results from any attempt at interference whatsoever. We were sure to do harm and could not do any good; much better leave bad alone. He was of the opinion that "it would be far better if India were allowed to work out her own artistic salvation without interference from the state."⁴ Here with the hopeless and hopeless school, we were back again at *laissez faire*.

Of all attempted solutions of the problem this is the most patently unsound. It may be true that we cannot teach the Burman artist what to say; and it may be true that we cannot buttress up dead art without reacting unfavourably on living art, that if we succeed in imposing as the standard old forms and old convention, we thereby tend to cramp and warp those new forms and new conventions that may be necessary to the expression of new ideas; but it is quite certain that we can not abnegate and disclaim all right of interference without by our very abnegation and disclaimer exercising influence. If no course be humanly possible but *laissez faire*, it is certain with the certainty of natural physical law that *laissez faire* is quite impossible.

A few years ago I paid a visit to Saigon, and while staying there took the train to a small town in the suburbs. In the same compartment was a young Annamese going to the same place. We had the carriage to ourselves, and got into conversation, very broken conversation in very broken French. Arrived at our destination we gave up our tickets to the station master, an ex-soldier who evidently spent his abundant leisure in cultivating his kitchen garden and living comfortably on the products. The boy appeared to have no business in particular and he constituted

⁴ "The Ideals of Indian Art," E. B. Havell, (London, John Murray 1911.)

himself my guide round the little town. He was enthusiastically French and pointed out with admiration all the achievements of the French administration; the train, the roads, the public buildings, the liquor shop, the police station, and the bazaar. Near the bazaar there were some out-houses; these in particular took his fancy. "Fairs *belles*—making pretty," he said in VIIIth Standard French *faire belles les cabinets n'est-ce-pas, faire beaucoup belles* making much pretty." That was not the adjective that any European would have appointed to *cabinets* of the ordinary Public Works Department pattern. Nor would this Annamese boy have thought them beautiful if he had had any standard of his own to judge them by. But he had none. The comfort of the train, the excellence of the roads appealed to him; he liked being comfortable just as much as the French station master with his kitchen garden; that he had in common with the French, they judged these things by the same standard. But in the points of difference between the French and the Annamese he had nothing to guide his taste. We need not have gone to Cochin China for an example. We can illustrate the principle from the little hand book of this Exhibition, which we have already quoted. We find that "the ugly black umbrella" has replaced the old Burmese style of umbrella in popular use partly because of the prestige attaching to anything European, partly because of the greater convenience in carrying it. Again our attention is directed to "the hideous cast iron railings which many modern pagoda trustees with their hybrid tastes often regard as suitable." The diminished authority of native standards has exaggerated natural defects; in wood-carving the mass of meaningless detail and "over-elaboration of workmanship has rather increased than decreased of late years." Convenience in handling an umbrella makes the same appeal to Burman and European, that such an object should be beautiful had never occurred to the European and in that aspect of an umbrella they have no common standard. There is no disputing about tastes because all tastes are different and no disputing about convenience because all convenience is the same.

There you have the two conditions which absolutely preclude a policy of *laissez faire*; you may abstain from interfering but you can not leave things alone. It is not a mere human impossibility but a physical impossibility. The abnormal sense of beauty of the Annamese *Kalatha* may have been individual but that it was at all possible was due to a defective and lop-sided social environment.

This perhaps is a little obscure. It is, obviously, not quite easy to appreciate or by this time it would be a platitude. I will try to make it clear. There is a very instructive episode in the recent history of Cochin China. The French kept a tame Emperor who ratified all their decrees. But somehow the most absolute decrees bearing the sign-manual of the Emperor carried no weight; the country swarmed with dacoits, within sight of the capital there were villages in flames, the country was in debt, trade was at a stand still, and the whole province in disorder; the local mandarins professed good will but seemed quite incapable of anything

beyond good words. Until some Frenchmen found that an imperial seal existed, without which no royal act was valid. The emperor had been keeping this in his pocket, but the French borrowed it and had no further trouble. The seal was nothing, but it stood for everything. It was a symbol; the Emperor was really nothing more than a symbol, he was officially the head of administration and defence and he does not seem to have had much of a head for either. But he stood for very much more than that. He was the centre of religion, art and science. When his authority devolved upon the French they conducted the business of administration and defence much more effectively than he had done, but they could not be for the Annamese the centre of religion, art and science. The centre of attraction, the balance of the system had been disturbed; the forces that had focussed round the Emperor were dissipated, virtue had gone out of the social body, decomposition had set in. The boy's social environment was dis-organised, defective, the standard of his race had fallen; not the boy alone, but the whole of his society had become *deraciné*. On the other hand there had been re-organisation, but this had been on different lines. The very normal and human appreciation of comfort and good living that he shared with the comfortable French Station master was in no way distinctively a human character. It was no more human than are the monkeys in the Zoo here when they cuddle up together on a cold morning, or when they scratch themselves with such very human zest. So, in Burma, the Burman and the European, the Chinaman and Indian have nothing in common but their appetites. The lines of re-organisation are determined by the highest common factor. These problems of dis-organisation and re-organisation are the most difficult that face us in the East; so long as these two processes continue there can be no question of *laissez faire*. Only two attitudes are possible towards art, science and all those aspects of life that are not purely material: For and Against. In the most literal sense of the words, he that is not for them is against them. Mr. Havell's solution is impossible.

That brings us to a deadlock. We examined the proposition that some fundamental difference separated East and West and found it to be untenable; East and West do meet in the market place, and there is nothing to forbid us hoping to discover some other common ground. But our attempt to teach the East what to say was a failure, it led straight back to utilitarianism, to the market place. Our endeavour to teach the east what not to say took us no further. The suggestion that the East might get on better by itself proved unworkable. Theoretically we found it possible to influence the East, but we found that it was not humanly practicable to exert any conscious, voluntary influence, and, on the other hand, that it was quite impossible not to exercise an unconscious involuntary influence. That is the dead lock.

Now we are looking for a key. You may remember that Sir Henry Maine was once looking for a key. He noticed that mankind was normally unprogressive and the cause of the occasional fits of progress

he held to be "one of the great secrets which enquiry had yet to penetrate". If we can ascertain why the modern East displays such great material progress, and at the same time in other aspects of life so little progress, some would even say deterioration, we shall have taken a long step towards making a general advance along the whole line. The analogy of Form and Colour, Intellect and Emotion does enable us to hazard a wide solution. While Mr. Phillips professes to be contrasting East and West, and to find intellect in the West, emotion in the East, he is really contrasting Greek and Hindu; not Greek and Hindu as such, but the modern world that has passed under Greek influence with the world in which this influence has been weak or absent. That is the real line of demarcation between the progressive and rational world and the stagnant and emotional world. I do not wish to assert that progress is a monopoly of the intellect, but, without the intervention of reason, progress, if the word then means anything, can only be by the expedient of trial and error, just as a dog by trial and error finds the way to raise a latch. Reason saves all that waste of life, of energy and time, and man, the rational animal, is a labour-saving device of nature. Progressive eras are those in which the intellect is liberated. The Greek set the fashion of asking questions and we have caught it from them. The intellectual attitude is a property of nurture rather than of nature, an acquired character. It is the character, not of the West, but of the modern West; it is not germinal, no original native property of our species, we have acquired it, and what we have acquired we can pass on. In fact we have passed it on. The intellectual attitude with all its limitations is much more characteristic of the modern East than of the West; it is the stigma of the *nouveaux riches* in the world of western civilization, of the Russian intelligentsia, of the Young Turk, and I might cite other examples nearer England. Try the modern East by the other side of the analogy, and where you can find a greyer, more colourless world than that in which we live, not the East of our surroundings, there is colour and to spare, but the modern East to which all of us here belong, the modern East has caught the intellectual attitude in the aggravated form of intellectualism.

That is all that we have transmitted the intellectual attitude, probably all that we can transmit, certainly all that we, in the mass, can do; individuals may do more. Here then we have the limit of our influence; we can only hope to exercise an influence within the province of reason, of intellect.

This immediately indicates a method and tells us where we have hitherto gone wrong. Art is the expression of emotion and with Macaulay we have tried to teach them what to feel and what to say, or with Lord Curzon what not to feel and what not to say. What they ought to feel, or not to feel, to say or not to say, is, and can be no concern of ours. But how to say whatever he may have to say is very largely an intellectual problem; in that we can help him. When Japanese art invaded Europe in the nineties it brought no message as to what to say

but it taught new methods. Here in Burma we have had one similar conspicuous success, there is one outstanding example of a new art form that has taken on, the novel. The *Wuttu*, the *Zat-ôk* had been known for centuries, but they were inadequate as means of expression; the possibilities of the novel form were appreciated, and have been successfully exploited. Notice also that those novels have been least esteemed which have held most closely by European models, have been translations or adaptations rather than original Burman themes. That is one way then in which we can assist and encourage Burmese art, we must leave to them the emotion to be expressed, but we can help them in the method of giving expression to what they feel.

Let us turn again to the Hand-book for suggestions. We read on the first page that one of the objects of the Exhibition is to bring the craftsmen together, to give them "an opportunity of comparing their craftsmanship with that of others and of learning, by the comparison, how their work may be extended in scope and improved in technique". The separate sections illustrate this general thesis, show what has been done, suggest what there is still to do. Thus the making of silver statuettes had long been practised and "under the guidance of Mr. Tilly they have readily taken up the making of bronze statuettes." The "hideous cast iron railings" of the modern pagoda platform "might well be replaced by wrought iron of local design and execution". In pottery "it only needs a closer study of processes for them to take a place among art potters". Such are the legitimate functions of an exhibition such as this and along this line we may make valuable contributions to Burmese art and look for positive results.

There is still another matter even more important in which they require our help. It is not enough for the merchant to have something to sell and to know how to sell it; he has to find a market. I remember once a cultivator who received some seed from the agricultural department, followed their directions closely and obtained a bumper crop; it was of course new soil for that crop. But there was no one to buy it. That is a problem of organisation, wholly an intellectual problem. It is the same with the artist. He may have something to say and he may know how best to say it, but all that is no good unless he can find an audience; to provide an audience is an intellectual problem, a problem of adapting conditions, of controlling circumstances by reason. In England we generally leave it for solution by posterity.

We cannot expect to do much more in Burma than we do in England. We might do more but still we do something. This Exhibition is already something. It gives the craftsman an opportunity to sell his work, to experiment on the market for new departures from traditionary methods, for umbrellas that may be carried more conveniently, for new styles of pottery, or pearl work. Here then we have the function of the West in Burmese Art, we can help the Burman to find out how to say whatever he may want to say, and we can make it easy for him to say it. That is the function and the privilege of our Society for the encourage-

ment of Burmese Art, and the gauge and measure of success of Exhibitions such as this.

That you may say is a difficult matter and not of great importance; the proper and sole function of empire is to keep up communications and to keep down crime. Well, the preservation of law and order is a very important business; the cleared and ordered spaces of large empires certainly facilitate the spread of new ideas. Christianity spread in the large space cleared by the law and order of the Roman Empire, Buddhism spread under the empire of Asoka, the political empire of the Church gave birth to religious liberty, the idea of political liberty grew up under the shadow of the Napoleonic empire. It almost seems as if the existence of large empires were an essential pre-condition of the birth of some idea inconsistent with the principles on which they stand. Marcus Aurelius was of a philosophic turn of mind, but if any one had told him that his sole importance and the sole importance of his empire was as an instrument for spreading the doctrine of a Jewish sect he would certainly not have been flattered. The large western empires of the present day have been shown to foster intellectualism, and this is certainly inconsistent with their long continuance. It may be that their sole justification and excuse is the spread of intellectual liberty, and that they are unconscious, involuntary, even reluctant agents of the process. I do not say they have no other justification, myself I would put forward higher claims, but I assert that if the preservation of law and order is regarded as the sole function of empire, the spread of intellectualism, and with that the decay of empire, is a necessary inevitable result. An empire on such basis is working out its doom.

The intellectual attitude, as we have seen, is catching, as catching as measles, and the epidemic follows much the same course. Everywhere, East and West, we instinctively recognise it as a disease. Anything serious, anything intellectual, that is, bores us. We can only stand a very limited amount. The evolutionary value of the faculty of being bored is the protection which it gives against the intellectual attitude. You will notice too how intimately we associate boredom with the other two antidotes to intellectualism, art and religion. But in Europe we were inoculated gradually, and under circumstances that at the same time strengthened the hold and habit of religion; with all this so dangerous was the attack that the Church was shaken and religion threatened. It is only now that we are gradually inheriting immunity. Here in the east, the modern east, it is a different story, they have been exposed to the infection at its height, and immunity has yet to be acquired. They are like those Fiji islanders who were decimated by measles. They take natural and quite inefficacious precautions to shut out the epidemic, just as we tried to shut out plague; the monasteries and the women keep aloof from western influence, and people spend their substance on riotous funerals as an instinctive protest against utilitarianism; these precautions are of value to delay the spread, but they are quite valueless as preventives against the epidemic. In medicine two ways are recognised by

which immunity may be acquired, by inheritance and by inoculation. In the west we first acquired, but have now, in some degree, inherited immunity; in the east we must apply the auto-toxin treatment. We have infected the East with intellectualism; this a necessary result and an infallible solvent of Empire on the material plane. But only on the intellectual side are East and West, as East and West in touch, and only by rational methods can we keep the intellectual attitude within the bounds of understanding. This is what I have suggested as our function in regard to art.

But you may still ask why begin with anything so difficult and of such little general interest as art and literature. This must be the most difficult way to set to work; art is the expression of emotion, and we can only act within the confines of intellect, why not start with something easier, something practical. There is a very good reason; it would, in theory, be easier to help the shop keeper but directly you attempt that you run up against vested interests. In practice it is more difficult to do so. It might be easier to start with science, but there are certain initial difficulties. Still something might be done along that line and I should like to see our Society, and Government for that matter, attempting to encourage the study of natural history in schools. Apart from that nothing but art and literature remain, and if we can achieve any result in this direction we shall be able to apply our experience in the utilitarian world. That is why I regard our Society and this Exhibition as important. We are faced with a difficult position and ours is the most difficult approach; but here the position is unguarded save by its natural difficulty. At the taking of Quebec Montcalm had posted all his guards and his position was impregnable, save at one point so difficult that he had left it weakly guarded. But Wolfe found a path there, the forlorn hope rushed the weak redoubt, and the battalions reached the Heights of Abraham. Then the other defences fell. That I claim as the privilege of our Society, position of honour in the great advance.

There is yet another reason for attacking the problem from this side. It is on this side that we are most able and most likely to obtain the assistance of Burmans who either from circumstances or from natural strength of intellectual constitution, have become immune to intellectualism, have studied western methods without forgetting their allegiance to those ties that are beyond the bounds of reason, and can say the better what they have to say through having learned in our schools how to say it.

That I take to be the purpose, the scope and method of a Society such as ours and of Exhibitions such as this. "The study is so full of toil, and the practise so beset with difficulty, that wary and respective men will rather seek quietly their own gain and wish the world may go well so it be not long of them." We at least do not deserve that censure.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

POTTERY IN BURMA.*

My purpose in this lecture is to give a brief outline of the ceramic art in Burma, and to indicate the possibilities and difficulties of its development. I cannot give you any history of the craft, because I have been unable to obtain any authoritative information. I doubt if any certain information is available. Simple pottery, the making of water pots, bricks, tiles, etc., of baked clay is almost world-wide, and it may have had an origin at that distant time before the races of mankind scattered to the four quarters of the globe; or it may equally well have developed independently in many centres. It is not difficult to imagine that observant individuals discovered for themselves that clay which could be moulded into shapes would dry and harden in these shapes,—who among us has never been tempted by a nice squashy piece of clay? They might from this observation have been guided to the idea of making convenient dishes or platters of such material. The accident of a fire, or of some waste fragment cast into the fire would lead to the discovery of the change which fire makes on clay, and from this to the making of pots is a natural though very possibly a slow and age-long development. One can, however, quite imagine the accident of this discovery occurring quite independently on many separate occasions. The step from unglazed to glazed pottery is a more difficult one, and perhaps less likely to be a matter of common observation. Hence glazed pottery has a smaller area of production than unglazed. Wherever lead ore is found the discovery of glazing becomes probable once pot-making is established. The chance application of some powdered ore to the pots before baking would give the clue, or perhaps the smelters of the ore may have tried to use the pots for smelting. In either case they must in time have noticed the effect produced, and with that natural desire to produce new effects ingrained in all of us the glaze may have been applied first as an ornament and subsequently found useful. All this is conjecture, but it leads one to the thought that it is not necessary to seek a common origin for all glazed pottery, or to assume that this art must have been passed on from one common centre. It has been urged that the Burman learned pottery work from the Chinese, but the theory, based as it is on etymology and the finding of a few relics of Chinese pottery in ancient ruins,—relics which are quite different from Burma*pottery,—the theory can hardly be said to be proved and is in any case not of much importance. Within the province the bulk of the glazed pottery work is done by Talaings or in areas where the work has been started by Talaings. Kyaukmyaung, the most important centre in Upper Burma, was settled by Talaing captives. Pagan with its glazed plaques also bears record of Talaing craftsmanship, though no one can tell definitely the true origin of the craft of making glazed bricks such as are used in the oldest pagodas

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at Pagan. Further south many of the potters use technical terms of Talaing origin, though often their speech is no longer Talaing. The chief exceptions are among the people of the Southern Shan States; but it must be remembered that the Talaings have passed down that way and they may have discovered their art during their period of migration and left it as a legacy when they passed on. This opens up room for much speculation and not a little research, though there is very little chance of ever arriving at a certainty.

In the manufacture of pottery the starting point is a good supply of clay. Clay has been described as "an unctuous earth, capable of being moulded by the hand, and hardened by fire into a permanent form." Chemically speaking it is essentially a hydrated silicate of alumina. It occurs in large quantities all over the surface of the globe, deposited in beds of varying thickness. But while it is present in all lands, and the wide distribution of the potter's art is dependent on this, all clays are not suitable for potting. Were the clay the pure hydrated silicate of alumina mentioned above it would be white in colour. As a matter of fact clays are very seldom pure white, the prevailing shades being brown, yellow and blue. This colouration is most frequently due to iron, but other substances also give colours to clays and in addition to mere colouring matters they frequently contain sand, lime, organic matters and other substances, each of which modifies, in its own degree, the suitability of the clay for pottery.

The common property of all clays, present, however, in varying degrees is that property called plasticity. It is that which makes clay such a fascinating material for children, and grown-ups too, and which led primitive man to its use. Tomlinson, lecturer in Science, King's College, in a book on clays says, "The more I consider this property of plasticity the more wonderful and inexplicable does it appear. Take a mass of dry clay; it cracks easily and crumbles readily; add a certain proportion of water and it becomes plastic,—it obeys the will of the artist or the artisan, who can out of a yielding mass create new forms or perpetuate old ones. Drive off the water at a red heat and its plasticity is for ever lost; rigidity takes its place, the clay is no longer clay but something else. It may be reduced to powder and ground up with water, but no art or science can again confer on it plasticity. All this is very wonderful. There is another fact that is equally so; if we combine the constituents of clay in the proportions indicated by the analysis of some pure types of the substance, we fail to produce plasticity".

Most of the Burma clays are coloured, yellow predominating, the chief colouring matter being iron. When burned they give varying shades of red, from a bright brick red to an orange tint. For ordinary pottery work some of them are excellent as the results testify. But there are in various parts of Burma beds of white clay which are of considerable importance. As already mentioned pure hydrated silicate of alumina, the basis of all clays, is white. The material when fired will give a hard white substance,—the technical term is biscuit,—and for the higher

classes of china ware these white clays are necessary. Such clays occur in large quantities in Yamethin district, but they are also found in other but less accessible places in the Shan States, in Upper Burma, and elsewhere in the province. A rough sample sent to the Geological Department in Calcutta was reported to give a pale-coloured biscuit, to be infusible at 1,000 deg. C., and to be suitable for low grade china wares. The potters in the neighbourhood have known of these clays for a long while and use them as a slip in a manner to be described later; but they do not use them for the body of their wares, except for small articles, as they have not yet solved the problem of their manipulation in the furnace. A small plaque is exhibited in the collection outside, it has been broken across to show the fine white texture of a sample of the clay baked after proper washing and treatment.

Samples of Burma clays are shown in the exhibition; these have been collected from all over the province.

Before the clay can be used it is usual to mix it with water and give it a certain amount of time to mature; the process is known as levigation. In Burma, however, the potters have not usually reached that high skill in their craft which necessitates careful preparation of the clay, and, moreover, the need for levigation varies with the quality of clay. The Burma craftsmen in many instances find it necessary to mix varieties of clay, or to add more sandy material to the richer clay to secure a suitable plastic material which will stand the process of firing without cracking.

Given a suitable clay the art of the potter lies in giving to his plastic material the shapes which he desires. And here at the outset we have a division in the kinds of pottery produced in the province. On the one hand lie the wares which are beaten into shape; on the other, those which are moulded on the potter's wheel.

To deal with those beaten into shape first. This includes the bulk of the unglazed water pots, cooking pots and other articles of coarse earthenware. A lump of soft clay is taken, and may be it is given a rough shaping on the wheel, though this is not by any means necessary or usual, it is often shaped entirely without the wheel. It is worked into the rough outline of the form desired, thick-walled and smaller in size than its final shape. This is allowed to harden, the time depending on climate,—in the dry zone only an hour or two. The walls of the vessel are then beaten between two pieces of wood, an anvil and a beater. This compacts the clay and at the same time, of course, thins the walls and enlarges the size of the vessel. This process is continued until the final shape is reached, a shape which depends for its regularity on the skill of the potter, his accuracy of eye and hand; the wheel has no part in the shaping of the vessel, and the visitor will appreciate what this means if he examines the examples outside.

This method gives a very closely compacted clay which stands the heat of the fire, and subsequent use as a cooking pot, better than material shaped entirely on the wheel. The type of ware is illustrated at the exhibition by the small cooking pot from the Shan States and by the ordinary

water chatty. But there is a particular type of this ware in which a much greater degree of perfection is attained; this in the production of the hpongyi bowls made at Letthi on the Myitnge near Ava.

The work of the craftsmen can be studied at the exhibition. The process is similar to that already described and varies only in the degree of perfection attained. A rough shape is first modelled on the wheel and allowed to dry for about an hour to allow the clay to stiffen. The potter then takes a paddle-shaped beater and rounded anvil, and hammers the walls of the vessel between beater and anvil, gradually compacting and compressing them and at the same time enlarging and shaping the bowl. This process is repeated two or three times with intervals to allow the clay to stiffen. The result is a bowl with walls about a quarter of an inch thick remarkably true to shape. This is allowed some time to harden and then the craftsman, resting the bowl on a cushion to distribute the weight, with a circular metal scraper carves the surface of the walls, thinning them down to about one-eighth of an inch. The accuracy of eye and touch which this necessitates is a beautiful illustration of that skill which the finished craftsmen in all trades can acquire and is well worthy of some study. This bowl when fairly hard is polished with a pebble or a *gonyin* seed and a little earth oil. The result is a beautiful thin-walled bowl of rich brown. The baking is done in a kiln, but the colour, were it not for special treatment, would be red. The black colour is obtained by introducing some earth oil into the furnace after the pots have been backed and while they are at a high temperature. The kiln is then immediately closed down so that the pots are subjected to a smoky atmosphere at a high temperature. Under this treatment carbon in a finely divided state penetrates into the pores of the clay giving the fine glossy black finish to the ware. In the Shan States the smoky atmosphere is produced with paddy husk. It does not much matter what material is used, the effect desired is obtained by the use of an atmosphere containing carbon in a finely divided state.

In the collection will be found pottery of this hand-moulded class from Shwegu. This is red, instead of black, no earth oil having been used, and the firing having been done with a clean flame. The Shwegu pottery is some of it rather attractive, more particularly when the craftsman has produced material for local use and has not attempted to make articles to whose use he is not accustomed. The attempt to induce craftsmen to make "useful" articles—useful that is to say to the Europeans—very generally results in failure. This is true not only in Burma pottery, but in all the local handicrafts. The fault does not lie so much with the craftsmen as with those who thus encourage them to make articles whose use they do not understand. For unless the craftsmen thoroughly appreciate the uses to which their manufactures are to be put, they are not likely to create satisfactory designs. This one could prove time and again from local illustrations. When the customer has taken the trouble to make the craftsman thoroughly understand the use of the article, the innovation has been successful; when the craftsman has failed to under-

stand this, the innovation has been a failure. It is not the innovation which is objectionable, neither is it the craftsman's art which is at fault; it is just the lack of appreciation of the meaning of what he has to do which handicaps the craftsman.

We turn now to the other group of wares, those which are shaped on the wheel. This simple but very effective invention, the potter's wheel, has been used unchanged for ages. It is found in nearly all countries and in general idea is the same. It consists of a heavy horizontal table revolving easily on a central pivot, and it is generally of wood. With the aid of this machine the potter is enabled to produce with great regularity of outline a large variety of circular shapes. A lump of clay is placed on the surface of the wheel, the wheel is spun round, either by the potter's third hand,—one of his feet—or by an assistant, and the potter with the use of his fingers and a piece of wet rag rapidly draws the clay out into shapes continually changing, as he presses on one part or another of the clay. The process is illustrated at the exhibition by the group of potters who have been brought down from Kyaukmyaung. You will notice the easy way in which the pallet, the board on which the wares are moulded, is first levelled; the clay walls are then built as the wheel revolves. In the case of the large jar it would be impossible for the potter to reach the whole of the inside with his arm to mould it, and moreover the soft clay would not stand the full height; the jars are therefore moulded in two halves, the lower section being allowed a day to harden before the upper section is added. The method adopted to obtain a good joint between the two sections is worth attention. The largest size of jar produced will hold as much as 300 viss of oil, and its shape reminds one of the traditional jars of oil in the story of the forty thieves.

After the clay has been shaped it must be allowed to harden, and during the process considerable care has to be taken to shelter it from draughts. This is particularly true of the large wares. Uneven drying consequent on the play of air currents on the wares would result in cracks and the destruction of the work.

The bulk of the wares moulded on the wheel are glazed as well, and we shall therefore deal with this subject next, as it is the next process in their production.

The glazing material used in this province is either galena, or the slag from lead working, generally the latter. This material is ground to a powder, mixed with rice water and painted on to the surface of the green pottery. If lead slag be used, the result is a dark purple brown glaze such as may be seen in the large jars from Kyaukmyaung; the colour, of course, varies slightly with the nature of the clay to which the glaze is applied. If galena be used, the glaze is of a lighter colour. Generally when galena is used the clay is first coated with an engobe of white earth to secure a white surface for the glaze. The engobe is made by mixing with water the white clay already mentioned in dealing with clays. This is painted on to the green ware, and then after drying, the wash of glazing material is applied. The result of the use of galena on

white clay engobe is a glaze varying in shade from brown to light yellow. The lightest specimens are those from Kyaukdaing in the Shan States, and examination will show that in these wares the glaze is very thin. The effect of the white engobe is clearly shown in the green glazed basins from the same place, as in some of these the engobe had not been entirely covered with glaze.

As a variation to the brown and yellow, a green glaze is sometimes introduced. This is obtained by mixing copper sulphate with the ordinary lead glazing material. At Pagan and elsewhere in the province some of the pagodas are decorated with green glazed plaques produced by this method, thus showing that the method is not by any means a new discovery. A plaque of this kind dating about 1200 A. D. is shown in the case with the clays. The green glazed bricks of the oldest pagodas date back possibly several centuries earlier and the origin of the art is therefore a matter of conjecture and a problem which is not likely to be solved.

There is, however, one very interesting exception to the use of lead glaze, and that is found in the ware from Mongkung. This ware, which cannot fail to attract attention, has a beautiful green-grey glaze. It would be more accurately described as a stoneware rather than an earthenware, the clay used being of a very high quality. A broken piece of the ware is shown in the case of clays and visitors will notice the texture of the material. Mr. Kingsley, assistant superintendent, Loilem, has very kindly sent me details of the method of glazing. Lead is not used, but the glazing material is obtained from two sources. The one material is obtained by collecting a particular kind of vegetable matter found on the surface of the hills and water-logged fields. The earth is carefully removed from this, and the remainder, the organic matter, is collected. The second material is the ash of the tree known as the *Mai Kut*. These two materials are mixed in the proportion of two of the first to one of the second and are applied as a wash to the surface of the green pots. This is a most interesting case, because in this out-of-the-way place one finds an entirely different form of glaze, corresponding chemically to the alkaline glazes used in Europe, though the process is quite different, and it is noteworthy that in both cases the glazes are used more particularly on a stoneware.

We now come to the process of firing. This is nearly always done with timber fuel. It is the difficulty with fuel which has done so much to kill the pottery industry in Burma. In Upper Burma the potters can still manage to get fuel at a reasonable rate, but in Lower Burma the question is a difficult one. Thus a quantity of fuel which at Kyaukmyaung in Shwebo district can be obtained for Rs. 2-8 costs Rs. 11 at Twante. Since fuel is one of the main items of cost in the manufacture of pottery, it will be seen that this difference in price is a very serious matter. Considering calorific values alone and taking coal at Rs. 14 per ton the equivalent value for wood fuel would be Rs. 7-8 per hundred cubic feet of stacked fuel. It will be seen therefore that the price of

Rs. 11 per hundred cubic feet at Twante has crossed the line, and it would be cheaper to use coal at normal pre-war prices. To do so, however, would necessitate a certain amount of instruction for the potters, as they would have to learn to modify their kilns. Another material which might supply a cheap fuel and which is present in excess in the Delta is paddy husk, a material which, as a matter of fact, is actually used in the light-fired wares from Shegu near Bhamo. This again would need experiment and an alteration of the kiln.

The kilns used vary somewhat in shape, but the general shape is a domed structure, oval in plan, with a firing hole at one end and a smoke outlet at the other. They are built of unburned bricks which, however, bake in the first two or three firings. The largest are at Kyaukmyaung and Twante, some of them being as much as 30 feet long by 12 feet wide by about 8 feet high in the centre. But in many cases they are considerably smaller.

The dried pots are placed in the furnace, carefully piled, so that they shall not damage one another, and raised on pedestals provided for the purpose so that the hot gases may get at them. A space is left in the front of the kiln and a fire of fuel is laid and lighted. The entrance is then blocked, except for a small hole through which fuel can be fed as necessary and through which the wares can be inspected. The flames bring the wares up to a bright red heat, which is the proper baking heat, and after they have been allowed to cool slowly they are removed. In the case of small and delicate wares the wares are sometimes placed inside jars which are being baked at the same time. These jars act as sag-gars and protect the delicate wares from the fierce action of the flames, which might damage them if they were to play direct on them.

I have already mentioned the process of manufacture of black pottery and need not repeat it again here. The black pottery is very attractive and examples will be found outside. It is capable of considerable development and as a special ware might find a good deal of encouragement, if the potters would develop their output to suit modern needs. The popularity of the ware at this exhibition will do much to stimulate the potters. Looking at this ware, and there are plenty of examples, one is reminded of ancient black Greek pottery. The coloured design is not there, but it could doubtless be added. It is probable in any case that the method used in obtaining the black surface is similar.

The whole of the Letthit exhibit is, however, well worth attention. The forms may have been copied or they may have been created by the potters. This is a matter of no importance; the fact remains that many of them are decidedly attractive. In the hpongyi bowls the workers show their craftsmanship to the best advantage, but some of the other wares in this class are very pleasing in form.

Bassein sends a good example of bad work, bad in design, bad in execution. Bassein was once an important pottery centre, but whether it be that the skilled labour has been degraded, or whether it be that industrial conditions have been against them, there is no denying that the

potters of Bassein do not do the province credit, and have not done so at any of the Rangoon exhibitions to which they have sent materials during the last two or three years.

Shwegu has contributed a small collection. The process of manufacture is very similar to that of the Letthit ware; but owing to the use of a clean flame in the kilns the ware obtained is red instead of black. The difference is due to the clean flame as opposed to the smoky firing of the Letthit kilns.

The best example of crude hand formed ware is the small cooking pot from the Southern Shan States. This type of ware is used all over the states, being carried to considerable distances.

I would also draw attention to the rather skilful work of the man from Henzada who exhibits the process followed in making small clay figures. The figures are only toys, but they are attractive none the less.

Turning to the glazed pottery there is a fairly large representative collection from the main centres of production. Kyaukmyaung exhibits its jars which cannot fail to attract attention by their size as well as by their really artistic value. The jars are graded in the trade by the number of viss of oil they will hold. They used to be exported to India, largely from the port of Martaban, and they are mentioned by the early European writers on Burma. Sir Henry Yule gives several references to Martaban jars dating back to 1508. Mr. Lockwood Kipling, while discussing the question of jars made in Delhi and which bear the vernacular name of "Martaban," observes:—"In 1869 the writer, while passing through Delhi, purchased a number of jars and took them to the London Exhibition of 1870, where this line texture of glaze, a rough duck-egg like coating, was admired by connoisseurs, notably by the late Mr. Henery Fortuny, a celebrated Spanish painter then in England. One of the articles, by the way, happened to be marked Martaban, the native name for the jar, and was afterwards described on a museum label as coming from Martaban, a port on the Burmese coast. This curious story has double interest in that it proves the comparative antiquity of the Burmese ceramic art and the very modern character of the application of the Indian potter's skill to domestic purposes. There would seem little doubt that the Martabans sold in India a century ago were entirely imported from Burma and were distributed as regular articles of trade even in such remote inland towns as Delhi. It is said that prisoners of war have been smuggled out of the country in some of these jars; if one regards their size one can quite believe it is possible."

Another rather interesting exhibit is the small vessel from Pekon in the Southern Shan States and some similar vessels of not quite such good quality from Limi, a village some thirty miles south of Yawngghwe. They remind us of the Greek amphorae and they are used for the same purpose, for they are used to hold the local wine or spirits. Similar needs have produced similar shapes; one can only suppose that the shapes have been arrived at independently.

The Pyinmana exhibit is well worth a little attention. Saya Pu has progressive ideas and has produced a more finished glaze than is usual among Burma potters. One must bear in mind that these potters have not the advantage of technical advice, and progress is due to real individual effort and inventive ability. Visitors who have seen the Pyinmana work at the last two or three exhibitions will appreciate the progress made, progress in colour and in glaze.

There is no exhibit of ware from Twante. Twante was once an important pottery centre and still produces a good deal. The characteristic ware is glazed and has a deep purple brown colour which is not unattractive. The rising cost of fuel has hit the potters badly and their profits have declined. The demand for latex cups for the rubber industry has lately given their trade a small fillip, and they now turn out fairly large quantities of these articles. But so far as art ware is concerned Twante cannot boast of very much nowadays. At times, and more particularly in the past, they produced large jars and basins with a small amount of ornament which were distinctly attractive; generally however when they indulge in ornament they over-indulge and spoil their wares.

I said that my object was to indicate the possibilities and difficulties of development of pottery in the province. I have given you an outline of the methods followed and have in so doing hinted at some of the difficulties. As I said before, the most serious difficulty in the south is the rising price of timber fuel. But in addition the potters are at present working without organisation and without instruction. Progress in methods for them necessitates a hard upward climb by individual effort. Co-operation may give the required organisation, but co-operation has so far only touched one area, Kyaukmyaung. With a detailed discussion of the possible developments I hesitate to take up your time, it sounds too much like an attempt to indulge in prophecy. But when one remembers that the annual import trade in pottery is worth 25 lakhs and that a great part of this is in crude ware which the local potters could produce were they given a little instruction, one feels that the possibilities of development are very considerable. When one further bears in mind that Burma once had a large export trade and that as a province it is very well provided with pottery clays and a variety of glazing materials, one turns hopefully to the future. The material is excellent, the craftsmen are numerous, and considering the lack of instruction highly skilled. Given a reasonable chance Burma should become a great pottery centre.

A. P. MORRIS.

Note.—Since this lecture was given funds have been provided for experimental work at the Government Engineering School, Insein. The use of paddy husk as a fuel has been proved to be suitable for unglazed ware and experiments are now being carried out to determine a suitable design for a paddy-husk-fired kiln for glazed wares.

Th process used in the manufacture of the old Greek red figured black pottery has also received attention and starting with Letthit black ware various processes have been tried. Red figured wares have been successfully produced and it is believed that the lost process of the Grecian red figured black pottery has been rediscovered. It is hoped that ere long the Letthit potters will be able to produce a Graeco-Burman art ware.

BUDDHIST NIBBĀNA, AN ESSAY.

Note:—The publication of this Essay has been necessitated by that of the Dialogue by U Shwe Zan Aung. After consulting some Burmese works on the subject, I wrote the Essay in August 1917 and sent it to U Shwe Zan Aung, who returned it with a separate note of his own, advancing further theories on the subject.. During our subsequent personal interviews it was agreed that these theories should be committed to writing and a dialogue on nibbāna was promised.. I have thought it proper to print my Essay as it was written in 1917, together with the Dialogue so that readers may see how far U Shwe Zan Aung agrees with me on the subject..

The word 'nirodha' of the third Ariyan Fact (dukkhanirodham ariyasaccaṃ)¹ is generally translated as *Cessation*. *Visuddhi Magga*² and *Sammohavinodanī* in its opening commentary on Sacca-Vibhaṅga give the derivation: "Third Ariyan Fact—inasmuch as *ni* means non-being (abhāva) and *rodha* means the ceaseless round of Ill in the ocean of existences (cāraka); *herein* (i.e. in nirodha) there is the non-being of the round of Ill (dukkharodha) called saṃsāracāraka owing to its being void of all planes of existence and destinies."³ Nirodha is thus the *locus* of the non-being of Ill. Care should be taken that the non-being is not applied to nirodha and emphasis should be laid on the adverb *ettha*; that is, in nirodha, wherein is the non-being of Ill. The commentators take pains to show that the non-being in nirodha is not the mere passing away and being nothing, obtainable at the cessant instant or the moment of dissolution (bhaṅgakkhaṇa)⁴ of the corruptions and the aggregates but the intrinsic nature of nirodha in the non-origination (an-uppāda) of the round of Ill. *Paṭisambhidāmagga* explains nirodhasaccānibbāna (i.e. the Fact of nirodha as nibbāna)⁵ by the non-origination (an-uppāda), non-occurrence (a-pavatti), non-birth (a-nibbatti)⁶, non-appearance (an-upa-patti), not coming into existence (a-jāti) of Ill. And *Sammohavinodanī* on Dhātu-Vibhaṅga says that the five aggregates of matter and non-matter constitute the first Ariyan Fact of Ill; craving as the cause thereof constitutes the second Fact; and the non-occurrence of both Facts of Ill and its origin constitutes the third Fact of the cessation of Ill.⁷ It is clear therefore that on reaching nirodha the round of Ill becomes extinct so that it occurs no more because there is no genesis (uppāda). And the English word Cessation should always bear this meaning.

The commentary on *Nettipakaraṇa* says that the Fact of Cessation is an unconditioned element (asaṅkhatadhātu)⁸ and the commentary on *Paṭisambhidāmagga* says it is called Nibbāna in the real, ultimate sense of Philosophy.⁹ Hence Cessation is an unconditioned element in the real sense (asaṅkhata paramattha).

¹ Page 426 of Burmese edition.

² Tatiyasaccaṃ pana yasmā ni saddo abhāvaṃ rodha saddo cārakaṃ dīpeti tasmā abhāvo ettha saṃsāracārakaṃ asaṅkhātassa dukkharodhassa sabbagatisuññatā.

³ Ubhinnam apavatti nirodhasaccaṃ.

⁴ Paramatthato hi dukkhanirodham ariyasaccan ti nibbānam vuccati.

'Parama' is explained by the commentaries as (a) paṭṭhāna, 'pre-eminent' in the sense of irreversibility or incapability of transformation (aviparītābhāvato eva paramo; paṭṭhāno) and (b) uttama, 'ultimate' not in the sense of 'surpassing in measure' (pamāṇa-atireka),⁵ as a king excelling other men by his kingship, but as a synonym for irreversibility in the sense that *phassa* has one irreversible quality, *vis*, 'contact.' 'Attha' is explained as (a) the intrinsic nature (sabhāva) of a thing, or a thing *per se*; and (b) a sense-datum of infallible knowledge (paramassa vā uttamassa ñāṇassa attho gocaro).⁶ Paramattha may thus be defined as something real by virtue of its intrinsic nature and of which the essence is irreversibility and irreducibility. Cessation is therefore the reality (paramattha)⁷ of nibbāna.

There are two aspects of the Real: conditioned (saṅkhata) and unconditioned (asaṅkhata). "There are bhikkhus, these two irreducible categories—what are the two? The irreducible category of the conditioned, the irreducible category of the unconditioned."⁸ Conditioned states are those which are related to causes (sapaccayā)⁹ and consequently are liable to genesis, decay and dissolution. "What, Bhikkhus, are the three characteristics of the conditioned? Genesis is manifested, decay is manifested, transformation (lit. otherness) from the original state is manifested."¹⁰ Hence the reality of conditioned things consists in the intrinsic nature of the five aggregates of being; for the intrinsic nature of these latter is the mere mode of occurrence or procedure (pavatti) in accordance with *paccaya*'s or causal relations.¹¹ In the real sense the five aggregates are only so many acts or performances; in them is no substance. For instance, the element of consciousness is a mere act of thinking, knowing, without possessing any permanent substance; the element of extension called the earth is really a mode of hardness or softness. Therefore conditioned reality is of the nature of the phenomenal and its essence lies in the continuous occurrence of the conditioned things.

As there is the reality of the conditioned so there is the reality of the unconditioned; for the nature of dhammas or states goes by opposites (paṭipakkha): "As where there is Ill there is ease, so where there is existence, there the escape from existence should be looked for. And as where there is heat, there is its opposite: cold, so where there is the three-fold fire of lust, hate and dulness, there nibbāna should be looked for. And as where there is evil, there is good, so where there is the nature of birth, there the nature of the birth-less should be looked

⁵ For documentary authority see the commentaries cited by Mr. S. Z. Aung in *Points of Controversy* (P. T. S.) pp. 371—373.

⁶ *Points of Controversy*, p. 55.

⁷ *Dhammasaṅgāṇī*, 584.

⁸ *Tika Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

⁹ Yathā paccayaṃ hi pavattimattam eva yadidaṃ sabhāvadhammo nāma—Sumaṅgala in his *Tika-kyaw on Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*.

for."¹⁰ Unconditioned reality is nibbāna which, by the law of opposites, is not related to causes (a-paccaya), that is, absolute and is the escape from genesis, decay and dissolution. "What, bhikkhus, are the three characteristics of the unconditioned? Genesis is not manifested, decay it not manifested, otherness of the original state or transformation is not manifested."¹¹ So, as surely as there is the continuous flux of conditioned things, there is the cessation thereof. That is to say, as the reality of the conditioned consists in the ceaseless occurrence of the five aggregates, so the reality of the unconditioned consists in the cessation or the non-production of the five aggregates by means of genesis. Such is the nature of dhammas. Yam kiñci samudayadhammam sabban tam nirodhadhammam—whatever is of the nature of origination all that is of the nature of cessation. Thus is the third Ariyan Fact of the Cessation of Ill the unconditioned reality of nibbāna. The existence of Cessation is asserted in *Udāna*: "There is, bhikkhus, that wherein is no birth, which is not the result of becoming, which is unmade, unconditioned. Where there is not, bhikkhus, such a thing, there would not be in this world the escape of what is born, the result of becoming, which is made, conditioned. But because there is such a thing as nibbāna, wherein is no birth, which is not the result of becoming, which is unmade, unconditioned, therefore there is the escape of what is born, the result of becoming, which is made, conditioned."

It is because the reality of Cessation exists that it can be made the object of the Path, which puts away the round of Ill. Else, the continuous occurrence of Ill would go on for ever. Cessation is viewed under the two aspects of cause and effect: (a) as the cause or condition of the cutting off of Ill and (b) the effect which is the cessation of Ill. The commentary on *Paṭisambhidāmagga* says: "Nirodha is nibbāna; for by arriving at nibbāna Ill ceases. Hence it is called nirodha."¹² Here nirodha is shown as the condition of the cessation of Ill. So also *Visuddhimagga* (p. 426) and *Sammodavinodanī* on Sacca-Vibhaṅga: "From being the cause (paccaya) of nirodha, the cessation of Ill, it is called dukkhanirodha."¹³ For it is by making cessation the object of the four Paths that the Paths themselves are attained, and it is by the attainment of the Paths that the corruptions that would otherwise have arisen are completely put away, so that they occur no more. This is the causal aspect of Nirodha, and the cessation of the corruptions is the result. The nirodha, which in its positive aspect is the object of the Paths is the cause of the nirodha, which in its negative aspect is the cessation of Ill. Here the cause and the effect are only two aspects of one and the same thing, *vis*: the unconditioned reality of nirodha, so that the nirodha, which is the object of the Paths is the very same niro-

¹⁰ *Buddhavaṃsa*.

¹¹ *Tika Anguttara Nikāya*.

¹² Nirodho ti nibbānam, nibbānāhi āgamma dukkham nirujjhati ti nirodho ti vuccati.

¹³ Dukkhasa vā anuppāda nirodha paccayattā dukkhanirodhan ti.

dha, which is the cessation of Ill. That is to say, the Paths, by making the unconditioned reality of nirodha the object, put away the corruptions; and when these are completely put away so that they occur no more, the result achieved is the unconditioned reality of nirodha itself. For if there were no nirodha to be made the object, the Paths could not be attained and the corruptions would continue in their ceaseless round of occurrence; hence the two-fold aspects of nirodha. Just as, by way of illustration, when a man sailing across the ocean from this shore reaches the other shore, he reaches in reality one and the same shore, so it is nirodha itself which, being the object of the Paths, is the condition of the putting away of the corruptions by the Paths and which, when the corruptions have been completely put away and arise no more, is the result attained.

The object of the Paths therefore cannot be the mere putting away of the corruptions. Functionally, nibbāna is to be realized by the Path (*sacchikātabba*), corruptions are to be put away by the Path (*pahātabba*), while the Path itself is to be cultured (*bhāvitabba*). The Path to be cultured makes as its object the nibbāna to be realized and thus puts away the corruptions to be put away. To say that the putting away of the corruptions is the object of the Path is to confuse a thing to be put away with a thing to be realized. On this point *Sammohavinodanī* on āyatana-vibhaṅga has an interesting discussion:—

“The unconditioned element is said to be the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, and extinction of dulness; wherein the unconditioned element is the unconditioned reality of nibbāna and because lust etc. become extinct by arriving at nibbāna therefore it has been said:—Nibbāna is ‘extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness.’ This is the consensus of opinion among the teachers. But the sectary says: There is no separate thing as nirodha nibbāna; the extinction of the corruptions itself is the nibbāna. On being asked to quote a sutta, he quotes the *Jambukhādakasutta* in support of his view: ‘Friend Sāriputta, it is said: Nibbāna, nibbāna. What is nibbāna? That which is the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness is called nibbāna.’ He should be asked whether the meaning of the term nibbāna is to be taken according to this sutta. He will say: Certainly, there is no other meaning apart from the sutta. Then he should be asked to quote the immediately following sutta, *vis*: ‘Friend Sāriputta, it is said: Sanctity, sanctity (*arahatta*). What is Sanctity? That which is the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness is called Sanctity (*arahatta*).’ Then they say to him: ‘Nibbāna is a dhamma included in the dhammāyatana, sanctity is the four mental aggregates. The Generalissimo of the dhamma, Sāriputta, who lived in the realization of nibbāna, on being inquired about nibbāna and sanctity has spoken the extinction of the corruptions in each case. What! are nibbāna and sanctity the same or are they different?’ ‘Whether they are the same or different, what benefit is there by being exceedingly subtle in this matter? You do not know whether they are the same or different.’

‘But is it not good to know it?’ Thus pressed, the sectary unable to evade the question says: ‘From arising at the end of the extinction of lust etc., Sanctity is called extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness.’ Then they say to him: ‘You have accomplished a great deed! You should say so even when you are bribed. Even as you have explained sanctity, so note nibbāna. For by arriving at nibbāna lust etc. become extinct. Hence nibbāna is called extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness. Indeed these three names are synonymns of nibbāna.’ If the sectary is convinced by it, well and good. But if he is not, he should be shown the multiplicity of nibbānas (that would result from his statement)!. He should be asked: Is the extinction of lust of lust only or of hate and dulness also? Is the extinction of hate of hate only or of lust and dulness also? Is the extinction of dulness of dulness only or of lust and hate also? He will answer that the extinction of lust is of lust only, extinction of hate is of hate only, extinction of dulness is of dulness only. ‘Then in your view the extinction of lust makes one nibbāna; extinction of hate makes another nibbāna; extinction of dulness makes yet another nibbāna. And there would be three nibbānas in the extinction of the three immoral roots; four in the extinction of the four Graspings; five in the extinction of the five Hindrances, six in the extinction of the six groups of craving; seven in the extinction of the seven forms of latent bias; eight in the extinction of the eight kinds of wickedness; nine in the extinction of the nine states which are roots of craving; ten in the extinction of the ten Fetters; and there would be a nibbāna each in the extinction of the one thousand five hundred corruptions! Indeed in your view nibbānas are abundant without limit. Such a view should not be adhered to. Because lust etc. become extinct on arrival at nibbāna therefore a single nibbāna is called extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness. Accept these names as synonymns of nibbāna.’ If still un-convinced, the sectary should be shown the grossness of nibbāna in his view:—‘Stupid animals such as the bear, leopard, deer, monkey under the oppression of lust indulge in sexual intercourse, at the end of which their lust subsides. According to you these animals must be said to attain nibbāna. How gross must be nibbāna, how thick, not fit for the ear to harken. But it is not so. By arriving at nibbāna lust etc. become extinct. Therefore a single nibbāna is called the condition of the extinction of lust, extinction of hate, extinction of dulness. Accept these names as its synonymns.’ If the sectary still persists in his view he should be convinced by the argument of the ‘adoption.’ This question should first of all be put: Do you say that there is what is called the adoption? On answering in the affirmative he should be asked: At the moment of adoption have the corruptions become extinct, are they becoming extinct or will they become extinct? He will reply rightly that they have not become extinct nor are they becoming extinct but truly they will become extinct. Then he should be asked: What does adoption make its object? He will reply undoubtedly that Nibbāna is the object. Then they say to him: ‘But you admit that at

portions of his corruptions, while by the Path of Sanctity the fourth and the last portion is put away, so that he is completely free from the corruptions and retains only his aggregates, with reference to which the word sa-upādisesa has been used. But when the graduated removal of the corruptions by means of the Four Paths is spoken of, the word *upādi* then refers not only to the five aggregates of the aspirant but also to the remaining portion (large or small) of his corruptions, when first the Sotāpanna removes his first portion of corruptions and attains sa-upādisesa nibbāna. And because by the first Path of Sotāpatti nibbāna is first attained, it is usually called *dassana*, the seeing or sighting of nibbāna.

When death comes upon the saint and his aggregates are dissolved, the nibbāna attained is not different but is the same sa-upādisesa. The difference lies only in the name, which changes from sa- to an-upādisesa, that is, to nibbāna without any residue of *upādi*'s at the death of the saint. Thus both names belong to one and the same thing, *viz.* the unconditioned reality of cessation, the former name being applicable as long as the saint is alive and the latter coming into force the moment death enters.

So *Visuddhi Magga* page 430 says: "Owing to the non-origination of the aggregates that would have arisen after the last phase of consciousness and owing to the disappearance of the aggregates that have already been originated there is the non-being of the aggregates; from being intimated with reference to this non-being of the aggregates herein (in an-upādisesa nibbāna) there is no residue of aggregates—thus an-upādisesa."²⁰ That an-upādisesa nibbāna does not mean annihilation or non-existence may be seen from *Samyutta Nikāya* page 150, which says: "The saint, on the dissolution of the body is established in the *dhamma* (dhammattho) and his personality is not counted as man, god, brahma or being." The commentary explains dhammattho as "being established in the nature of saints as well as in nibbāna itself."²¹ And *Itivuttaka* p. 148 confirms this by saying that in an-upādisesa nibbāna existences cease altogether.²²

Thus the two famous theories of the heretics are refuted *viz.* the annihilation view (*ucchedaditthi*) on the hand, by means of the establishment of the saint at death in the nature of nibbāna; and the eternalistic or Perdurant theory (*Sassata ditthi*) on the other hand, by means of the statement that there are no existences in nibbāna so that the saint is not counted as a being at all.

In the ultimate sense there is no personality (*attā*); there are only the five aggregates. On the death of the saint therefore only his aggregates are dissolved. How can he thus be said to cut off or annihilate

²⁰ Carimacittato ca uddham pavatti khandhānam anuppādanato, uppannānāṃ ca antara dhānato upādisesābhāvo; taṃ upādāya paññāpānīyato natthi ettha upādiseso ti anupādisesaṃ.

²¹ Dhammattho ti sakkhadhammesu nibbāne eva vā tīto.

²² Yamhi nirujjhanti bhavāni sabbaso.

his personality or being (*uccheda*) or be said to live to eternity (*sassata*) without the aggregates?

Thus there is one single nibbāna *viz.* the unconditioned reality of nirodha or cessation; Sa- and an-upādisesa are only two names given to the result of making it the object of the Paths; and they serve the purpose of explaining the reality and the result so attained is the same as the cause or condition. As the commentary on *Netti* says: "Although there is no division, in the strict sense, of the unconditioned element in nibbāna, yet by a figure of speech it ought to be shown as sa- and an-upādisesa nibbāna";²³ and *Sam mohavinodanī* has: "Nirodha is one by virtue of the unconditioned element, but by figure of speech it is two-fold: sa- and an-upādisesa."²⁴

It will have been remarked that the reality of cessation has been explained in negative terms only, because it is not possible to speak of it positively. No concept will convey the true meaning, no analysis will reveal the true nature of the Reality. It is by intuition or penetration (*paññavedha*) that it is attained. "Being intent, one realizes the ultimate fact of cessation by the body and sees it by intuition through *paññā*"²⁵,—*by the body*, with reference to the removal of the corruptions from the body, material and immaterial and *by intuition*, when one views the removal of the corruptions with *paññā* as, when by attaining the First Path, the corruptions of the theory of soul, doubt, and belief in rite and ritual are removed, one realizes not only the physical removal of the corruptions but also lives in the intuition of the permanence of the removal, which is part and parcel of the reality of nirodha. When one contemplates Ill and its cause by means of insight, viewing them under the three aspects of genesis, development and dissolution, the unconditioned element enters at a flash by means of transcendental knowledge. Repeated contemplation by worldly knowledge brings about penetration or intuition by means of transcendental knowledge. "Seeing the faults of birth and death etc. in a dhamma connected with genesis (*uppāda*) the Path-consciousness enters running in non-origination (*an-uppāda*)."²⁶ When thus the Path-consciousness intuits the unconditioned reality of cessation, the corruptions which would otherwise have arisen arise no more. That is why cessation has been said to be the object of the Paths.

—Editor.

²³ Nibbānapakkhe kiñcāpi asaṅkhatāya dhātuyā nippariyāyena vibhāgo natthi, pariyāyena pana sōpādisesa nōpādisesa bhāvena niddissitabbaṃ.

²⁴ Nirodho pi ekavidho asaṅkhatadhātubhāvato, pariyāyena pana duvidho sa-upādisesa an-upādisesavasena.

²⁵ *Majjhima paṇṇāsa, caṅkī sutta.*

²⁶ *Paṭisambhidāmagga.*

A DIALOGUE ON NIBBANA.

Persons of the Dialogue

Agga
Teja

Sumana
Tissa

The scene is laid in the Nandavanta laura in the Sagaing hills.

Sumana. Good evening, Sir. How is Your Reverence keeping?

Agga. I am four score years old to-day, but I feel quite strong for my age. I thank you much for your very kind enquiry. May I know who you are?

Sumana. I am Sumana, a pupil of Dr. Ledi. Your longevity is the result of the purity of your *silas*.

Agga. Is your master hale and hearty?

Sumana. He, too, is advancing in years and is slightly infirm with age. But, though the flesh is weak, his spirit is as strong as ever.

Agga. He is comparatively young and it is my earnest hope that he will soon be restored to perfect health and be spared many more years to come so that he may be able to continue, with renewed vigour, the good work he has already done in the way of propagation of our religion. But will you tell me the object of your visit at this late hour in the afternoon, for you seem rather intent upon something?

Sumana. I have come here on purpose and I have brought a friend of mine with me.

Agga. You are welcome to my cloister. I have made this little retreat my abode since my master's death at Mingun as it was very suitable for meditation. There were very few hermitages then, but a great many have sprung up, like mushrooms, since. What is your companion's name?

Sumana. He is Tissa, a pupil of the late Dr. Myobyingyi.

Agga. I extend the hospitality of this my humble roof to you also, Tissa. Your master made the *Compendium of Philosophy* his speciality and, if I am not mistaken, he is followed by the majority of students of Buddhism in Burma. Is it not?

Tissa. I should think so, Sir.

Agga. Sumana, you have as yet to specify the nature of your business.

Sumana. Sir, we have sought you here because, in all accounts we have heard of you, you are represented as the only disciple of Dr. Shwegyin, who still holds the antiquated view that Nibbāna is something in the nature of a mental or spiritual. Perhaps we are disturbing your solitude. Are we interrupting your thoughts?

Agga. My thoughts flow as easily in conversation as when I am alone. I take your observations on my master's view in good spirit. He spent practically a life-time over the question of Nibbāna and the results of his labours in this field are embodied in a great work entitled the

Mahānibbutā-nibbuta. His is a view hallowed by antiquity and I adhere to it.

Sumana. But, Sir, was it not a fact that Dr. Ingan, the late head of your sect, who was himself the disciple of your own master, had expressed his opinion that Ledi's views are sounder?

Agga. Yes. Ingan was a fine scholar. But it does not follow that he was cleverer than his master.

Sumana. Ledi's view that Nibbāna is nothing but calm, tranquillity or peace (*santi*) has been accepted throughout the length and breadth of Burma.

Agga. Sumana, I am not alone in my persuasion that Nibbāna is something more than *mere* calm (*santi-matta*). I have up here a friend of mine from Henzada. His name is Teja. His master, U Ukkamsamālā, the late famous Doctor of Okpo, held that Nibbāna is unique mind and body. Is it not, Teja?

Teja. Yes, Sir.

Agga. The annihilationistic school, however, teaches in effect that Nibbāna is pure nothing.

Sumana. But this view of annihilation has been exploded by Buddhist writers. E. g., Sumangalasāmi, the well-known author of the famous *Tikāgyaw*, distinctly says that Nibbāna is not annihilation (*tuccha* or *abhāva*).

Agga. Quite so. But the fact that every writer has had to insist on Nibbāna being something shows, does it not, that this erroneous view has been held by many.

Even Ariyavaṁsa of Sagaing, the author of the *Maṇisāramañjūsā*, a deep student, and an able exponent, of the *Tikāgyaw*, as late as the 15th Century, seems to have leaned, in his *Maṇidīpa*, to the annihilationistic view when he said that we should not use the expression 'Nibbāna is attained' because there are still khandhas in the Sa-upādisesa Nibbāna and because there is nothing left in the Anupādisesa to be attained. According to him the attainment of Nibbāna consists in having Nibbāna merely as an object of path and fruitional consciousnesses.

The commonsense school holds the extreme opposite view that Nibbāna is a paradise.

These two schools claim the ignorant majority.

Sumana. It is no good referring to the views of the ignorant.

Agga. Well, Sumana, I have brought this matter up at the outset with a double purpose: —

First, to extract from your own lips an admission that Nibbāna is something;

Secondly, to show that majority does not count in matters abstruse, recondite and philosophical, since you have endeavoured to convince me of the truth of Ledi's views because they are accepted by the majority.

Teja (interposed.) We all are agreed that Nibbāna is something; though we differ as to the nature of that.

Agga. Yes. Burma, I mean the Burmese Buddhist world of philosophy, is divided into three camps, so to speak. There is the Shwegyin school which holds that Nibbāna is spiritual mind, while the Okpo school advances the view that it is unique mind and body. The Ledi school, however, teaches that it is neither mind nor body but purely calm.

*Now, before deciding which of these three views is correct, a few preliminary questions shall have to be gone into. Our philosophers bring four categories, to wit, mind, mental properties, matter and Nibbāna, under a more general concept of reality (*paramattha*). And Nibbāna is a reality of realities.

Sumana. Undoubtedly.

Agga. Then, it is essential that we should first of all clearly understand what is meant by reality. Do you agree?

Sumana. Certainly.

Agga. Pray, tell me, Sumana, what you understand by the term 'real.'

Sumana. I would define the real as that which is existent. This is in accordance with Buddhaghosa's explanation of the term in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* in the sense of manifestation (*bhūtattho*).

Agga. The word existent is rather ambiguous. Does it include that which has existed, that which exists and that which will exist?

Sumana. Yes, it does.

Agga. Do you, then, mean that which has existed in the past is still real?

Sumana. I should think so, for I can vividly imagine yesterday's fire to be existent.

Agga. Here you have confounded an image with a reality of which it is but a representation. The latter exists independent of your mind but the former does not. The image is a symbol of one individual object depicted to mind's eye (*uggaha-nimitta*). What is called the after-image (*paṭibhāga-nimitta*) in the language of meditation is a concept, being the symbol of many objects. Both symbols, however, are mere signs (*nimitta-paññatti*) because they exist only in our minds like hare's horns or tortoise' hairs.

Sumana. I own it. But the two fires are alike in their characteristics of heating or burning.

Agga. Does yesterday's fire burn any one to-day?

Sumana. Nay, it does not.

Agga. The reason is that you are not comparing the two actual fires of equal intensity of to-day.

Sumana. I am comparing my *idea* of yesterday's fire with the actual fire of to-day.

Agga. You cannot compare two disparate things, e. g., an idea with a reality; you have merely compared your idea of yesterday's fire with your idea of to-day's fire.

Tissa (interposed). But, Sir, is not a fire always fire by reason of its characteristics of burning?

Agga. Nay, that which no longer burns is not a fire at all.

Tissa. I mean that both yesterday's fire and to-day's fire are characterised by identical qualities of heating (*teja*).

Agga. This is only bringing individuals under a general, class concept. You may define the universal term fire as that which burns and then show that every individual fire comes within your definition. Logical definition is a legitimate mode of mental procedure.

Tissa. For this reason I say that fire is a reality because it never gives up its characteristics of burning.

Agga. The real fire burns but the concept fire does not. In omitting to make the distinction between a reality and a concept, I am afraid, Tissa, that you lean to the views of the *Sabbathivādins*.

Tissa. Pray, what are the views of this sect?

Agga. They hold that all past, present and future things exist because they do not give up the characteristics of *khandhas* (aggregates). If their views be correct, every concept would be real like Plato's Ideas. I take it for granted that every student of philosophy understands what I mean by Plato's Ideas.

Tissa. Yes. Plato is a *niccavādin* who believes in the reality of his eternal and perfect ideas.

Agga. Space is an eternal idea of containing things. It always retains this feature. But you would not say that it is real for that reason. Again, time is always time and is never converted into space, but it is no more real than space is. Similarly with all other concepts. In fact, Platonic realism, which is really idealism or conceptualism or nominalism had been very ably refuted by the Elder Moggliputta Tissa. If you need the details of his argument, I must refer you to the *Sabbamatthivāda Kathā* in the *Kathāvatthu* (*Points of Controversy*).

According to the orthodox view, the real is ever confined to the present. Yesterday's fire was real only while it was burning; and tomorrow's fire will be real when it comes into being but not otherwise. In other words, the past fire which has burnt itself out is no longer real and the future fire which will burn is not yet real. Both the past and future things are at present but mere concepts, notions, ideas, mental views or aspects. *I suppose you agree to this. Do you not?

Tissa. Yes, I do.

Agga. Then, Sumana will have to amend his definition of the real. Instead of defining it as that which is *existent*, it would be more accurate to define it as that which is *existing*.

Sumana. I have no objection to the proposed amendment. I acknowledge that the real is explained by a synonymous term *vijjamāna* which is generally rendered into Burmese by "existing".

Agga. Yes. This useful word is formed from root *vid*—'to know', the passive suffix *ya* and the present participial ending *māna*. It literally means 'being known' at the present moment. To be known is to be

evident and to be evident is to manifest. But a thing cannot manifest itself without a real being. Its intensive form *samvijjamāna* has been intentionally adopted to emphasise the fact that neither the past nor the future thing is real but that the real is confined to the present only. So far we all are agreed that one condition of reality is that it must be *existing*.

• **Tissa.** Granted.

Agga. But our idea of reality is not yet complete. For eternalists may understand the term 'existing' as existing for ever without a change. The other test of reality is, therefore, that it is *in a continual flux*, while concepts are constant.

Tissa. Is it not the other way about? Silver, when manufactured into different articles receives several names of cup, bowl, plate and so on in turn while the metal silver remains the same. In this illustration the metal silver corresponds to the reality while the names 'cup', 'bowl', etc., are mere concepts. Hence concepts change from 'cup' to 'bowl' and from 'bowl' to 'plate', but the metal remains unchanged.

Agga. Even the name silver, nay, the name metal itself, is but a concept. But I will not mince matters. I understand you to mean the ultimate constituents of matter when you say silver or metal. But when you say 'cup', 'bowl', etc., I shall understand you to confine yourself to the names only.

Tissa. Yes, that is exactly what I mean.

Agga. Now, to regard the ultimate constituents or contents of a piece of metal called silver as constant is heresy due to hallucinations of perception, view or judgement; for, did not the Buddha say that all things *in the making* are in a state of flux?

There is also a fallacy in your argument that concept 'cup' changes to concept 'bowl' which in turn changes to 'plate'. A concept, once formed, is never lost. It becomes a universal term held in reserve for application to similar individual objects at any future time. This fallacy has been well exploded in the *Kathāvatthu*. Speaking of a certain white cloth which, say, is turned black, the heterodox opponent asked: Is the whiteness given up? The orthodox adherent answered it in the affirmative because white colour as a reality had been replaced by another reality, black colour. But when the question was: Is the *clothness* given up?, the orthodox answer was in the negative because "clothness" is a mere concept arising from a combination of single threads.

Tissa. I acknowledge that it is so.

Agga. Then, do you agree that for anything to be real the following two conditions must be satisfied?

(a) That it must be *existing*; and

(b) That it must be *in a flow*.

Tissa. Yes, I do.

Agga. In that case, reality may be defined as an existing condition of flux. Therefore, mind, mental properties, matter and Nibbāna, if allowed a real being, must satisfy the above definition. I mean that even

Nibbāna forms no exception. Otherwise it would not be real. You should be able to distinguish what I may call book-mind and lip-Nibbāna from real ones. The book-mind and the lip-Nibbāna are mere concepts which do not exist except in our minds and therefore do not have an independent flowing existence, actual change being the essential mark of distinction between a reality and a concept.

Sumana (interposed). But a sole reservation or exception has to be made in favour of Nibbāna which is permanent, abiding and enduring.

Agga. You are a dualist. That is to say, you start with an assumption that there are two radically different kinds of realities, conditioned and unconditioned.

Sumana. I beg your pardon, Sir. Mine is not an assumption at all. I have based my views on the clear dictum of the Buddha. He said in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* that 'there are two elements, conditioned and unconditioned. The marks of conditioned are three. Which three? Genesis is apparent; dissolution is apparent; a state of duration other than genesis and dissolution is also apparent. Similarly, the three marks of unconditioned are: genesis, dissolution and duration are not apparent.'

Agga. You seem to think that these marks stick to things like the outlines of an object. Yet they, like the outlines of an object, are mere appearances to the mind. The word 'apparent' is the crux of this passage. The Pali word is *paññāyati* from prefix *pa*, which is explained by *pakārena*—'in different aspects', and root *ñā*, 'to know'. It is quite legitimate for a monist to look upon the real as One, even as the truth is One, and to regard the Buddha as having spoken of it by the dual method from two view-points. To intellect from without the real appears in three different aspects. But to intuition from within these aspects *disappear* (*na-paññāyati*). What is relative and conditioned to intellect becomes absolute and unconditioned to intuition. Our intellect divides the stationary track left behind the flowing reality and divides the immobile time passed over by it into a 'powder of moments' which we name nascent or genetic, static or durative and cessant or arrested. But intuition which follows the continuous flow from within the simple, indivisible reality dispenses with these time concepts. Consider a wave motion. You think that each wave is succeeded by another after undergoing the threefold process of beginning, lasting and subsiding. But what is it that moves on and on? Physicists will say force or energy. Now, if this force or energy be endowed with consciousness, it would feel itself as onward motion at every moment without interruption. It would not feel itself as now beginning, next lasting and then subsiding. An outside observer draws an imaginary line of break between the subsidence of a previous phase and the rising of a succeeding one and in doing so, he practically considers motion between any two such breaks as rest. In your view intellect and intuition are assumed not to differ in kind but in degrees but conditioned and unconditioned are held as radically different, whereas in my view intellect and intuition are held to be

radically different as poles asunder but conditioned and unconditioned are treated as two different aspects of one reality.

Is it not, **Sumana**?

Sumana. Yes, Sir.

Agga. It is not an easy matter to decide which of these two views is correct, before we have a clear idea of what Nibbāna is. But so far we have cleared our way for discussion on Nibbāna. Now, Sumana, after all we have said on the distinction between a reality and a concept, do you still maintain that Nibbāna is nothing but calm.?

Sumana. I do.

Agga. Pray, analyse your idea of calm.

Sumana. By calm I mean freedom from trouble or evil.

Agga. Then, calm is synonymous with the extinction of Ill. But if you go a step further in your analysis, you will find that this Ill is reduced to suffering or pain caused by desire. Therefore, your calm is the extinction of the fires of this desire.

Sumana. I own it, since Sāriputta himself described Nibbāna as extinction of corruptions.

Agga. I suppose you refer to the *Zambukhādaka Sutta* where the Arahant described Nibbāna as extinction of lust, ill-will and ignorance.

Sumana. Yes, that is my authority.

Agga. Very well. If you read a little further on, you will find that Sāriputta who lived face to face, i. e., in direct contact, with Nibbāna described arahantship in identical terms. How now? Are the Nibbāna and the Arahantship the same or different?

Sumana. Whether the same or different, Sir, what is the use of your splitting hairs in this matter?

Agga. But is it not good to know their identity or difference, Sumana?

Sumana. Well, Sir—the view of the *vitandavādins* is that arahantship is so described because it comes into being after the extinction of corruptions. The consensus of opinion among the commentators, however, is that Nibbāna is so described because corruptions are extinguished by it.

Agga. Which of these two views do you prefer?

Sumana. Certainly the latter.

Agga. The *vitandavādins* say that the arahantship is the result of the extinction of corruptions in the Path-moment, while the commentators refer to the Nibbāna of the Path as the cause of the extinction of corruptions in arahantship; But what of the Nibbāna of arahantship?

Sumana. I am rather perplexed over this question of yours.

Agga. Well, I must refer you to your own authority. Sāriputta described this Nibbāna as extinction of corruptions. But he also described arahantship in identical terms. Now, when a sane person describes two things in identical terms, must we not assume that the two things are really one and the same?

Sumana. Nay, that cannot be. When I describe an ass and a horse as animals I do not necessarily mean that the ass is the same as the horse.

Agga. Of course not. In your example you are simply bringing two different individuals under a higher concept. But you will not admit that extinction of corruptions is a higher concept than Nibbāna.

Sumana. Assuredly not.

Agga. Sāriputta first described Nibbāna as extinction of corruptions. But Buddhaghosa¹ clearly said that, lest this description should mislead any one to regard it as *mere* extinction, Sāriputta again described the arahantship in the very same terms. It is, therefore, plain that he intended to show that the Nibbāna he described was not a lip-Nibbāna but a concrete real as distinguished from an abstraction. Hence the expressions, to wit, 'extinction of lust', 'extinction of ill-will', and 'extinction of nescience,' are but synonyms of the real Nibbāna. I mean they merely denote the three different aspects of one and the same reality.

Sumana. I am not quite convinced.

Agga. Now, does the expression, 'extinction of lust' include the extinction of ill-will and of ignorance, or does the expression 'extinction of ill-will' include the extinction of lust and ignorance, or does the expression 'extinction of ignorance' include the other two?

Sumana. Decidedly not.

Agga. Then, in your view, there would be a multiplicity of Nibbānas, whereas Nibbāna is an indivisible whole.

Sumana. But are there not a plurality of Nibbānas? There are four degrees of ariyanship. And since we are taught that a lower grade Ariyan does not know things of the higher grades, it follows that his Nibbāna is different from those of the higher.

Agga. I do not deny the plurality of Nibbānas for different individuals, aye, even for each individual at different times. What I do deny is the plurality of them for each individual *at any one time*.

Sumana. Then is not the extinction of lust Nibbāna?

Agga. Dhammapāla says that *mere* extinction is not Nibbāna.² If mere extinction of lust be Nibbāna, even lower animals would have to be considered as having attained Nibbāna on the subsidence of their sexual desire. Surely your Nibbāna is too crude to be described.

Sumana (curtly)^l. I am not so vile as to identify Nibbāna with the temporary absence of lust in lower animals. I meant the eradication, extirpation, extermination or extinction of lust.

Agga. Softly, good Sumana. Be not angry with me for having put to you what Buddhaghosa himself as in the *Sammohavinodani*, his commentary on the *Vibhaṅga*, would have asked his opponent worthy of his own steel. Philosophical discussion should not be a heated controversy, but it should be carried on in a cool and calm atmosphere.

¹ Yo kho āvuso rāgakkhayo 'ti ādivacanato khayō nibbānanti ce, na arahantassāpi khayamattāpajjanato; taṃ pi hi yo kho āvuso rāgakkhayo 'ti ādinayena nidiṭṭhaṃ. *The Visuddhimagga*.

² Khayamattaṃ na Nibbānaṃ. *Saccasaṃkhepa*.

Sumana. Prithee, good Sir, do not mind my temper. I wish I had shown a good temper after losing a bad one.

Agga. You say you have meant the eradication of lust. You acknowledge, do you not, that there is such a thing as what Buddhists call 'adoptive intellect' (*gotrabhū-ñāṇa*) having Nibbāna for its object. Now we are told that corruptions neither had been eradicated before, nor are being eradicated at that moment. And if Nibbāna be extinction of corruptions, how can this intellect in question have the extinction of corruptions as its object before their eradication?

Sumana. Of course, Nibbāna at that moment exists only as an idea of the future extinction of corruptions in the mind of the 'adopted' person.

Agga. Then his is merely an idea-Nibbāna which is a concept.

Sumana. Nevertheless, Nibbāna, I mean the real Nibbāna, is the extinction of corruptions by the Path-intuition at the moment next after the 'adoptive' intellect.

Agga. Now, please to answer my questions carefully. Have corruptions already expired or are they being extinguished at that moment? Or are there any corruptions at that moment to be put away later?

Sumana. Well,—corruptions are undergoing the process of extinction at the moment of the Path-intuition.

Agga. How can the Path-intuition which, according to you, is in the act of extinguishing corruptions have the extinction of them as its object? The fact is Sumana, corruptions cannot co-exist with intuition, even as darkness cannot exist side by side with light.

Sumana. That is precisely what I meant. Just as light dispels darkness, so intuition removes corruptions.

Agga. You should not press this analogy too far. I will give you another illustration. If you cut down a tree from which fruits have been gathered, do you destroy the past year's fruits which have been long enjoyed or the present year's fruits which have been gathered or the future year's fruits which have as yet to be borne?

Sumana. I do not destroy any fruits at all but only the tree.

Agga. But the tree is the cause of future fruits. Therefore, intuition does not destroy the past or present corruptions but only the root-cause of future corruptions.

Sumana. That, I admit. This root-cause is desire (*taṇhā*) and if it be removed, its evil effects would be destroyed. Therefore, the extinction of desire is synonymous with that of evils.

Agga. A synonym is but a name.

Sumana. But it is the name of the real Nibbāna.

Agga. We have as yet to determine the nature of that reality, the several synonyms of Nibbāna merely expressing the various qualities of it.

Sumana. But is not a reality determined by its own qualities as a white paper is determined by its whiteness, etc.?

Agga. A quality is that which is abstracted by the mind from a reality, like whiteness mentally abstracted from paper.

Sumana. But whiteness is a colour which is a reality.

Agga. Yes, it is treated as a reality distinct from sound, etc., according to Buddhist analysis. But as whiteness cannot exist apart from paper or other like objects, analysis is merely logical. Hence I say your abstract qualities of Nibbāna cannot exist by themselves.

Sumana. But does not health exist in this world?

Agga. When a disease is cured, health ensues. But this health is not mere lip-health or paper health.

Sumana. Therefore I say that health is real.

Agga. You do not see my point, Sumana. Let me give you a very common illustration. When a sick child who dreads medicine tells his mother that he is well, his health is lip-health. Or again, when a physician tells his patient under treatment that he is alright, the patient's health is but lip-health in the mouth of the physician. There is a Burmese saying; 'According to the physician it matters not, only the patient cannot bear'. Health apart from sound body is therefore, merely an idea, notion or concept. To be real, it must be bound up with sound body. So any Nibbanic quality, say, your calm, to be real, must be bound up with sound *khandhas*. For this reason the author of the *Visuddhimaggatīkā* says; Nibbāna also is even again bound up with *khandhas*³.

Sumana. The expression 'bound up with body' (*kāyapaṭibaddha*) is applied to garments. Here garment is not body and body not garment. Hence Nibbāna cannot be *khandhas*.

Agga. You have missed the force of the prefix *paṭi*—'again' in the expression *paṭibaddha*. A garment is actually worn or can be reworn on body. Otherwise it would become a torn cloth. Just as body is indispensable to garment, so are *Khandhas* to Nibbāna. This view is confirmed by a Buddhist writer as follows:—

'Indeed, because Nibbāna is conceived in dependence upon *khandhas* it is made known even through our body'⁴.

Sumana. I cannot assent to your proposition. The expression 'bound up with *khandhas*' should be interpreted to mean 'spoken of in connection with *khandhas*', because we say that 'Nibbāna is a cessation of *khandhas*'.

Agga. Pardon me, friend, if I call this a piece of pure sophistry. Why? Because a worse quibble I have not heard.

If I were to say that disease is body-bound, you would admit that body co-exists with disease. But when I say that health is body-bound, you reply that health is merely spoken of in connection with body as though it were, in reality, the destruction of body itself.

Sumana. Did not Buddhaghosa, say: 'Matter and mind make up the five *khandhas* which constitute the reality of Ill; the previous desire

³ Nibbānampi *khandhapaṭibaddhameva*.

⁴ Nibbānampi hi *khandhe paṭicca paññāpanato sarīram yeva paññāpesi Sāratthadīpāni*.

which produces Ill is the reality of its root-cause; and the non-occurrence of both constitutes the reality of the cessation of Ill.'?⁵

Agga. The crux of this passage lies in the expression 'previous desire'. Ill proper (*dukkha-dukkha*) is the sensation of pain (*dukkha-vedanā*) i. e., pain felt by sentient beings. There is no such thing as positive pleasure in this world. It is but the negation of pain as cold is the negation of heat in science. We call this relative pleasure 'pain reversed' (*vipariṇāma-dukkha*). Mental indifference to pain and pleasure is hedonic neutrality (*upekkhā-vedanā*). But just as there is heat in hot cold or lukewarm water, every feeling, bodily or mental, is reducible to pain. Matter cannot feel this pain. Moreover, it is neither good nor bad. Yet it is described as Ill in the universal proposition:—'All things in the making are ill.' This ill in matter is often called the evils of evolution (*saṅkhāra-dukkha*). But we agree with your master that they are described as ill because they are instrumental in giving pain to sentient beings who are still imbued with desire. One is pained when he does not get what he desires or gets what he does not desire. The word Ill in this connection is used in the sense of fearful or dangerous (*bhayatṭhena dukkhā*), as when we speak of a deadly or dangerous weapon. But they cause no harm to anyone where desire is not.

Sumana. What! Does not a dangerous weapon cause pain against the sufferer's desire?

Agga. But pain is caused by the desire on the part of a person who uses a dangerous weapon, just as barbarous Huns are instigated by desire to cause harm to humanity. Thus, whatever ill there is in this world is traced to this real culprit desire. Convict him by all means and you may even condemn the contaminated khandhas even as you would condemn a diseased tissue or body. But when the disease is cured, why condemn the sound body? Your condemnation of all *khandhas*, good or bad, reminds me of those erring *rishis* of old who detested body and mortified it or who detested mind and stifled it. Only, you are a degree worse than either because you combine the evils of both and seek your own annihilation.

Sumana. But is not your sane mind in sound body equally subject to change as unsound mind in diseased body?

Agga. Yes, it is.

Sumana. Then what is changeful is bad⁶ and is, therefore, a thing, to be got rid of.

Agga. I have already told you that Ill is due to desire. What is changeful would be bad when it is due to desire. But the change in itself being but a characteristic mark of all realities is not bad.

Sumana. I do not approve of your statement that change is not bad and your implication that Nibbāna is changing.

⁵ Rūpārūpaṃ pañcakkhandham; taṃ hoti dukkhasaccaṃ; taṃ samutṭhāpikā purimatanhā samudāyasaccaṃ; ubhinnaṃ apavatti nirodhasaccaṃ. *Sammohavinodanī*.

⁶ Yaṃ aniccaṃ taṃ dukkhaṃ.

Agga. Dead bodies do not move. Therefore, change is but the sign of health or life. Nibbāna is described as *amata* or *accuta* the deathless. The Pali *amata* corresponds to Sanscrit *amrita* or European word ambrosia, all of which mean 'deathless'. Hence all realities, including Nibbāna, are in a continual flux⁷.

If you look at this flow from outside, as we average people do with intellect, the change appears to be a succession of solidified or congealed states. But if you look into it, i. e., view it from within, as Ariyans do with intuition, the same change presents itself as a continuous motion as in the wave illustration which I adduced. For this reason, Buddhaghosa says: 'The one body of the Buddha is not subject to change'⁸.

You see from this quotation how radically different is intuition from intellect. What is regarded by intellect as changeful (*viparināma-dhamma*) is regarded by intuition as unchangeable (*aviparināma-dhamma*).

Similarly with other contrasts, such as, relative (*sapaccaya*) and absolute (*apaccaya*). In this way you should understand the words unborn (*ajāta*), unmade (*akata*), unmanifest (*abhūta*) and unconditioned (*asaṅkhata*) in the language of the *Udāna* from the inward point of view.

The monistic view which I now advocate has the advantage over the dualistic in that it is able to reconcile many apparent contradictions in scriptures without twisting the meanings of words. For example, all realities are, doubtless, caused. The denial of this fact would land us in the heresy of chance (*ahetuka-diṭṭhi*). Therefore, Nibbāna is caused, but it may be said to be uncaused in so far as Ariyans are concerned because they do not consider the aspect of causation while intuiting Nibbāna. Again, for us who can only observe from without, Nibbāna must be present in time. And yet Ariyans intuit it as out of time (*kālavimutta*) because they simply abide in their own intuition (*pativijjha viharati*) without reference to time concepts.

Sumana. Do you mean to say that the same mind and body which are conditioned when observed from without become unconditioned when intuited from within?

Agga. In one sense, Yes. Because if you were a contemporary observer of an Arahant from outside, you would not be able to discriminate between his personality and those of non-Arahants. We hear of Arahants and non-Arahants being mistaken, one for the other. But the Arahant himself would see his personality from within as unconditioned. If you say he sees exactly as we do, you are simply transferring your frail mind to him.

In another sense, I would reply No. For if you were to follow the history of that individual Arahant, his previous conditioned personality could not possibly be identical with unconditioned personality after arahantship was attained, since at no two consecutive moments is any reality the same.

⁷ Nadī soto viya.

⁸ Eko Buddhassa rūpakāyo viparināmato natthi. *Vissuddhimagga*.

Sumana. Then in your view, the world (*saṅkhāra*) would be Nibbāna.

Agga. What think you of the following passage?

‘A well-trained practitioner having a good view of the waxing and waning of conditioned things directly faces Nibbāna⁹.’

Sumana. Those who clearly see the growth and decay of conditioned reality attain to the second Insight called *Udayabbaya-ñāna* and this leads by successive insights to the Path-intuition which has Nibbāna for its object.

Agga. I agree. Those who attain the second Insight still discern the flowing process from outside and therefore see the reality as conditioned. This insight is often mistaken for intuition. The latter is a ‘good view’ of the same process of flowing from inside. Those who thus see the reality from within as unconditioned are in direct contact with Nibbāna. Thus a wrong view of the real gives rise to *Saṅkhāra*; a correct view (*Sammādiṭṭhi*), Nibbāna.

Sumana. I very much doubt the correctness of your interpretation.

Agga. Can mind attend to two objects at the same time?

Sumana. Doubtless not.

Agga. Then how can a practitioner have a good view of conditioned things and at the same time directly face the unconditioned, unless both conditioned and unconditioned are merged in one flowing reality? Therefore, what I do maintain is that conditioned or unconditioned reality is our own personality respectively with or without corruptions, the only differentia being the quality of the extinction of corruptions.

Sumana. How can personality be Nibbāna?

Agga. The Buddha said: ‘Even in this sentient, conscious body which is but a fathom in measure I declare this world, its cause, its cessation and the path thereto’¹⁰.

Here the reality is analysed into four different aspects. But it is plain that you should not look for Nibbāna outside your own system. It is not something already existing before you attain it.

Neither is it a locality which awaits your arrival as *Nāgasena* in *Milindapañhā* pointed out, by an example of fire produced by the friction of two pieces of wood, that there is no space in which Nibbāna that exists like a fire so produced is inherent (*nissitokāso* or *nikkhitokāso*). This fire example however clearly shows that there must be a *locus* when the fire is produced. And that locus for Nibbāna is no other than our own personality purged from corruptions.

Sumana. But did not the Buddha say that Nibbāna is external to us (*bahiddha-dhammo*).?

Agga. Ah! Yes, because it is now outside us who have not yet attained it.¹¹ But did not the Buddha himself equally say that the death-

⁹ *Sammā patipanno saṅkhārānaṃ udayabayaṃ sampassamāno nibbānaṃ sacchikaroti. Milindapañhā.*

¹⁰ *Imasmiṃ yeva kalevare byāmaṃatte samānake saviññānake lokañceva paññāpemi lokasamudayañceva lokanirodhañceva lokanirodhagāminipadañceva. Sagāthā-Vagga-Samyutta.*

¹¹ *Sabbasaṅkhārato bahibhūtaṃ nibbānaṃ. Uparipannāsa ṅka.*

less element free from *upadhis* (of *kāma*, *kilesa*, *khandha* and *kamma*) is in direct contact with our own system?¹² Again in the *Canki Sutta* of the *Majjhima-panṇāsa* the Buddha said that one is in direct contact with Nibbāna at the same time he intuitively feels it.¹³ This passage alone is sufficient to prove that when one abides in an intuition (*paṭivijjha viharati* as Buddhaghosa said in the *Atthasālinī*), i. e., when one enters Nibbāna by penetrative wisdom, Nibbāna as an object of intuition can no longer be external to him who is within it. To a Nibbānic being there is no division as external or internal (*abhedā*). The dual classification, in fact all classification, is meant for us who have not yet attained intuition and therefore view realities from outside. Do you agree or do you not?

Nāna. I admit the absence of any distinction whatsoever in Nibbāna. But Nirodha is defined by Buddhaghosa in *Sammohavinodani* as that in which the rounds of evils (*rodha*) cease to exist.

Agga. Yes. But it clearly shows that Nibbāna or Nirodha is not mere cessation. It is the locus (not the locality) where evils cease. And this locus is no other than personality purged from corruptions.

Sumana. How will you reconcile this view of yours with the usual explanation of the word cessation (*nirōdha*) by 'not becoming' (*anuppādana*)?

Agga. From the tree illustration you will remember that the cessation is that of future corruptions. But it is not mere unbecoming of future corruptions, for there must be a locus in the form of our personality wherein future corruptions arise no more.

Sumana. I admit that what you have said about Nibbāna being our personality relates to the *Sa-upādisesa* Nibbāna. But I still maintain that there is no becoming whatsoever in the *An-upādisesa* Nibbāna where no residual stuff of life is said to remain.

Agga. All authorities are agreed that both forms of Nibbāna are but two aspects (*pariyāyas*), as they appear to us, of one real Nibbāna as it is lived by an Arahant. But let us try to clearly understand what is meant by *upādi*.

This word is often confused with *upadhi*. The latter is derived from *upa* and root *dhā*—'to bear, conduct or carry' and is applied to four things, namely, corruptions, sensual desires, aggregates (*khandhas*) and *kamma* as we have seen above. There are passages as in the *Mahāniddesa* in which Nibbāna is described as the *locus* in which all *upadhis* have been given up¹⁴. In the *Saṅgāthāvagga Samyutta* the Brahmana who has attained Nibbāna is described as a *nirupadhi*.¹⁵ So also in *Majjhima-panṇāsa*¹⁶.

¹² Kāyena amataṁ dhātum phusitvā nirupadhiṁ. *Itivuttaka*.

¹³ Kāyena c'eva paramaṁ saccaṁ sacchikaroti paññāya ca taṁ paṭivijjha passati. *Majjhima-panṇāsa*.

¹⁴ Sabbupadhinisaggo.....nibbānaṁ.

¹⁵ Brahmaṇo parinibbūto.....nirupadhi.

¹⁶ Sītibhūtaṁ nirupadhiṁ.....dhīraṁ, taṁ brūmi brahmaṇaṁ.

As upadhi includes khandhas an arahant who is a nirupadhi must be free from unsound khandhas.

Sumana. I beg your pardon. The word *upadhi* in 'nirupadhi' as applied to an arahant must be confined to *kilesupadhi*. Or if you want to extend it to *khandhupadhi* also, you may do so only by anticipation i. e. you call an arahant a nirupadhi by anticipation since he is sure to give up the upadhi of khandhas soon on attainment of the Anupādisesa Nibbāna.

Agga. Let that be for a moment. But upādi is derived from *upa* and the verb *ādiyati*—'to be grasped' and means the five khandhas grasped at by four upādānas.¹⁷ Now there is a school of thought in Burma which holds that our khandhas are upādānakhandhas with reference to us mortals who are not yet free from upādāna but they are mere khandhas with reference to the Buddha and Arahants who are free. According to this school the same set of khandhas appear differently to the two sets of viewers. But the orthodox view according to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* is that the wordly mind and material body alone are upādāniya and the transcendent, spiritual consciousness which is beyond the reach of upādānas is anupādāniya. If the upādāniya corresponds to the upādānakhandhas, as held by your master, it follows that the anupādāniya, namely the transcendent consciousness, obtains in the Anupādisesa Nibbāna.

And yet ninety-nine *per cent.* of Burman Buddhists, however, understand this word upādi to mean all kinds of *khandhas*. But let us hear Buddhaghosa who writes:—

'The *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna is so-called because of the non-becoming of the five khandhas which have been 'grasped at' as effects by the *kamma* attended by desire, pride and error'¹⁸.

It is therefore, clear that only the *upādiṇṇaka khandhas* cease to exist in the *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna. Transcendental consciousness (*lokuttara-citta*), not being born of such a *kamma*, cannot be said to be *upādiṇṇaka*. Hence we may conclude that the *anupādiṇṇaka khandhas*, to wit, the fruitional consciousness of arahantship obtains in the *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna as in the *Saupādisesa*.

Hence Buddhaghosa's dictum that by Nibbāna is meant the fruitional consciousness of an Arahant.¹⁹

Sumana. Against Buddhaghosa we may oppose the Buddha himself who said:—

'Here, i. e. in this Nibbāna, both mind and matter cease without a residuum'²⁰

Agga. You read the Buddha's word literally. But Buddhaghosa knew better than you or I how to interpret the Buddha's language and thought correctly. If you cannot reconcile the two, you have only your-

¹⁷ Catūhi upādānehi upādiyati upādi, pañcupādānakkhandhā. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-tika*.

¹⁸ Upādiṇṇakānaṃ pañcannaṃ khandhānaṃ apavattivasena anupādisesanibbānaṃ kathitaṃ. *Commentary on Sāgāthāvagga Saṃyutta*.

¹⁹ Idha (nibbānaṃ) arahattaphalaṃ adhippetam tampi hi.....nibbānaṃ ti. *Khuddaka-Pāṭha-atthakatha*.

²⁰ Ettha rūpaṇa nāmaṇa asesam uparujjhanti. *Dīgha Nikāya*.

self to blame. The trend of your argument reminds me of the recent controversy on the subject of water elephant. Suppose a naturalist were to tell you that there is no elephant in water and suppose that his pupil tells you that by elephant his master meant land elephant, would you be justified in your conclusion that there is no water elephant?

Sumana. Assuredly not.

Agga. Then why conclude that there are no *anupādiṇṇaka khandhas* in Nibbāna when Buddhaghosa tells us that by mind and matter in this connection the Buddha meant the *upādiṇṇaka khandhas*? Many persons who have never even dreamt of the existence of water elephants deny their existence. A few persons possess dried specimens of this miniature water creature which, in all its appearances, is a quadruped with well formed tusks and trunk. The former distrust their senses and cry 'A faked one!'. On examining the anatomy of this little animal under a microscope, it is found to be a true structure even as specimens of paleontological flora and fauna preserved in rocks and earth. Would you still doubt the existence of this genus of the little animal?

Sumana. Certainly not. But it cannot be the same kind of elephant which we know on land.

Agga. Quite so. In the same way the *anupādiṇṇaka khandhas* cannot possibly be the same as the *upādiṇṇakas*.

Sumana. If the *anupādiṇṇaka khandhas* obtain in Nibbāna, why did some authorities speak of the complete cessation of *khandhas* (*Khandha-parinibbāṇa*) at Kusināra?

Agga. If Buddhaghosa's interpretation of the Buddha's word be correct only the *upādiṇṇaka khandhas* cease on finally passing away from the world. Just as an event which we call death (*sammuti-maraṇa*) does not interrupt the natural flow of the reality of life in this world, so the final death (*pacchima-cuti*) of an Arahant does not interrupt the flow of the reality of Nibbāna from the *Saupādisesa* to the *Anupādisesa* form.

Sumana. Then you mean that the fruitional consciousness of an Arahant survives after finally passing away from this world?

Agga. Yes. It is the survival of the fittest flowing on and on without interruption, any break in its continuity being but an invention of our intellect.

Sumana. In that case this surviving consciousness would be *Nāma*.

Agga. Yes. Buddhaghosa says: *Nāmadhammas* include four mental *khandhas* as well as Nibbāna.²¹

Sumana. Is it not that four immaterial *khandhas* are called *Nāma* because it bends (*nāmeti*) the mind to it and that Nibbāna is also called *Nāma* because (spiritual) mind tends (*namiyati*) to it.

Agga. This grammatical distinction is due to your view of the mind as subject and of Nibbāna as object. But the latter cannot be an object without a subject. The fact is that the subject and the object are

²¹ *Nāmadhammāti cattāro arūpino khandhā ca nibbānañca. Commentary on Māla-Yamaka.*

merged in an intuition. This follows from Buddhaghosa's dictum that Nibbāna is the fruitional consciousness itself. Nibbāna is not *thought* but *lived*. Else Nibbāna would be merely lip-bliss.

Sumana. Am I to understand you to say that individuals exist in Nibbāna?

Agga. It all depends upon what you mean by 'individual'. If you mean a soul in the sense in which it is generally understood in the West, I would reply No, because the ego idea is but a concept. But if you use the word as a mere label for realities, I would say Yes. Sāriputta was a distinct individual from Moggallāna on this side of the veil. Why should not their continuations be individually distinct on the other side?

Each lives his own Nibbāna.²² But it does not follow that they draw a line of demarcation between *meum* and *tuum* on the other side any more than they do on this side.

Sumana. I cannot agree to individual existence in Nibbāna.

Agga. Sumana, you are a good controversialist. What do you make of the orthodox question whether the *Khandhas* are one thing, Nibbāna another and the soul a third; and the heterodox negative reply in *Kathāvattu*?

Sumana. I return your compliments. We must go a little way back in order to understand the controverted point.

Agga. Right.

Sumana. The believer in the soul committed himself to an opinion that the soul is neither conditioned nor unconditioned. The orthodox adherent pointed out that the Buddha taught only two things—conditioned and unconditioned—but not a third.

Agga. I would say two aspects instead of two things. But be pleased to proceed with your own explanation.

Sumana. Then the orthodox questioned whether *khandhas* are conditioned and Nibbāna unconditioned. The heterodox reply was in the affirmative. Finally, the question you have referred to was put. And the opponent was cornered and obliged to negative his position that the soul is a third class of things neither conditioned nor unconditioned since it is but a metaphysical abstraction not having a distinct, independent existence like realities mentioned. He thereby confirms the distinction between conditioned *khandhas* and unconditioned Nibbāna.

Agga. A very plausible explanation. But the final question and answer on analysis resolve themselves into:—

Are *Khandhas* and Nibbāna different? No.

Are *Khandhas* and soul different? No.

Are Nibbāna and soul different? No.

You would like to answer the first of these sub-questions in the affirmative because of your conviction that *Khandhas* and Nibbāna are radically different. But you are called in not to alter the form of the answer but only to interpret it. As the soul is but a metaphysical abstraction as

²² Paccattam veditabbo viññūhi.

you have pointed out, there are only two terms left to be compared. And their difference is negated because a conditioned and unconditioned are but two aspects of one and the same reality.

Sumana. I cannot accept your explanation.

Agga. What think you of another conversation between the orthodox and his opponent relating to the existence or non-existence of an individual in Nibbāna? When asked whether persons (*puggaḷas*) who have attained Nibbāna exist therein or not, the first heterodox reply was in the affirmative. But when pressed with the further question whether such a person is a permanent soul, the reply was in the negative. Then the opponent shifted his ground and changed his first affirmative answer to negative. But when again pressed with the question whether such a person was annihilated, he was equally compelled to negate annihilation.

Sumana. The opponent was on the horns of dilemma because of his belief in the soul which is really non-existent.

Agga. The dilemma is quite independent of the question of soul. If you believe that realities are perduring or abiding without change, you would equally commit yourself to the heresy of eternalism. If, on the other hand, you say that they are annihilated, you would equally adopt the opposite heresy of annihilation. To escape the horns you must say that realities are in a continuous flow.

Sumana. In the case of realities not surviving the final death, there can be no question of these two heresies because it is only in respect to the soul (*atta*) that these heresies obtain.

Agga. But how can a person who believes in the theory of immortal soul possibly commit himself again to the opposite theory of its annihilation? By *atta* is meant permanent self corresponding to the immortal soul of Europeans. Therefore in our view the *attavāda* is identical with the *sassata-ditṭhi* to which is opposed the *uccheda-ditṭhi*. Hence the latter view is impossible in respect to *atta*.

Again if your views be correct, the opponent having answered that a permanent soul does not exist in Nibbāna, there would be no necessity on the part of the orthodox for the further question whether such a non-existent soul is annihilated.

Sumana. I forgot. The second question in the *Kathāvatthu*, viz., Is a person who has attained Nibbāna annihilated?, was asked by the heterodox believer in the theory of immortal soul.

Agga. Admitting for argument sake that it was the heterodox question, the orthodox negative reply would rather confirm the view that such a person is not annihilated.

Sumana. The orthodox negated the annihilation of a person because 'person' does not exist at all, except as a concept, to be annihilated.

Agga. Plausible. But for reasons already given, that is not the traditional view. According to able translators of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, both questions were asked by the

orthodox; and they are logical, for when the heterodox replied that the Nibbānic being is not immortal, it was perfectly legitimate for the orthodox to press his opponent with the further question as to annihilation, as explained by me above.

Sumana. Let that be. But the answers of the opponent are not of much value.

* **Agga.** Then let us reverse the position by attending to the Buddha's own answers to King Kosala's questions in the *Samyutta* respecting the existence of individual beings in Nibbāna.

The first pair of his answers was: 'Neither do I declare that such a being is existent nor do I declare that he is non-existent.' The Buddha indulged in this apparent paradox in order to avoid the two extreme views of eternalism and annihilation. But if there were no such a being at all in Nibbāna, what necessity was there for the Buddha to re-affirm his existence?

Sumana. But did not the Buddha tell the King that such a Nibbānic being is altogether freed from mind and body?

Agga. Assuredly not. He said that such a being is free or freed from *concepts* of mind and matter (*rūpasāṅkhā-vimutto . . . viññāṇasāṅkhā-vimutto*) instead of saying free from mind and matter (*rūpa-vimutto . . . viññāṇa-vimutto*). He further told the King that such a Nibbānic being is deep like an ocean and is difficult to understand. But this remark is intended for all who cannot avoid concepts. The author of the *Netti* used the word *saṅkhaye* (in extinction) instead of *sāṅkhā* (from concepts). This makes all the difference in the world. He regards the Nibbānic being as free in the extinction of colour, sound, odour, taste, touch and knowability (*rūpasāṅkhaye vimutto . . . dhammasāṅkhaye vimutto*). In this view the Nibbānic being is a colourless, soundless, odourless, tasteless, intangible and unknowable being. How can Nibbāna which is included in the cognizable objects (*dhammāyatana*) be realised in the extinction of *dhammārammaṇas*? Free from what? If you take Nibbāna as an object of transcendental consciousness, it would be a manifest contradiction to say that it is extinct as such. But if you take it to be a subject identical with the fruitional consciousness of an Arahant, how can it subsist without an object? I have more than once repeated that the subject and the object are merged in one reality, Nibbāna, which is simply *lived* without a thought of any of its aspects which would strike an outside observer.

Sumana. I understand you to hold that the mental *khandhas* obtain in Nibbāna. But did not some writers say that it is emancipated from *khandhas* (*khandha-nissatto*)?

Agga. The *Compendium* has *khandha-saṅgaha-nissatta*, literally 'Freed from the *reckoning* of *khandhas*'. You should understand it in the sense of freedom from the *upādiṇṇaka-khandhas* or in that of freedom from concepts of *khandhas*.

Sumana. But did not the Buddha say in the *Udāna* that there is no earth, no water, no fire, no air, no sun, no moon, etc., in Nibbāna?

Agga. Yes, because there are no concepts of all these objects to a Nibbānic being.

Sumana. Will you now summarise your position?

Agga. The Nibbāna of a being is his own mind purged from corruptions. It forms no exception to the law of reality. That is, it is a continuous flowing existence. Though the Nibbāna of yesterday is not that of to-day, Nibbāna is spoken of as permanent (*i. e. sassata or dhūva*) in the sense that once attained it never reverts to a worldly state. These two words are not to be understood in the sense in which they are used by the heterodox believers to designate a permanent abiding soul. They must be understood rather in the sense in which modern statesmen use the word 'permanent' when they speak of permanent peace as one that will never be again disturbed by a state of war.

Sumana. Granted that there is such a purified spiritual mind in Nibbāna. Would you allow the existence of body also therein?

Agga. We know that transcendental consciousness is always associated with body. But we are taught to believe also that mind can exist independently of body in the *Arūpa* world and that the arahant exists also in that world. It is difficult to decide whether the Arahants develop their spiritual bodies as well as on the other side of the veil. The author of the *Anuṭṭikā* says that Nibbāna is something like subtle matter.²³ Whether he refers to the spiritual substance of mind or body is not clear. At this stage of our discussion I would hand over the argument to my friend from Henzada as his master held that there is unique body as well in Nibbāna.

Teja. Yes, my master cited the *Sutta of the Tīloka-Cakravatti* in support of his contention. The Buddha told us that when he was that universal monarch he built mansions and invited the previous Buddhas and Arahants from Nibbāna and that their doubles (*nimmita-rūpas*) came.

Sumana. How do you know that these were not the mental creations of the King himself?

Teja. Because they are said to have conversed on philosophy (*abhidhammā*) which the King at that time did not understand. If they were his own creations, they would not be able to go beyond his mind. That is, he could not possibly suggest philosophical ideas which were not in his mind. Hence we must assume that the real Buddhas and Arahants who were ever living their own flowing Nibbānas, created their own doubles just as the Buddha himself in his lifetime in this world is said to have created a double for preaching philosophy to the gods in the *Tāvātimsa* heaven during his temporary absence on earth.

Sumana. Supposing they were living as pure spiritual minds, could they not materialise bodies for such occasions?

Teja. Possible.

Sumana. There is some difficulty in the supposition that Nibbānic beings ever associate themselves with the concerns of this world. U Agga

²³ Nibbānaṃ pana sukhuma-rūpa-gatikam.

has told us that a Nibbānic being consists of the fruitional consciousness of the highest Ariyanship solely occupied with its own tranquillity, calm or peace as its object. How would it be possible for such a self-absorbed being to hear the appeals of Tiloka from this earth?. Or if he be supposed to be endowed with supernormal powers to know the wishes of worldly people, as by telepathy, his Nibbānic flow would be interrupted.

Teja. The time of such interruption would be so short as to be negligible. In any case such interruption, if any, would be no more than that of the Saupādisesa by *Kiriya-cittas*, (non-effective thoughts).

Agga. Even assuming that a Nibbānic being cannot or will not think of this world, it does not invalidate my argument for spiritual existence in Nibbāna.

Tissa. I have taken very little active part in this lively discussion. But methinks the moon-lit hills of Sagaing are illumined with greater radiance and lustre to-night even as the beauty and brilliancy of the moon-lit groves of Gosing was enhanced by the righteous discourse on philosophy between the Great Moggalāna and another.

Teja. I have also been, more or less, a listener. These hills, secluded from the noisy bustle of the world, seem to me to resound with a sweet resonance which will produce reverberating echoes throughout the length and breadth of the country, aye, the whole of the Buddhist world.

Agga. It augurs well that both of you appreciate our friendly exchange of views and I have no misgivings that something good will come of our meeting on this auspicious occasion. Sumana, I am very pleased to have an opportunity of discussing with you the question of questions. A problem, rationally approached, is on its fair way to proper solution. I trust that you will bear the message of Nibbāna to the world. Brethren, the night has far advanced and it is time for us to retire. Good night to all.

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM—V.

The opening lines of the fifth verse explain in what manner *Indra* with the *Devas* and the *Brahmas* of the celestial world, and the *Asûras* of the lower regions, adore *Sakyamuni*, the most excellent Lord of the threefold world. But what is most striking and characteristic is that which follows. Various celestial orbs shine brightly in the vault of heaven paying due reverence to the self-same Superman.

First of all, mention is made of the eight planets in their proper order. Then comes a list of some of the lunar asterisms, that is the *Nakshatras*. These are at first shown as shooting out rays of light in different degrees of brilliancy round the moon. Next they are presented in groups of three each in their serial order beginning from the first. These groups are arranged in the order in which each moves in company with one of the constellations beginning with the *crow*. To each group is also attached a symbol indicative of the influence which it has upon the affairs of mankind.

Here the theme changes. The pictorial scenes in the forest tracts through which Lord Buddha proceeds to *Kapilavatthu* are described, and the description given is charming and inspiring. The sylvan boughs fanned by gentle winds and wearing variegated hues of gold, silver and emerald, appear so picturesque that at every gaze the eye is met by an enchanting sight. Thus the heart is gladdened and filled with longing. The red blooms of the *butea* look almost like heaps of fire. The river with serene glistening water winds its course along pleasant sandy banks, while birds in flocks sing with a sweet melody. The atmosphere though somewhat hazy is charged with scent. Throughout the scenery is such as to inspire an indefinable longing. In the azure sky *Phœbus* is seen in the company of the shining *Pyuppâbadrapaik*.

The last scene shows that it was in *Tabaung* (March-April)¹ that the journey was undertaken by the holy Sage, for the sun in that season always goes side by side with the said *Nakshatra*. It indicates also that it is at this juncture that the whole asterisms shining in full lustre bow respectfully before the Lord of the universe.

In passing, it is of interest to note that a greater portion of the present verse has found its way into the famous "*Baravi Hmarwgun*"—a poem which treats of some astronomical facts. Its author was a renowned eighteenth century writer who flourished during the three successive *régimes* of *Alaungpaya's* dynasty. He rose to eminence during the reign of King *Bodawpaya* who bestowed on him the title of *Nawade*. As another distinguished writer of the same name lived before him he is generally known as the second *Nawade*. He wrote several *Hmarwguns*, *Ratus*, and *Pyos*, among which the "*Baravi*" and the "*Lokavidu*" *Hmarwguns*, are best known, and are considered masterpieces by the literary men of the present day. This plagiarism by such an eminent

writer as *Nawade* would go far to prove that Shin Uttamagyaw's *Tawla* is not a common poem but that it occupies a very high position in our poetical literature.

Some entire passages from Verse III of the same poem have also been extracted by another well known writer, namely Pothudaw U Min, who was the contemporary of the said *Nawade*. U Min employs them as his own in one of his *Legyos* on the Seasons, which begins with “အထံသာလျောက်တော့တယ်။ ငုံ့ပေါက်ကယ်လှိုင်းလဲနွဲ့။” and ends with ကြာညောင်စံပြေမအေးနိုင်နဲ့။ ဆွေးလိမ့်မယ်နဲ့။ This is also an acknowledgement on the part of U Min that Shin Uttamagyaw's *Tawla* is superior to all the other poems on similar subjects in elegance of style as well as in loftiness of sentiment.

To return to the present Verse. The opening passage အနတ္တရ၊ တိလောကဟု၊ ပူဇော်ကြ၏။ refers to the inhabitants of all the celestial worlds and the *Asûras* who have come to pay respect to Buddha with various kinds of offerings.

အနတ္တရ၊ တိလောကဟု means “One who is known as the supreme Being in the three worlds. အနတ္တရ (Pâli) means “unrivalled, incomparable, supreme.” တိလောက is a Pâli compound of တိ (three) and လောက (world). The term here applies to the three subdivisions of the world of sentient Beings. They are Kâmaloka, Rûpaloka, and Arûpaloka, that is the world of sense, of form and of formless forms. The first consists of the six Devalokas (the world of Nats), Manussaloka (the world of men), Asûraloka (the world of Asûras), Petaloka (the world of Pretas), Tiracchânaloka (the animal kingdom) and Niriya (hell). The second consists of 16 heavens inhabited by Brahmas, and the third of four heavens peopled by formless or incorporeal Brahmas. As a matter of fact there are altogether 31 subdivisions of the world of sentient Beings.

သက္ကမုနိ stands for သက္ကမုနိ and is an epithet of Gotama Buddha. It means “the holy Sage belonging to the Sakya race.” သက္က is the name of a race from which Gotama Buddha was descended. မုနိ stands for the Pâli မုနိ and means “sage or holy ascetic.” Gotama Buddha is sometimes called သက္ကပုတ္တ son of the house of Sakya.

မာရဇိန် (Pâli မာရဇိန) literally means “conqueror of Mara.” It is another epithet of Buddha.

ဣန္ဒြီ (Indra) and သတ္တ (Sakra) both mean “the chief of the *devas*.”

သူရာ stands for အသူရာ and means “the fallen *devas*.”

ထက်သန်စောနာ means “with best intention or good will.” စောနာ (Pâli) means “intention, sense, thought.”

ကြက်လျှာတံခွန် means “a paper streamer shaped like a fowl's tongue.”

ပူဇော် means “to make an offering.”

The next passage အာကာသပြင်၊ ထက်ကောင်းကင်ဝယ်၊ ဂြဟ်ရှင်မြဲနွဲ့။ simply mentions the names of the eight planets' appearance in the sky.

အာကာသပြင်၊ ထက်ကောင်းကင်ဝယ်။ This simply means “in the sky or heaven above.”

ဗဟင်္ဂရီ stands for the Pâli ဗဟင်္ဂရေ which means “light-giving.” It is an epithet of the sun. ရိပ် (Pâli) also means the sun. ရိပ် (or more properly သုရဋ္ဌ), စန္ဒ (or စန္ဒရ), ဘောမ, ဗုဒ္ဓါ or ဗုဒ္ဓ, ဂုဇ္ဈ, ဘရဟ္မ, and သောရာ or သောရီ, are

astrological Pāli names for the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter Venus and Saturn respectively. The Burmese names for these planets are: တနင်္ဂနွေဂြိုဟ်၊ တနင်္လာဂြိုဟ်၊ အင်္ဂါဂြိုဟ်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးဂြိုဟ်၊ ကြာသပတေးဂြိုဟ်၊ သောကြာဂြိုဟ် and စနေဂြိုဟ်။

ဂူ in ဆရာဂူ is a Pāli word meaning "a teacher;" hence the term ဆရာဂူ။ Here it refers to Jupiter.

အေဝိညာရိန်၊ ဘူမိန္ဒရာ။ This is the eighth planet known in astrology as *Rahu* (ရာဟုဂြိုဟ်). The regent of this planet which is a dark one is said to be an Asūra who is supposed to cause eclipse by taking the sun and the moon into his mouth. It is also called အသုရိန်နတ် in Burmese. Hence the term အေဝိညာရိန်။ The Pāli term for it is Asūriṇḍo (အသုရိန္ဒော) which means "chief of the Asūras." ဘူမိန္ဒရာ also means "a chief or king."

ဂြိုဟ်ရှစ်ဂြိုဟ် means the eight planets.

ဂြိုဟ် is derived from the Pāli ဂဟ which means "a planet."

အသာယုတ္တု။ ရောင်စုံဖြာသည်။ This passage simply gives a list of some of the Nakshatras shining round the moon.

အသာယုတ္တု or အသာယုတ္တု is another name for the Nakshatra အသဝဏီ (Asavani) which comes first in the arrangement of the twenty seven lunar asterisms. The month of *Thadingyut* is also called အသာယုတ္တလ။

ကြယ်ပုဏ္ဏားတို့ means "the full-orbed stars," that is the Nakshatras.

ယဉ်သာဘုံပုံ။ ယုန်မိမာန်ကို refers to the moon.

သဒ္ဓါဆွတ်ဆွတ်။ နဂါးမြီး၍။ The allusion is to the group of the first three Nakshatras, namely Asavani, Barani and Kyattikā which is followed by the constellation known as the crow and the prognostic sign or symbol for that group. These luminaries appear with the full moon in the months of *Thadingyut* and *Tazaungman*.

မြင်းခေါင်း means "a pony's head." But here it refers to the Nakshatra Asavani (အသဝဏီ). It is so called because the situation of the six stars of which it consists looks like a pony's head.

ခုံလောက် means "the three supports of a cooking pot." It refers to the second Nakshatra Barani (ဘရဏီ) which consists of three stars so situated as to give the appearance of the three stones supporting a cooking pot.

ပုံဆောင်နှိုင်းဘွယ်။ The literal meaning of this would be that "the form of construction may be compared to—." That is from their situation the stars are like the forms or figures mentioned.

ကြက်သုဇာန် means "a brood of chickens." This represents Kyattikā (ကျတ္တိကာ) which consists of seven stars appearing like a brood of chickens.

ကြယ်သုံးခုလျှင် This refers to Asavani, Barani and Kyattikā noticed above.

ရုပ်တူညီစွာ means "the images are in perfect accord with or very similar to the above-mentioned three Nakshatras which they represent."

နဂါးမြီး၍။ This literally means "the dragon leaps with excitement or with feelings of pleasure." The dragon here is the prognostic sign or symbol for the group of the three Nakshatras referred to above.

ထွန်းရှူးတိုက်ဆိတ်။ လက်ရည်သစ်စွာ။ This refers to the second group of the next three Nakshatras, namely Rohani, Migasi and Bhadra and its attendant constellation known as the Sheldrake. The prognostic sign is

the male elephant in must and full of dignity. This group appears with the full moon in the month of Nadaw.

ကြက်တိုက်လည်းကောင်း။ This refers to ကြက်တိုက်ကြယ် (cock-fighting star). It is otherwise called Rohani (ရောဟင်္ဂီ). It consists of ten stars.

ကြယ်အုပ်ဆောင်းလည်း။ This refers to Migasi (မိဂသီ) the fifth Nakshatra. It is a cluster of four stars which appears like a conical cover.

လိပ်ခေါင်းလက်ဖျား။ This refers to the sixth Nakshatra Bhadra (ဘဒြ). It consists of eight stars which look like a tortoise.

ဟင်္သာနားသား means "the sheldrake is resting." This alludes to the constellation known by that name.

မင်းသား means "the male elephant." But here it refers to the prognostic sign or symbol for the second group of three Nakshatras described above.

မုန်အပ်။ ဂုဏ်ရည်သစ် means "to be in must and to be full of dignity." မုန် means "an elephant's must." အပ် means "to squeeze."

ခနပ်စုသျှ။ သင်္ဘောစုထက်။ ခြင်္သေ့ထိုင်သည်။ The allusion is to the third group consisting of the next three Nakshatras, namely Punnaphusshu, Phussha and Assalissa. This trio is followed by the constellation known as the crab. The lion is the symbol representing the influence possessed by this conjunction which takes place on the full moon night of the month of Pyatho.

ခနပ်စုသျှ။ means "the seventh Nakshatra Punnaphusshu."

သင်္ဘောစု stands for the same asterism Punnaphusshu. It consists of ten stars forming the figure of a ship.

ရှစ်ရက်ရှစ်။ ကိုးလုံးလွန်သော်။ This refers to Phussha (ဖုသျှ) and Assalissa (အသလိသ), the eighth and the ninth Nakshatras.

မုန်ရင်ဆိုင်။ ခြင်္သေ့ထိုင်သည်။ This means "the lion sits abreast of the crab." The reference here is to the constellation the crab and to the prognostic sign the lion.

ဆယ်ပြိုင်ဆယ်တပ်။ ချိန်တာရာလည်း။ This passage means that the tenth, eleventh and the twelfth Nakshatras coming one after another in company with the constellation known as the balance (Libra) put forth their brilliant lustre while the Karawika bird crows nodding its head.

ဆယ်ပြိုင်ဆယ်တပ်။ ဆယ်နှစ်ရွှေ့နောက်။ This refers to Magha (မာဃ), Pyubbâparagunni (ပျှော့ပရဂုဏီ) and Uttarâparagunni (ဥတ္တရာပရဂုဏီ), the tenth, eleventh and the twelfth Nakshatras forming the fourth group. This group appears with the full moon in the months of Tabodwè and Tabaung.

လွှဲတောက်ရှင်းတိတ် means "to shine brilliantly."

ဦးလည်ညှိတ်သား means "to nod the head."

ကရဝိတ် (Pâli ကရဝိက) is the Burmese name for the Indian cuckoo. This bird is also known among the Burmese as ကရဝိတ် ငှက်မင်း (King of the birds) and is famous for its melodious note. Here it is emblematical of the influence of the fourth group.

ကြယ်အာရိပ်။ ဟဿဒနှင့် တန်းမိုးလွင့်လျက်။ This alludes to the fifth group consisting of Hassada, Cittra and Swâdi and the attendant constellation known as the Hair-pin. The prognostic signs in this case are the power-

ful Yakkha and Kumbhāṇḍa ogres. These Nakshatras followed by the Hair-pin appear with the full moon in Tagu.

ကြယ်အိစိ means "the first star," and it refers to the Nakshatra Hassada because the fifth group begins with this luminary. အိစိ (Pāli) means "beginning," and စ also means "to begin."

စိတြိယံ means "the sage Citra."

ချက်ဘွေ means "among." ဟယသန္တံ၊ စိတြိယံ၊ သွာဒိချက်ဘွေ၊ ဆန်းကျင်ရွယ် therefore means "among the Nakshatras Hassada, Citra and Swādi and the golden Hair-pin."

ကုဓေရက္ခ၊ ကုမ္ဘကုန္တံ။ This refers to the superhuman beings or ogres which are the prognostic signs for the fifth group. (As for the meaning of the terms ကုဓေရ, ယက္ခ and ကုမ္ဘ see notes on Verse III)!

ဘုမ္မိဗြဟ္မ၊ တန်ခိုးလွင်လျက် means "to cause power or glory to be felt on earth." ဘုမ္မ (Pāli) means "terrestrial."

ဝိက်လင်ပတ်ခြံ။ ဓဋ္ဌေရွှေစိ။ This means "while the Nakshatras Visakhā and Anurādhā are following their circular courses Jettha moves before them." This passage simply refers to the sixth group consisting of the three Nakshatras just mentioned. They are followed by the constellation called the fisher-man. But here no mention is made either of this and the remaining three other constellations or the remaining three groups of Nakshatras.

A complete list of the 27 Nakshatras in nine group of three each in the serial order in which each group is followed by one of the nine constellations with a prognostic sign or symbol for each group and showing the months in which they appear with the full moon is given below for easy reference.

Serial order of the groups.	Names of the Nakshatras.	Name of the constellations.	Prognostic signs or symbols for the groups.	Names of the months in which the groups appear with the full moon.
1st ..	Assavani Barani Kyattikā	The Crow	The dragon	Thadingyut and Tazaungmôn.
2nd ..	Rohani Migast Bhadra	The Sheldrake	The male elephant	Nadaw.
3rd ..	Punnaphusshu Phussha Assaliṣa	The Crab	The lion	Pyatho.
4th ..	Māgha Pyubbapara- gunni Uttarapara- gunni	The Balance	The Karawika bird	Tabodwè.
5th ..	Hassada Citra Swādi	The hairpin	The ogres	Tagu.

List of the 27 Nakshatras—Continued.

6th	..	Visākha Anurāda Jeththa	The fisherman	The hermit	Kasōn and Nayōn.
7th	..	Māla Pruppasan Uttarāsan	The elephant	Sakkawati or the universal monarch	Wazo.
8th	..	Saravun Dhanasiddha Sattabhissha	The pony	Sakka or Sakra	Wagaung.
9th	..	Pyuppābadrapaik Uttarābadrapaik Revati	The egret	The Brahma	Tawthalin.

ဘုန်းဟောမြတ်စွာ။.....ဦးညွတ်တွေးခဲ့။ This refers to those stars described above bowing to Buddha.

ဘုန်းဟောမြတ်စွာ။ စောသတ္တာကို means “to the glorious and venerable Teacher.” သတ္တာ (Pāli) is a common epithet for Buddha, and it means “the Teacher.”

တိုင်းကားသက္က။ ကပ္ပိလကို။.....မြိန်စေခဲ့။ This passage gives a vivid description of the land-scapes on the way to Kapilavatthu for which Buddha was bound.

တိုင်းကားသက္က means “the vast territory of Sakka.”

ကပ္ပိလ or ကပိလ (Kapilavatthu) is the chief city of Sakka where Gotama Buddha was born.

ကြွရာလမ်းစဉ် means “the route taken by Buddha on His journey to Kapilavatthu.

စုံတခွင်ဝယ် means “through-out the forest-tract.”

ရွှေစင်မြသား။ ရွှေအလားသို့။ means like (the tinge or colour of) gold, silver and emerald.”

မနားတို့ချင် means “without any inclination or desire for a rest;” that is without any interruption. လွင် in ပင်ထက်လွင် means “to shine brightly.” The expression မနားတို့ချင်၊ ပင်ထက်လွင် therefore means “continuous gleam of brightness on the trees and plants.”

လှောင်စဦးစ။ This is a metaphor borrowed from smelting. The bright colour is compared to the colour of newly smelted and refined gold.

လေမြကြွန် means “a frolicsome gale springs up.”

မြမြှောက်ဆွယ်။ တဝက်ချယ်နှင့်။ ခက်သွယ်တံရှည်။ This refers to the long slender branches and boughs tinged partly with green and partly with the colour of gold.

မြမြ means “emerald-green.”

မျှော်တိုင်းသည်လည်း means “at every gaze of the eye.”

နူးကြည်ဆွတ်ယောင်။ In this expression နူးကြည် stands for ကြည်နူး and it means to be pleased with something” or “to experience feelings of pleasure.” ဆွတ် stands for လွမ်းဆွတ် and means “to long for” or “to yearn after. ယောင် implies uncertainty. The whole expression therefore means

“the mind is in a state of uncertainty as to whether it should feel pleased and long for something or otherwise.”

ကြိုင်လှိုင် and လှောင် (for လှောင်း) are synonymous terms meaning “to give out pleasant odour.”

တန်ဆောင်မီးလောက်။ ရှိန်ဦးတောက်၍။ လဲပေါက်ထိန်ဖြူ။ This refers to the red flowers of the *butca frondosa* from which a glowing light as bright as a burning torch spreads out. တန်ဆောင်မီး means “a lighted fire.” ရှိန်ဦးတောက် means “to burn or shine with a bright light.” လဲပေါက် for ပေါက်လဲ means the *butea frondosa*.”

သဲခင်းသာဝယ် means “in a pleasant or delightful sandy ground.”

သီတာ means “a river.” ကြည်လဲ့ means “to be serene or clear,” and it refers to the water of the river.

နွဲ့ in ငှက်သံနွဲ့နှင့် means “endearing; melodious.”

လွမ်းဘွဲ့မြင်ခြေ means “a forest tract which inspires one with longing.”

မြိုးဝေခဲ။ This means that the atmosphere is filled with mist. The last passage from တိမ်ခြေအာကာ down to the end refers to the time at which the stars pay respect to Buddha. ကောဝိဋ္ဌါ or ကောဝိဋ္ဌါ (Bauhinia Variegata) is an emblematic tree said to grow in the *Tavatimsa* heaven. So the reference is to the sky above.

ပြပျံရောင်လွှပ် means the shining Pyuppâbadrapaik.

ဒေါင်းရဟတ်နှင့်။ ပြသော်ဆောင်ယဉ်။ This refers to the Sun. ဒေါင်း means “a peacock.” Here it is used as an emblem of the sun. ရဟတ် means “a wheel.” Hence ဒေါင်းရဟတ် signifies the sun. ပြသော် is derived from the Pâli ပါသာဝ which means “a graduated turret.” ဆောင် means “to convey,” and ယဉ် (Pâli ယာန) means “a conveyance.” ပြသော်ဆောင်ယဉ် means “a conveyance surmounted by a graduated turret.” This also refers to the sun.

ပြိုင်ယဉ်စပ်မှာ means “when the sun and the Nakshatra Pyuppâbadrapaik appear side by side.”

တညွနာ (Pâli) means “gold.” နှစ် or အနှစ် means “pith or essence.”

မြရည် means “the water or colour of emerald.”

ရှင်ချစ်မြတ်စွာ။ လောကနာကို။ Is Buddha, the all loving Lord of the universe. လောကနာ from the Pâli လောကနာထော which means “Lord of the universe.”

မိုးမှာရွှေကြယ်လစုတည်း။ Here the stars are represented as eggs laid by the moon.

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၅။ အနန္တရာ။ တိလောကဟု။ သကျမုနိန်။ မာရဇိန်ကို။ ဣန္ဒာသက္က။ ဒေဝသူရာ။ မြဟ္မာမကျန်။ ထက်သန်စေတနာ။ ဖူးကြလာသည်။ ကြက်လျှာတံခွန်။ ပန်းမန်ခါမီး။ တီးနှင့်တကွ။ ပူဇော်ကြ၏။ အာကာသပြင်။ ထက်ကောင်းကင်ဝယ်။ ပဟက်ရီ။ ရဝိစန္ဒ။ ဘောမဗုဒ္ဓ။ ဆရာဂုရု။ ဗရုသောရာ။ ဒေဝါသူရိန်။ ဘူမိန္ဒရာ။ ဗြဟ္မာရှင်ဖြာနှင့်။ အသာယဉ်။ နရဓလျှင်။ မူလဇေဋ္ဌာ။ ပိသာခါက။ ပုဏ္ဏာပြည်မှီ။ ဘရဏီအာသဉ်။ သရဝက်မာစာ။ အသလိသနှင့်။ နေသိဉ်။ ကျတ္တိကာနတ်။ သက္ကမိသျှ။ ထွန်းပလံ့ညို။ ရောဟဏီတည်း။ ရေဝတီက။ ဥတ္တရတရာ။ ဖုသျှလုကာ။ ကြယ်ပုဏ္ဏာတို့။ ယဉ်သာဘုံပုံ။ ယုန်မိမာန်ကို။ ခြံဝန်းကာ။ ရောင်စုံဖြာသည်။ သဗ္ဗါဆွတ်ဆွတ်။ တာရာညွတ်၍။ နက္ခတ်အပေါင်း။ မြင်းခေါင်း ခုံလောက်။ ပုံဆောက် မှိုင်းဘယ်။ ကြက်သူလယ်။ ကြယ်သုံးခုလျှင်။ ရုပ်တည်စွာ။ ကျီးတာရာလည်း။ ဆိုင်ကာရွှေဦး။ နဂါးမြို့၍။ ထွန်းရွှေတိုက်

ဆိုက်။ ကြက်တိုက်လည်းကောင်း။ ကြယ်ဥဆောင်းလည်း။ လိပ်ခေါင်းလက်ဖျား။ ဟင်္သာနားက။ ပေါက်
သားမုန်အစ်။ ဂုဏ်ရည်သစ်စွ။ ခုနစ်ဖုသျှ။ သင်္ဘောစုထက်။ ရှစ်ချိုးဝှမ်း။ ကိုးလုံးလွန်သော်။ ဗုဒ္ဓန်ရင်ဆိုင်။
ခြင်္သေ့တိုင်သည်။ ဆယ်ပြိုင်ဆဲတစ်။ ဆဲနှစ်ရှေ့နောက်။ လျှံတောက်ရှုန်းဘိတ်။ ဦးလည်ညိတ်သာ။ ကရ
ဝိတ်တွန်ကျာ။ ချိန်တာရာလည်း။ ကြယ်အာဒိစ္စ။ ဟဿဒနှင့်။ စိတြမုနိသွားဒီချက်ဘွေ။ ဆံကိုင်ရွှေဝယ်။ ကု
ဝေယက။ ကုဘဏ္ဍနှင့်။ ဘုမ္မပြီးမြင့်။ တန်ခိုးလွင့်လျက်။ ဝိုက်လင့်ပတ်ဖြာ။ ဝိသာခါနှင့်။ နုရာဇရွှေ။ ဇေဋ္ဌရွှေ
၏။ ဘုန်းဟေမြတ်စွာ။ ယတာရာများ။ ဦးညွတ်တွားခွဲ။ တိုင်းကားသက္က။ ကပ္ပိလကို။ ကြွ
ရာလမ်းစဉ်။ စုံတခွင်ဝယ်။ ငွေစဉ်မြဲသာ။ ရွှေအလားသို့။ မနားတိုချင်။ ပင့်ထက်လွင်က။ လှော်စင်ဦးစ။ လေ
မြူးကြွ၍။ မြဲမြက်ဆွယ်။ တဝက်ချယ်နှင့်။ ခက်သွယ်တရှည်။ မျှော်တိုင်းသည်လည်း။ နူးကြည်ဆွတ်ယောင်။
ကြိုင်လှိုင်လှောင်၏။ တန်ဆောင်မီးလောက်။ ရှိန်ညှိုးတောက်ရွှံ။ လဲပေါက်ထိန်ဖြာ။ သဲခင်းသာဝယ်။ သီတာ
ကြည်လဲ့။ ငှက်သံနွဲ့နှင့်။ လွှမ်းဘွဲ့မြိုင်ခြေ။ ခိုးဝေခွဲ။ တိမ်ခြေအာကာ။ ကောဝိဋ္ဌာက။ ပြုပြီရောင်လျှံ။
ခေါင်းရဟတ်နှင့်။ ပြာသာဒ်ဆောင်ယယ်။ ယဉ်စဉ်မှာ။ ကညနာနှစ်။ မြေညစ်သစ်သို့။ ရှင်ချစ်မြတ်စွာ။ လော်
ကနာကို။ တာရာစန္ဒ။ သူရိယတို့။ တုပ်ကွရိကျိ။ ရောင်စုံပြီးသည်။ မိုးမှာရွှေကြယ်လွှဲတည်။

Sakyamuni triumphs over Mara and stands pre-eminent in the three-fold world. Sakra with a host of celestials and infernals bow in fervent adoration. They cast at His feet gifts of streamers and flowers and umbrellas and burn the sacred oil.

Eight planets greet the eye. The sun and the moon, Mars^m and Mercury, Jupiter and Venus, Saturn and Rahu swim in the sky. *Asavani*, *Anurâda*, *Mûla*, *Jettha*, *Withâkhâ*, *Barani*, *Athanhli*, *Saravun*, *Maghâ*, *Assalissa*, *Dhanasiddha*, *Kyattikâ*, *Sattabhiṣṣha*, *Rohani*, *Revati*, *Uttaraparaguni* and *Phussha* glimmer around the watery moon and seem to pant with holy ecstasy. As months come and go celestial fires fling lustrous beams close to the full-orbed moon. In *Thadingyut* and *Tasaungmon*, the crow shines in a line with *Asavani*, *Barani* and *Kyattikâ*. The *sheldrake* is seen face to face with *Rohani*, *Migasi* and *Badra* in the full-lit *Nadaw* sky. In *Pyatho*, *Punnaphussha*, *Phussha* and *Assalissa* appear in conjunction with the crab. During *Tabodwé* and *Tabaung*, *Libra* steers in the sky with *Magha*, *Pyubbapargunni* and *Uttaraparagunni*. On the full-moon night of *Tagu*, the *hair-pin* fronts *Hassada*, *Citra* and *Swâdi*. In *Kasôn* and *Nayôn*, *Withâkhâ*, *Anurâdha* and *Jettha* shed their silvery beams. The rapt enchanted stars shoot their flames in pure adoration.

As the Teacher proceeds to Kappilawut the forest realm wears a robe of silver and gold and emerald. The frolicsome wind rustles the pendent leaves dashed with gold. The enraptured gazer is swayed by competing feelings of joy and longing. The air is laden with scent. The crimson splendour of *butea* blooms flames like a torch. Amber streams glide by silver sands. The fluting of the birds and the enfolding mist fill one with yearnings.

In the azure dome above, *Pyuppâbadrapaik* and the sun mingle their rays tinted with the colours of gold and emerald. Wonder seems to move in the starry spheres which render homage to the beloved Lord.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

BUDDHISM AND BERGSONISM

AND

U SHWE ZAN AUNG VERSUS Dr. ROSS.

No one who has remarked Dr. Ross's periodical censures of every attempt to show that Buddhism is not synonymous with nonsense will be surprised to find that U Shwe Zan Aung, in reply to the latest edition of the strictures, tells us in effect that the Doctor knows nothing whatever about Buddhism. Either this is so, or else it is U Shwe Zan Aung who knows nothing about it. Is he or is he not an authority on his own religion?

At the beginning of the century Mrs. Rhys Davids translated a Buddhist Psychology. Not being in a position to find out the traditional meaning of the terms, she resorted—as others before her—to philological methods; the result was the kind of jargon which Dr. Ross evidently approves—not indeed as logic; but as free from “religious partisanship”! The author however did not approve of her own work; she felt that there must be something quite wrong somewhere and finally appealed to the Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya, who happily suggested collaboration with U Shwe Zan Aung. The result was the *Compendium of Philosophy*. This book revolutionised the methods of Pali research and I think it safe to say that no western scholar of repute would now attempt a translation of the all-important *Abhidhamma* or other technical works without collaborating with someone on the spot—in Burma or Ceylon. U Shwe Zan Aung then inaugurated the new movement. He did not—as Dr. Ross would have his readers suppose—give us dogmatically high sounding philosophical terms (whose substitution in the older translations immediately made sense of them). On the contrary he collected a number of definitions, sentences, quotations in which the disputed terms appeared: he explained the traditional meanings to his English editor, who had formerly been a lecturer in philosophy. By this means a near modern equivalent of the Buddhist term was generally found; and together with this English rendering there was published a page or so of notes to show how the term should be understood in Buddhism. (For it will be evident that only by a rare coincidence could the technical terms of Buddhist and European philosophy have exactly the same meaning).

For this book then Dr. Ross had not a good word to say. But what we want is more of such work and still more, until the scholars of the West will be in a position to carry on the work by themselves. At pre-

sent there is too much unwritten knowledge of the subject in the East: the West is too heavily handicapped. It is a thousand pities that U Shwe Zan Aung's position in Government service gives him so little time for the one work above all others for which he is peculiarly qualified and in which the Burmese may teach the English scholar. It is perhaps a pity too that he should spend the few moments he still snatches for original research in seeing how much of Buddhism he can put into the language of Bergson. If he would go on telling us plainly and simply in the manner of the introduction to the Compendium more of the Buddhist Psychology and its technical terms, then there are many who could tell us how much of it is Bergsonian. We might be grateful to Dr. Ross himself for a paper on the subject. As it is he has spent his energies on the poor stuff which he takes Buddhism to be.

He contends (1) that in company with every considerable philosophy with the exception of Heracleitus and Bergson Buddhism regards fixity as the test of reality and change as the mark of unreality; (2) that the Buddhist *paññā* has nothing in common with Bergson's intuition: in fact that there is no evidence that the Buddhist ever "approached a theory of knowledge (like Bergson's intuition) which is to be lived rather than thought."

The second contention first:—Dr. Ross expresses the most intense astonishment that anybody should have imagined that there could be any likeness between *anicca* as the Sotapan understands it and true flux. It seems a pity to astonish him any further but I feel bound to tell him that no lesser person than Prof. Rhys Davids already held that view three years ago. I suggested to him that the true meaning of Sotapan—the stream-arrived-one—was that the disciple arrived at, realised flux: he ceased to think conceptual change and intuited real becoming. I take the traditional meaning to be secondary: the man who ceases to think in terms of entities, is bound to overcome the habit of craving such fictions, and so is certain of arriving at *Nirvāna*—the cessation of craving: he is as it were in the true stream which streams to *Nirvāna*.¹ Prof. Rhys Davids though not convinced, expressed himself interested in my point of view and he hastened to assure me that he did not doubt for a moment that the Sotapan' did as a matter of fact intuit flux; it was of my interpretation of the word that he was in doubt—a secondary matter after all.

What has Dr. Ross to say on the subject? He tells us that Buddhist change is a common succession of concepts—not real change at all: Bergson's change is the real thing. He wants us to believe that Bergson lives out his flux in contradistinction to the Buddha who merely fancied and talked change—all the time with the idea at the back of his head of a quite permanent and fixed ego as the essence of reality²—if only alas (*Dukkha*!) such an entity could really be! In the course of his

¹ Or rather so long as he craves (*tanha*) his immersion is incomplete.

² Journal Vol. VIII (1) p. 59.

disparagement of Buddhist pessimism the doctor indulges in some jest on "la vie Parisienne"; this picture of his "la vie Buddhistic" seems to me the better joke of the two.

Now what has the Buddha himself to say about his own life? Does he not say that "although the Tathagata make use of such expressions as I, You, He and so on, yet he is not led astray by them" into the thought of entities. In other words he was able to regard persons as processes all the time: whether he was talking, walking, standing or sitting he never lost the sense of flux—and that is why he was Buddha—the Enlightened One. And what has Bergson to say of his flux? How does he live it? He tells us that when he makes the upmost effort of which he is capable, for less than a second he enters true duration—*almost but not altogether!*

Dr. Ross has still one toe to stand on: he can still maintain that although the Buddha lived the duration he taught, yet his sense of duration was abstract, false. Now the Buddha tells us there is just one and only one way of making absolutely certain of this point for oneself; it is to practice Satipatthana—Mindfulness. If we stick to it then we shall know—though it may take us seven years! Why all this. If all that we have to acquire is intellectual picture of states succeeding each other? Are we not told quite plainly that this intuition must be transcendental? (*lokuttara* not *lokiya*). However since Dr. Ross is determined to regard the Buddha's injunction to "enter into" or "penetrate" the reality as merely metaphorical he may be inclined to view this transcendental intuition as a like poetic piety. The Abhidhamma forestalls him: we are told that the disciple who seeks to enter the stream, must first free himself from the idea of mind or of matter as an entity, and then he must develop insight into "waxing and waning" "arising and passing away" until there comes to pass that "painless, pleasureless, utter purity of a mind wholly calmed and collected", which is called "Insight of Equanimity." From this there arises that "adoptive insight" by which the meditator fits himself with mental equipments and qualifications for the transcendental. This process of thought-transition is divided into four stages: (1) Parikamma when the dispositions are preparing themselves; (2) Upacāra, when they approximate to the transcendental or ultra-cosmic; (3) Anuloma, when they adapt themselves to the new mode of awareness; (4) Gotrabhu, when cosmic consciousness is cut off and the ultra-cosmic takes it place.

There can then be no getting away from the fact that the Buddhist intuition is not intellectual: it is transcendental. And now I foresee another objection. In pitting Bergson against Buddha Dr. Ross complains that the Buddhist flux is merely intellectual: yet in a former article when he was dealing with Buddhism alone he says: "Buddhists offer us nothing but certain alleged supranormal experiences of certain individuals, into which the scientist who uses his senses and intellect only cannot enter. The doctrine is thus not science in the sense of being

founded on "shareable"³ experience and derived from that by logical reasoning. There is nothing to distinguish it from any other wild phantasy." If this is not 'partisanship' that can only be because that is too mild a term! The fact is that when a man approaches oriental philosophy still inflated with his occidental learning and Buddhism with a superior sense of his Christianity then the Metistopheles of Prejudice takes him. And this applies not only to our learned doctor but to nearly all the western scholars and, I believe, all missionaries when they write about other religions, whether Buddhists about Christianity or Christians about Buddhism.

Now without actually performing Sati-patthana—the only certain way of really knowing its fruit let us see what would be the most likely result of such practice. Consider this extract:—"now this O Bhikkhus, is how the disciple observes thoughts. In experiencing thoughts he is fully aware of the thought experienced: There are thoughts—thoughts of lust, thoughts of anger—thoughts noble or base—or whatever they may be, so he abides as respect thoughts observant of thoughts, both in his own person or in the persons of others. He observes thoughts arising or observes them passing away, and again observes simultaneously the "arising" and the "passing away". "Feeling only is present—that alone is the experience".⁴ "Bearing this fact constantly in mind he comes to understand that the expression 'I think' has no validity except as a figure of common speech, but that there is literally no independent being, no "I" in any absolute sense, no permanent individual, no ego present who thinks; and so he lives unattached craving nothing whatsoever in the world".⁵

So it is when—what we must call—the 'coming to be' of a state is intuited as simultaneous with its ceasing to be, that the Buddhist intuition of flux is reached: the stream is won, when and only when the arising and passing away are seen to be one and the same process. The idea of a cinematographical succession of states, however rapid, must then have gone. So long as the idea of a discrete state is in my mind, I cannot possibly grasp its becoming and ceasing as simultaneous. They can only be simultaneous and ever present in true duration.

I find then that Bergson has discovered anew in the twentieth century A D the true change first intuited by the Buddha in the fifth century B. C.⁶ He has done more: he has applied that discovery to complex or wholly modern problems and he has expressed himself in such language that no follower of his could ever mistake abstract change for

³ A less just word could hardly have been chosen, since it is the Buddhist claim that all who will practice and stick to it will share the experience. If Dr. Ross wants more than a theoretical knowledge of Physics or any other science, it is just this laborious course of practical training which he has to submit to.

⁴ See word of Buddha and sermons.

⁵ From commentary.

⁶ He knew nothing of the Buddhist writings at the time; but on the publication of S. Z. Aung's Compendium; he himself wrote to the editor to express his recognition of a distinct likeness between the Buddhist and his own views—another person to astonish Dr. Ross!

true flux. Unfortunately the Buddhist layman's idea of *anicca* is almost invariably cinematographical. I do not see how the language of the Buddha's day could have expressed what Bergson has expressed. But if the Buddha at that time could not put flux into unmistakeable language he could and did tell one, what is a thousand times more important, 'how unfailingly to intuit flux. It is just here that Bergson fails: it is only for a second and only then by becoming unconscious of everything round about, that his method allows us to live the flowing. He has further to admit that the interest of this practice is purely metaphysical, it leads to no such practical result as the 'cessation of evil.' In the physical, mental and moral evolution of men he will have nothing to do with it. In the daily round he is as other men: he takes fleeting glimpses of becoming in his study: he is not *sotapanno*.

The fault which I find with U Shwe Zan Aung's essay is not that he raised the "stream-winner" to the height of a Bergson; but that he failed to show how the stream-winner excelled that remarkable philosopher. I can barely touch upon the subject here. In looking over the stories of the Buddha's attainment one notices that no enlightenment came so long as he reviewed personal histories—births and rebirths, his own and other peoples; but it came in the third watch of the night when, self-forgetful, he looked into the recesses of the mind, intent, watchful, unruffled, examining mental phenomena, their sequences, dependances and interrelations; observing the rise into being of this, the falling away of that: seing together with the "coming to be" of one state the "passing away" of another; whilst all the while at the back of his mind insisted this question: "on what do the *Banes* subsist? From whence do they arise, how fall away, how come to cease? what being present are these also present? from the "coming to be" of what do there also 'come to be'?"

The stream-attainment is then given in these words: "coming to be!Becoming! Becoming! with that intuition there came a vision into facts not perceived before. Insight arose. Wisdom arose. Light arose."

Turning away from persons and their possessions to arisings and passings away he had broken the spell, the *memerism* of egos and things. He saw that there was nothing which was anything in itself or by itself, naught to be called a soul, no entity whatever,—only flux: he knew only the ceaseless flow of time, the rapid rippling of thought, the welling up and dying down of passion, the ebbing and flowing of life: *Samsara*, the ocean of "continual-going".

Was it then a mere meaningless confusion that the Buddha saw? without unity or continuity? No. Behind the 'becoming' which constitutes an individual existence he saw—not the self (the pure subject) which the intellect postulates to account in some inconceiveable manner for the unity and continuity of being—but the Principle of the becoming

which constitutes it a continual and orderly process. The Buddha saw all life—the whole of samsara—to be a procedure by ‘mutual conditions’, a becoming ‘by way of dependant relations’, a ‘happening through invariable sequences’, and evolution according to law. The universal law of Karma, this the principle of the life-flow, the process of the Becoming: law not caused by inanimate nature”, not ordained by a “supreme Being”; neither brought about by aught subjective or objective but by the inter-relation between these two (*nama-rupa*) and essential to the continuity and continuing of all such relations.

The next point which the Buddha saw was that the cause of evil was simply ignorance of these facts—the true nature of life. It is only because we fail to intuit becoming and arrive at its Principle that there is any prolonging the dependant, the imperfect, the evil. This is the Buddhist “pessimism” which has so shocked the West! How does Bergson’s “*Joie de vivre*” compare with it? The second law of Thermodynamics⁷ persuades him that mind conquers only for a period in the history of a world-system: it ends crushed out by matter. He draws some consolation from the possibility of a very few of the elect transcending matter at some time; but the rest are doomed. In Buddhism Nirvana is the Goal which none can escape: the principle of Karma necessitates the eventual cessation of evil along every line of becoming. Who then is the more optimistic the Buddha or Bergson? The Buddha’s optimism appears to me to be complete and his reason for it is that he grasped the Principle behind the Becoming.

Here the question of the reality naturally arises. We experience an ever changing flow of presentations: every instant is different from the one that proceeded. The intellect can recollect them as a number of distinct snapshots: but they were not originally presented in this way, they were not as a matter of fact a number of distinct and isolated experiences: they were continuous with one another. How are we to explain that continuity? The intellect answers: “by stringing them onto one and the same ego: they are states of one self.” Thus as Bergson remarks, two immobilities are supposed to account for one mobility! The Buddha accepting for the sake of argument the analytical method⁸ shows not only that there is a succession of different objects presented, but a succession of different subjects to whom they are presented. The man who received punishment is not the identical one who committed the crime. “Then” says the intellect “he must be a different man: he must not be punished!” This is obviously nonsense: but where is the mistake? The mistakes says the Buddhist lies in the notion of distinct and separate entities, the *atta*, the ‘*Ding an sich*’ the idea of that which in itself by itself is: the belief of “a reality”, that is all wrong. The fact is that there has been an unbroken process from the committer of the crime to

⁷ Dr. Ross so refers to life according to Bergson.

⁸ I believe this is what U. S. Z. Aung means by the Russellian side of Buddhism. But the analytical view is the natural view that the intellect always takes: I can see no reason to call it Russellian—unless it be that Russell is rather a bigoted and arithmetical analyst.

the recipient of the punishment. The recipient and the criminal are then neither different men nor the same man. Away with static intellect—and in with dynamic intuition!

The intellectual belief then in one's self, soul, or ego, as something in itself and separate from other selves is an illusion: it is only explicit in man and in some measure perhaps the higher animals; but it appears to me to be implicit in the whole struggle for existence in every creature in the whole wide world fighting for itself. The Buddha certainly regarded the 'I' (implicit or explicit) as the root cause of the whole of Samsara, of all evils, of all false passions, of going from birth to death and from death to birth again. It is not our business here to give his reasons for this opinion. What we should note is that the cause of all suffering existence is maintained to be an illusion.

The whole of Samsara then is an illusion: (1) because it contains no such an entity as the intellect demands in order to idolise it as a reality—this however would apply equally to Nirvana: there is no *atta* anywhere: (p) because that attitude to reality or life which appears to evolve suffering selves is false.

We cannot argue from this—as Dr. Ross does—that there are no *paramattha Dhammas* in Samsara. There are no selves who suffer, but one cannot argue from this that there is no real suffering. The self is not a *paramattha Dhamma*; but suffering, I take it, is. There are processes of suffering and that is why the Buddha preached. I may dream that a man attacked me: the man is an illusion: but the dream was an actual experience. Here then, contrary to Dr. Ross's first contention, we have ever-changing suffering the real or actual; and the fixed ego, the unreal non-existent.

The last point which we have to consider is whether Nirvana in any way corresponds to the idea of a fixed and changeless entity. In the first place the Buddha—so careful was he lest his followers should fall into that trap—never said what Nirvana was positively: he only said what it was not: Nirvana is not Samsara, so none of our words descriptive of Samsara will be applicable to Nirvana. Existence as we know it is conditioned: Nirvana is not. Samsara is craving, suffering, being born or dying: Nirvana is not—and so on. Samsara is also subject to change and decay; so one may find statements that Nirvana is not so subject. In the 'word of the Buddha' I find the interesting statement: Nirvana "is neither arising, nor passing away nor standing still": it is out of all relation to our mathematical-time-notion of either change or fixity. Once again a thing which changes, and a thing which throughout all time remains unchanged are fictions, utter absurdities. No such things can be.

There is still one absurd idea which people from the Buddha's day onward have tried to affix to Nirvana—the idea of nothingness. The meaning of the word is certainly cessation, implying blown-out or wiped-out—in short annihilation?—but of what? Indians who held by the soul theory, the *atta* doctrine, naturally called Buddha a nihilist:

to them he taught the annihilation of the soul. But, as regards that, all he taught was that there was no such thing. And as regards the other charge he says "Yes, certainly I teach annihilation; namely the annihilation of evil: the annihilation of suffering, craving, sin, disease and death" Is this why Europeans insist on calling him a pessimist?

Positively speaking then Nirvana is whatever is, when evil is not. And this which is, certainly is not nothing; but if we want to call it something, or the Reality, we must be very careful how we understand these terms. Later Buddhists in calling it Paramattha—a dangerous word—did use some such expression. It is perhaps safer⁹ to understand by this term the absolute, and so bring it in line with frequent utterances of the Buddha when he spoke of Nirvana as the unconditioned. When we adopt an erroneous subjective attitude to Becoming, then is samsara—conditioned existence—a process of evolving illusions and delusions—and in that sense unreal. The process of disillusionment is the Path: getting into the stream. When the right subjective attitude has been attained, disillusionment is complete, then is the cessation of evil, Nirvana—the unconditioned—the absolute, which is "neither arising nor passing away nor standing still."

K. M. WARD.

THE TWELVE-YEAR CYCLE OF BURMESE YEAR-NAMES.

To find the name of any given year, the author of the short but interesting article, "The Burmese Calendar" published *ante* Vol. I Part I, gives the following rule:—"Subtract two from the last figure in the date according to the Burmese Era, divide the last two figures thus obtained by 12 and the remainder is the number of the year in the above table."

Working on the above rule, Mr. Blagden finds that out of twenty-eight year-names in the inscriptions only four agree with the results obtained, and he questions its being a correct rule (Vol. VI Part II). Mr. Blagden's question may be met by saying that the author of the Burma Calendar has made a slip in stating the rule. It is probable that as is seen from an example in his article, the author has in view only those years in which the first two of four figures are 12 according to the Burmese era and in his desire, I believe, to make the calculation easy, he leaves out the first two figures which are divisible by 12 (because, by so doing, the calculation does not go wrong but becomes easier) and simply states "divide the last two figures thus obtained by 12," overlooking that the rule so stated cannot be applied to those dates the first two figures of which are neither 12 nor a multiple of 12. Hence the difficulties in reconciling the rule with the dates in the inscriptions, which do

⁹ I have not come myself across this term in this connection in any of the sermons. I first heard of this application of it from Prof. Maung Tin.

not begin with 12. But the difficulties disappear, if the above rule is rectified and stated thus:—

“Abstract two from the Burmese era, divide the remainder by 12, and the remainder thus obtained is the number of the year.”¹

The following table shows the number of the year, the year-name as entered in astrological works in Burmese and the year-name as recorded in inscriptions. (The year-names are transliterated according to the Transliteration scheme by M. Duroiselle. *Vide* Vol. VI Part II, pp. 81-90.)

No.	Astrological Name.	Name on Inscriptions.
1.	Jeyya, Citra	Cai, Cay, Jay, Jeyya, Jeñ, Cittra, Cey.
2.	Wisākhā	Pisyak, Wisya, Pishyac, Bisyak.
3.	Jeṭṭha	Cissa, Jeṭṭha, Cisa, Jissa, Citssa, Cisyā.
4.	Āsaḥī	Āsat, Āsaddha, Āsaḥ.
5.	Sarawaṇ	Srawan, Sarawan.
6.	Bhadra	Bhadra, Bhat, Bhāt, Phassa, ² Phatta.
7.	Assayujja	Asuc, Āsin, Āsuk.
8.	Kyattikā, Krattikā	Krātuik, Kratuik, Kratikā.
9.	Migasi	Mrikkasui, Migasī, Mrikkasuiw, Mruik- kasuir, Mriksuil, Mrikkasuir.
10.	Phushya	Putsa, Pussa, Phussa.
11.	Māgha	Māgha, Mākha.
o	Bharaguṇṇi Phagguṇa	Phalakuin, Phrakuin, Phalakuin, Phra- kuin, Phalakun, Phyakuin.

By this simple method, I have worked out 89 dates, ranging from 430 to 1145 Burmese era, in the inscriptions of (1) “Original inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi-Pagoda, Amarapura, 1913”, (2) “Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava, 1892”, and (3) “Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Vol. 1, 1900”, and I find that in at least seven cases out of ten the result answers exactly to the year-name in the inscription. The table attached will show the results of my calculations, as obtained by the above rule.

I may mention that there is also an interesting article on this subject (Vol. VIII Part III) by Mr. de Silva who gives another rule from a work named Jotitatha, for ascertaining the name of the year. This rule from Jotitatha is a very complicated one: and we are not helped when we employ this rule or use the means provided by the author. As may be seen, the Burmese calendar is a simple mean time calendar and the process of calculation is an easy one. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the method of ascertaining any year is also an easy one, such as the one I have employed and the one from a work called Maha-Thingyan-

¹ *Vide* Beda-Weikza-Kozaungdwè Kyan (ဗေဒဝိဇ္ဇာကောဇာဏ်သွယ်ကျမ်း) p. 50, published Mandalay, 1269 B. E.

² See serial No. 31, 5th coloumn. The year 656 answers to a Bhadra year. The word *Phassa* looks more like an inscriptional name of the astrological name *Phushya* than of Bhadra. It may perhaps be a misreading for Bat (ဗတ်) which is the inscriptional name of the year Bhadra.

Twetkein (မဟာသက္ကရာဇ်).⁸ Besides, designers of the Burmese calendar for the past years within our knowledge have worked out the year-names by the simple rule mentioned above and never by the rule from Jotitatha. Considering, therefore, the use of this simple rule for many years past and considering also the preponderance of cases where, for the dates running from 430 to 1145 Burmese era, the results obtained by the rule answer exactly the data of the inscriptions, it may be assumed that the simple rule given above was observed in Burma from the beginning of the present Burmese era onwards.

Now the existing era was introduced in 638 A. D. by Popa Saw Rahan, the twentieth king of Pagan, eliminating 560 years of the then current era beginning with year 2. And it appears probable that this establishment of the era in its own second year explains the "subtraction of 2 from the Burmese era" (as stated in the rule), while the remainder is divided by 12, because there are 12 years in the cycle, which progress in regular order.

But then how are we to make an adjustment of those year-names in the inscriptions which differ from the results given by the rule? Should they be classed "irregular"? I think these differences result mainly from mistakes made in the record of inscriptions and in few cases from the imperfect reading of dates which are always written in figures, except in inscriptions which are in Pali throughout where they are written at full length in words. Stone inscriptions in Burma were very imperfectly preserved and owing to their exposure to weather and to the effluxion of time, most of them have become obliterated. In some cases the stone has peeled off in such a way that what remain of figures 3 and 5 look like 2 and 6 respectively; and figures 4 and 6, as they are written in inscriptions, are so similar that one is easily read for the other. Consequently the reading of dates has very often, as those who are working on the inscriptions of Burma well know, proved a difficult task and a snare.

As to the mistakes in the inscriptions, it must be said that they are very rare in original inscriptions; but many a mistake are met with in those which are copied from original stones at a later date. *e.g.* Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay, Vols. I and II, 1897."

The above reasons will, I think, suffice to explain why there occur discrepancies between the data of inscriptions and results as obtained by the rule. There may be other causes which cannot yet be explained; but it is hoped that the simple rule by which very satisfactory results have been obtained will serve as a principle to work on in ascertaining the name of any year.

The subjoined table shows the serial number, the Burmese era, names of years and their reference in three respective volumes of inscriptions referred to above, and the astrological name which is the result,

⁸ *Ante* Vol. VIII, Part III, p. 264, bottom.

as obtained by the rule. Most of the dates in my test cases, as shown in the table, are from the "Original Inscriptions collected by king Bodawpaya, and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura"; the year name of the same date that cannot be found in either of the other two volumes or in both is left blank* in its respective column.

Abbreviations in the following table:—

A—"Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura."

PPA—"Inscriptions of Pagan, Piyna and Ava."

UB 1—"Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Vol. 1."

Serial No.	Burmese Era.	A		PPA		UB 1.		Result as obtained by the rule. (Astrological name).
		Name of Year.	Page and line.	Name of Year.	Page and line.	Name of Year.	Page and line.	
1	430	Bhass	9,1	..	..	..	..	Kyattikā
2	464	Āsan	15,2	..	..	..	..	Bhadra
3	467	Pisyak	11,16	..	..	..	..	Migasī
4	469	Māgha	18,1	..	..	..	..	Māgha
5	522	Jeyya	29,1	..	..	..	..	Āsalhī
6	533	Cissa	37,6	..	..	..	..	Jeṭṭha
7	544	Pisyak	34,1	..	..	..	..	Wisākhā
8	559	Pisyak	39,1	..	..	..	..	Sarawaṇ
9	560	Bhadra	42,1	Bhāt	212,1	..	..	Bhadra
10	563	Cay	49,1	..	..	..	..	Migasī
11	565	Kratuik	50,3	..	..	..	..	Māgha
12	567	Cey	51,2	..	..	..	..	Citra
13	568	Pisyak	41,11	..	..	..	..	Wisākhā
14	578	Phalakuin	57,1	Phalakuin	149,1	..	..	Phaggaṇa
15	585	Kratuik	58,1	Asuc	58,1	Āsin	178,3	Assayujja
16	588	Pussa	61,1	Pussa	229,5	..	..	Phushya
17	590	Kratuik	62,1	Phyakuin	98,1	..	..	Phaggaṇa
18	591	Wisākhā	65,1	Cay	61,1	Cañ	183,5	Citra
19	593	Cissa	50,12	Jissa	174,1	Sitssa-	184,2	Jeṭṭha
20	594	Āsat	50,15	Āsat	179,1	Āsat	187,11	Āsalhī
21	598	Citsa	68,1	Cissa	100,7	..	..	Krattikā
22	598	..	..	Kratuik	181,1	Kratuik	195,1	Krattikā
23	599	Mrikkasui	69,2	Mrikkasuīr	179,11	..	..	Migasī
26	603	Mrikkasuīr	79,1	Cay	155,5	..	..	Citra

* These blanks will be filled up in the next number of the Journal, if the dates required and their names are found in other printed volumes of inscriptions.

Serial No.	Burmese Era.	A		PPA		UB 1.		Result as obtained by the rule. (Astrological name.)
		Name of Year.	Page and line.	Name of Year.	Page and line.	Name of Year.	Page and line.	
25	610	Krātuik	86,2	..	..	Kratuik	340,1	Krattikā
26	621	Āsin	90,6	Āsin	106,1	..	..	Assayujja
27	624	Putsa	101,1	..	..	Pussa	300,1	Phushya
28	631	Srawan	110,1	Srawan	263,15	..	..	Sarawan
29	645	Āsin	125,1	..	..	..	..	Assaujja
30	653	Mriksuil	130,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
31	656	Bhat	145,1	Phassa	123,16	..	..	Bhadra
32	659	Mrikkasuīl	139,1	..	..	..	..	Migasi
33	661	Āsat	143,1	Mākha	107,1	..	..	Māgha
34	664	Phussa	147,1	Pisyak	294,19	..	..	Wisākhā
35	666	Āsat	150,5	..	..	Kratuik	342,1	Āsalhī
36	674	Phrakuin	165,1	..	..	Cai	344,1	Phagguṇa
37	685	Mākha	178,1	..	..	..	..	Māgha
38	690	Āsat	184,1	..	..	..	..	Āsalhī
39	698	Phalakuin	191,1	..	..	..	..	Phagguṇa
40	710	Phrakuin	208,6	..	..	..	..	Phagguṇa
41	711	Cai	212,1	..	..	Cai	41,4	Citra
42	713	Bassa ⁵	222,3	..	..	..	..	Jettha
43	713	Jettha	225,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
44	717	Āsuk	239,1	..	..	..	..	Assayujja
45	722	Phalakun	256,1	..	..	..	..	Phagguṇa
46	723	Cai	160,1	..	..	..	..	Citra
47	725	Cisa	264,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
48	737	Cisa	286,1	Cissa	25,1	Cissa	29,16	Jettha
49	749	Bissa ⁶	321,1	Cay	331,11	Cissa	229,1	Jettha
50	755	Migasi	175,5	..	..	..	..	Migasi
51	760	Pisyhac	350,1	..	..	..	..	Wisākhā
52	791	Jay	377,1	..	..	..	..	Migasi
53	821	Migasi	406,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
54	833	Āsan	412,1	..	..	..	..	Jettha
55	871	Jettha	427,3	..	..	..	..	Sarawan
56	1145	Jettha	450,7	..	..	..	..	Jettha

MAUNG HLA.

⁵ Mistake for Cissa. C (°) is wrongly read b (°) and the superscript i (°) of c appears to have been obliterated.

⁶ Wrong reading for Cissa. Cf. note above.

PALI POETRY—A REVIEW.*

In the *Dhammapada* the world at large has been long acquainted with one choice collection of Pāli poetry whose stanzas have been culled from the best pages in early Buddhist literature; and that world has signified its considerable appreciation of the same by the repeated translations of it that have been made into the languages of all the leading Western peoples. Now in this latest volume of the "Translation Series" which the Pāli Text Society publishes, it is introduced to another collection of Pāli poetry which, if not so select as the *Dhammapada*—seeing that it is not a picked bouquet of verse but a regular part of the Pāli Canon—yet possesses in another way an interest scarcely inferior to that of the better known volume of verse. For if here there is no continuous stream of edifying and elevated poetical discourse, there is what some possibly will more appreciate, a succession of swiftly drawn but vividly touched sketches of life in a long past age, among people long passed from this scene of things, but who, after all, are not so very different from us of to-day that we cannot in some measure share their feelings, and with them sometimes be grave and sometimes gay. Moreover, in these pictures we get occasional intimate glimpses of the daily life of one of the noblest and most lovable of the world's great ones, such that if for no other reason, this "Book of Kindred Sayings, with Verses" were well worthy the attention of all who admire greatness and would wish to come a little closer to it. As Mrs. Rhys Davids says in her very readable preface: "Short and terse as are the representations of both saying and episode, they contribute not a little to body out our somewhat vague outline of India's greatest son, so that we receive successive impressions of his great good sense, his willingness to adapt his sayings to the individual enquirer, his keen intuition, his humour and smiling irony, his courage and dignity, his catholic and tender compassion for all creatures."

Sometimes the great Teacher is found in converse with his intimate friend, King Pasenadi, where the King often seems to give as good as he gets. At other times, the Sage manages gently to hint to the king a possible improvement in his way of life. Non-human beings appear on the scene between whiles,—angels, as perhaps we should call them, who come to the Teacher to express their approval of him and his teaching, and to be answered by him in words that improve the occasion. Ascetics of other sects get their say and their answer. Proud Brahmins "come to scoff and remain to pray," as it were. Erring brethren of the Buddha's company are corrected, or when faint, encouraged in the good way they have chosen, by fairies of the woodland who seem zealous for the good name of the Master and his Order, and address the weak Brother in

* The Book of the Kindred Sayings (*Sanyutta Nikāya*), or Grouped Suttas. Part I, *Kindred Sayings with Verses (Sagāthā-Vagga)*, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A. assisted by Sūriyagoda Sumangala Thera. Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press, London, 1918. Price, ten shillings.

verses of such power that, as the record says, "that Brother, stirred up by the Deva, was greatly moved." More than once the sound good sense displayed in these verses, is fully appreciable by us even at this day.

For example, a certain Brother named Kassapa whose habit it is to withdraw for meditation to a wood alone, is one day disturbed by a hunter in pursuit of a deer, and turning on the man, upbraids him for the cruel nature of the calling by which he earns his living. Thereupon a woodland deity appears on the scene and sets the Brother right thus:—

Comes stalking in the fastness of the hills
A silly trapper dull of intellect:—
Sheer waste of time to admonish such as he!
Methinks the Brother doing so is foolish.
The man nor hears nor understands. He looks,
But nothing sees! Thou mayst recite the Norm,
But never once the fool wake to his good.
Nay, wert thou here to hold up torches ten,
O Kassapa, still he would never see
The things he ought: 't is eyesight that he lacks.

The labour of fitting these Pâli stanzas with English words that will convey to a modern mind something at least of what the original words conveyed to those who first heard them two thousand years ago, is no slight one; but our translator has largely overcome the many difficulties in her way. Here is one of her happiest efforts. It is also, after its fashion, one of the happiest things in the Pâli original. That readers may be able to savour somewhat of its quality, even though ignorant of the language, we venture here to quote it entire along with a word for word interlinear translation, in case they may also like to see what a translator from the Pâli has to do in working up his raw material. The poem is entitled: *Kimdada* that is: *Giver of What?*

<i>Kimdado</i>	<i>balado</i>	<i>hoti?</i>	<i>Kimdado</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>vaṇṇado?</i>
What-giver	strength-giver	is?	What-giver	is	beauty-giver?
<i>Kimdado</i>	<i>sukhado</i>	<i>hoti?</i>	<i>Kimdado</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>cakkhudo?</i>
What-giver	happiness-giver	is?	What-giver	is	sight-giver?
<i>Ko ca sabbadado hoti?</i>	<i>Tam me akkāhi pucchito!</i>				
Who and all-giver is?	That to me announce, asked!				
<i>Annado</i>	<i>balado</i>	<i>hoti.</i>	<i>Vatthado</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>vaṇṇado.</i>
Food-giver	strength-giver	is.	Clothing-giver	is	beauty-giver.
<i>Yānado</i>	<i>sukhado</i>	<i>hoti.</i>	<i>Dīpado</i>	<i>hoti</i>	<i>cakkhudo</i>
Means-of-movement-giver	happiness-giver	is.	Lamp-giver	is	sight-giver.
<i>So ca sabbadado hoti yo dadāti upassayaṃ.</i>					
He and all-giver is who gives dwelling.					
<i>Amataṃ</i>	<i>dado ca so hoti yo dhammaṃ amuṣāsati.</i>				
Deathlessness	giver and he is who Doctrine teaches.				

It is easy to imagine the child who first sat down to learn by heart this simple rhyme, tripping off his tongue with much enjoyment its jingling *do's* and *da's*, and at the same time, without knowing it, imprinting on his memory some things which his teachers may possibly have found it difficult to fix there in any other way. Here is Mrs. Rhys Davids' rendering of the little poem.

What doth he give, who giveth strength?
 Or he that giveth comeliness?
 What doth he give, who giveth sight?
 Or he that giveth happiness?
 Who all doth give, what giveth he?
 Asked art thou: declare to me.

He giveth strength, who giveth food.
 Who giveth gear, gives comeliness.
 He giveth sight, who giveth lamp.
 And he it is, who gives happiness.
 Who giveth means to move. Whoso
 Doth give a dwelling, giveth all.
 Who in the Norm doth give instruction, he
 Giveth the gift to be from death set free.

Over the page from these verses is a set of lines which possess a pathetic interest, for they are also to be found placed at the beginning of the volume as its dedication, being inscribed: To My Beloved Son;—the son of Dr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids, as some in Burma perhaps may already know, having been a young airman who now lies buried in French earth. Here are the mother's lines from the Pâli in which she commemorates that young life lately passed like so many another beyond all human sight and hearing.

'Straight' is the name by which that Road is called;
 And 'Free from Fear' the land for which thou'rt bound.
 Thy chariot is the 'Silent Runner' named,
 With wheels of Righteous Effort fitted well.
 Conscience the Leaning-board; the Drapery
 Is Heedfulness; the Driver is the Norm,
 I say, and Right Views they that run before.
 And be it woman, be it man for whom
 Such chariot doth wait, by that same car
 Into Nibbāna's presence shall they come.

One of the most satisfying things about our translator's renderings is that where need is to make the meaning clear, she does not hesitate boldly to incorporate with her text the cognate part of the commentary. Such procedure requires no apology when dealing with a language like

Pâli of a long past day whose ways of thought and expression are in many respects alien to us, or at least, unfamiliar. In Pâli verse often, we seem to have under our eyes not so much a language as a collocation of ideograms which doubtless conveyed perfectly clear and definite ideas to those who first wrote and read them, but to us of another clime and era, are simply conundrums in the absence of help from some commentator of a day nearer to those days than ours. Needless to say, a scholar of Mrs. Rhys Davids' eminence, is fully informed of all that Buddhaghosha, the Chief of Commentators, has to say about these verses and everything connected with them, and gives us the full benefit of her wide knowledge both in her renderings and in the illuminating notes with which her pages are strewn.

In one of these notes, on page 77, there is an amusing storyette from the Commentary about a poor Deva who has been hugely enjoying Paradisal life under a tree in whose branches nymphs have perched themselves, and soothe his half-waking dreams with song and down-flung showers of blossom. Suddenly the Kamma, the "doing" that has brought these nymphs to this bower of delight, comes to an end, and a sequence of unhappy Kamma comes into action which hurries them off to a purgatorial world. Our Deva, missing their Heliogabulian attentions, wakes wholly, sees that his attendants are gone, perceives also to what an unhappy fate they have fallen, and comes to the Buddha with the bitter complaint (which forms part of the verses of the text) that what he had expected had not happened, and what he had never looked for had come to pass; and he pitifully enquires of the Buddha if he knows of anything to mend his trouble. But the Buddha, as for men, so also for gods and sons of gods, has but one remedy. He says:—

Save for high wisdom's modes, by ways austere,
 Save by restraint of powers and faculties,
 Save by renouncing, by forsaking all,
 No safety do I see for living things.

"And" concludes the narrative with sardonic humour, "the Deva vanished there and then." He has heard enough. Renunciation is no popular doctrine with godlings any more than with men.

The speech of another Deva who however, does not draw near the Buddha to complain but to utter praise, is pleasantly rendered in these verses:—

How many things light up the world and make it bright and clear?
 To ask this question, Sir, we've come. Thy word we fain would hear.

Four things give light unto the world; a fifth ye'll not descry.
 By day the sun doth shine; by night the moon makes bright the sky.
 And fire gives light by day and night, shining now here now there.
 But of all things that shine, as best: light of the Buddha stands confessed,
 Glory without compare.

The Buddha as an advocate of slaughter will come to many with a shock of surprise. Here are the verses in which another Devaputta (son of the gods) tells about that slaughter,—verses, however, in which the believers in big battalions will not find overmuch satisfaction.

What must we slay if we would happy live?
 What must we slay if we would grieve no more?
 What is't above all other things whereof
 The slaughter thou approvest, Gotama?

Wrath must ye slay if ye would happy live.
 Wrath must ye slay if ye would grieve no more.
 Of wrath, victor of Vatra, with its source
 Of poison, and its climax murderous sweet:—
 That is the slaughter by the Ariyans praised,
 That must ye slay if ye would weep no more.

But it is not as an associate of gods or godlings that Gotama of the Sakyas will interest us most: we shall much prefer to see him in the simple relations of man to man; and it is in such relations that we chiefly find him, presented in the "Kosala" section of the book. Here he is shown us in the intimate intercourse of friend with friend, exchanging opinions and comment with Pasenadi, King of Kosala, a territory neighbouring that which would have been his own, had he not rather chosen to be lord over men's hearts and minds than over a few thousand acres of soil.

One day, so these pages tell, King Pasenadi visits his ascetic friend, having risen from a table where he has dined so freely on a favourite dish that he puffs and pants with repletion as he takes his seat before one whose "dinner" has probably consisted of a dish of juggery, honey, ghee, and sesamum oil, all boiled together into a sort of treacle, accompanied by a drink of fruit juice. We can picture without difficulty the Buddha eyeing his panting royal friend with an eye in which there is more than a gleam of raillery, as he utters the verse:—

For sons of men who ever mindful live,
 Measure observing in the food they take,
 Lessened for them becomes the sway of sense,
 Softly old age steals on, their days prolonged.

The king takes the hint in good part, and tells his son behind him to pay close attention and commit to memory the stanza, and recite it to him every day when dinner is brought in. At the same time he gives orders that only a certain moderate measure of rice is to be served him at each meal. And later, so the record says, he has occasion to comment on his greatly improved physical health, all due to observing his friend's counsel; and enthusiastically he declares that the Buddha's re-

commendations are good in affairs temporal no less than in matters eternal.

On the following page, under the heading: "Two Sayings about War," there is something that may or may not be apposite to present world-circumstances, but is worth mention in passing.

Pasenadi, it seems, has been defeated in battle by his and the Buddha's old ill-wisher, Ajatasattu of Magadha. And when the Bhikkhus (whom Mrs. Rhys Davids, with no just provocation that we can see, calls 'almsmen') come and tell their Master what has happened, he remarks that King Pasenadi, a defeated man, that night will lie down in misery; and utters the verse:—

Conquest engendereth hatred, for he who is conquered is wretched.
Happiness is to the stilled, who have finished with winning and losing.

But later on, so the prose part of the narrative relates, the two kings meet again in battle, and this time Pasenadi is completely victorious and takes from his captured enemy his entire army, leaving him only his life. Hearing of which from his 'almsmen,' the Buddha utters the verses:—

A man may plunder as may serve his ends;
But when that others take to plundering,
Then, plundered, he will plunder back again.
The fool thinks: "Now's my opportunity!"
Whenas his evil is not come to fruit.
But when his evil deed is come to fruit,
Ah! then the fool knows what is suffering.
Thus through the evolution of the deed,
The man who spoils is in his turn despoiled.

Further along in this "Kosala" section, we find King Pasenadi asking his friend one day what kind of gift yields most good fruit. The Buddha replies by asking the king what he would do if, mustering his army, he found he had got among his men a youth who was of the noble-men class but was unskilled in arms, timid of nature, and likely to run away in battle,—would he keep a man like that? would such a man be of any use to him? The king replies that he would not have such a man, that he would not be of any use to him, even if he did belong to the noblemen class.

Then the Buddha asks him if he would keep a man for his army who was well trained, courageous, and not likely to run away in battle, no matter what was his rank, even if he were a common labourer. The king replies that he certainly would keep such a man, that he would be just what he wanted in his army. Whereupon the Buddha, first of aristo-democrats, tells his friend that it is the same in his system of training; and speaks the verse:—

As prince engaged in war would keep that youth
 In whom he saw good bowmanship displayed
 And supple energy; and would not choose
 On ground of rank, one craven and unfit;
 So would the wise do reverence to him
 Who, though of lowly birth, led noble life
 Of self-control and magnanimity.
 Let givers pleasant hermitages make.....
 Let them with candid trusting heart bestow
 Victuals and water and dried meats and gear
 And lodging on the men of upright mind.....

so doing, they will have abundant fruit of their gifts, conclude the verses.

And in the last talk between these two friends recorded in this section, the ascetic reminds the king, with almost evangelistic fervour, of the central point of his teaching. He asks him what he would do were he to be told some fine day that a great enormous mountain was moving forward upon his realm from each of the four quarters of space, crushing and destroying every living being in its track. And he goes on to tell the king that such a destroying agency is actually now moving down upon him and every creature alive, the crushing mountain of old age and death; and concludes his talk with the verses:—

As when huge mountain crags, piercing the sky,
 Advance in avalanches on all sides,
 Crushing the plains east, west, and north and south,
 So age and death come rolling over all.
 Noble and brahmin, commoner and serf,
 None may evade or play the truant here.
 Th' impending doom o'erwhelmeth one and all.
 Here is no place for strife with elephants,
 Or chariots of war, or infantry,
 Nay, nor for war of woven spell or curse,
 Neither may golden bribes buy off that day.
 Wherefore let him, the keen discerning man
 Of active mind, to his own good attend,
 In Buddha, Norm, and Order place his trust.
 Who doeth right in deed and word and thought,
 Here winneth praise, and bliss in life to come.

It is rather interesting to meet in these pages with the prototype of Lear and Père Goriot. On page 222, under the heading, "The Millionaire, or The Shabby Cloak," we are told of an unhappy brahmin who pays the Buddha a visit, and being asked why he looks so hard bestead and wears such a coarse cloak, replies that his four sons and their wives have turned him off, and he is now under the necessity of begging his daily food from others' doors. So true is it that on the stage

of the world-play the same old characters are always present; only they are played by new actors.

A touch of the quiet humour characteristic of the Buddha at times, meets us on page 219. He has been upon his usual morning begging round to the door of a certain brahmin three days in succession. On the third morning, the brahmin testily remarks: "A pertinacious person is this friar Gotama. He comes back again and again." Whereupon the "pertinacious person" sasy in verse, or is made to speak so by the chronicler:—

Again, again is seed in furrow sown,
 Again, again the cloud-king sends his rain,
 Again, again the ploughman ploughs the fields,
 Again, again corn comes into the realm,
Again, again do beggars go their round,
Again, again do generous donors give,
 Again, again when many gifts are given,
 Again, again the donors find their heaven.
 Again, again the dairy folk draw milk,
 Again, again the calf its mother seeks,
 Again, again we tire and toil anew,
 Again, again the dullards seek rebirth,
 Again, again do birth and dying come,
 Again, again men bear us to the grave.

But once the man of insight broad that Path
 Which brings no new becoming doth attain,
 Then is he no more born again, again.

And thus that brahmin is well answered,—so well answered, indeed, that forthwith he becomes a follower for life of him who had begged from him "again and again."

And now,—reversing nursery practice—having dispensed his jam first, the conscientious reviewer has to come to the administering of the powder. It is with diffidence that one ventures to call in question the judgment of a learned lady like Mrs. Rhys Davids, but the question will not down: Is the five-foot iambic English verse the best fitted to represent the four-foot measure which is that of the great majority of these poems in the original Pâli? It is much to be doubted. There is a lightness, a lilt about the four-foot Pâli line that is entirely lost in a translation into five-foot verse. It cannot be helped: It is inherent in the nature of the verse. Even in the hands of a master who knows all the tricks of the trade and make fullest use of them, there is a heaviness, a slowness about English iambic verse which is in acute contrast to the ripple and run of good four-foot lines. Even Tennyson, master of his craft as he was, and resorting to every device he knew—and he knew them all—to make his five-foot lines march, seldom succeeds in getting them to do

more than shuffle forward; only at times, in response to his efforts, do they assume a forced and artificial animation. There is nobody to-day except may be a few boarding-school misses, if even they, who would not a hundred times rather read of Arthur and his knights in Malory's brave prose than in Tennyson's blank, often, very blank verse.

Let us illustrate; for "to those of understanding many a difficult matter is made clear by means of an illustration."

On page 166 we have these lines of our translator:—

Once born we die. Once born we see life's ills—
The bonds, the torments and the life cut off.
The Buddha hath revealed the Norm to us—
How we may get beyond the power of birth,
How we may put an end to every ill.
He brought and stablished me upon the Truth.
They that are born in worlds material,
And they that dwell in immaterial heavens:—
If they know not how they may end it all—
Are goers, all of them, again to birth.

And here is a translation which corresponds line for line with the original, and is in the same measure as that original:—

The born are doomed to certain death.
The born see griefs and sufferings,
Bonds, tortures, and death-dealing stroke,
Wherefore I take no joy in birth.

The Buddha hath the Doctrine taught
How we may pass beyond all birth
And leave behind all suffering:
He hath me stayed upon the Truth.

Who come to birth in worlds of form,
Who come to birth in formless worlds,
They know not, they, the end of all,
They pass again to birth-and-death.

With all respect to Mrs. Rhys Davids we submit that there can be no two opinions as to which of these is the superior verse-form wherein to present Theri Cāla's stanzas to English ears. It is true that this happens to be a comparatively easy example to translate line for line and in the same metre, into English. In many other cases the close-packed terse Pāli might require two four-foot lines in English for the one of the original, to give all its meaning; but even so, the four-foot measure seems the only appropriate vehicle to carry over into English the lightness and flow of the Pāli. The Pāli lines, each as a rule containing a single statement rounded and complete, give to each whole poem an air

of neat compactness and finish which does not appear at all in a translation into five-foot lines where the meaning is frequently broken off through the line coming to an end, and carried over to be finished as likely as not, in the middle of the next line. This practice is quite permissible in ordinary English blank verse; it is indeed one of the devices resorted to in order to relieve the inevitable tedium of lines that are too regularly regular; but it only too effectively disguises and conceals, and so fails to do justice to, what is one of the main beauties of Pali verse.

A few minor defects in the volume are to be noted. On page 49 and also on page 50, there is a line in which a foot is missing of the metre; and on page 193 there is a line that has a foot too many. On page 54 the last word of the text ought surely to be "what" in place of "this"? Otherwise the sentence concerned is not rightly a question.

And could the great Teacher ever fall so far from his wonted dignity as to use such a word as "jabber," which he is made to do on page 297? Would not "babble" serve the turn equally well?

"Slacker," also, and "doping," and "reckoned" as a synonym for "were considered," which appear on pages 280, 279, and 282, in text and notes, respectively, are not yet admitted to the rank of book English.

These are trifling things to mention; but where a book is so good and in every way so well got up as this, it might as well be made a little better by holding to King's English right through to the final page.

For a last word: If there are any in Burma who, having done their duty by the pagodas, now would like to do similarly by the religion, a commendable method might be to send a little encouragement in the shape of a cheque to the Pâli Text Society, of which the translator of this valuable volume is the ever-busy moving spirit, so that she may be enabled to bring out in good time in collaboration with Prof. Maung Tin a translation, accompanied by the authentic Pali text, of that compendium of Buddhist practice, the Visuddhi Magga. Almost entirely unaided, for many years Mrs. Rhys Davids and her husband have been managing the business of the Pâli Text Society, bringing out reliable texts of the Buddhist Writings, so that the Western world may not lack a knowledge of them. And within the last ten years she has embarked upon the enterprise of bringing out reliable English translations of important Pâli works, and has herself done much of the difficult and onerous labour of making these translations, inspired by nothing but her interest in, and enthusiasm for, the good work. It would be a graceful thing to give her a little heartening from this Buddhist land, in the task she has taken upon her as pure labour of love, by relieving her of some of the necessity of looking about for funds wherewith to meet the constantly increasing costs of paper and labour for the printing of these volumes. *Dhammadānam sabbadānam jināti*. The gift of the Dhamma is the greatest of all gifts, and those who take any kind of part in it make the richest merit of all men.

BURMESE NOVELS.

5—MYA GALE:* *by the author of Maung Hmaing, etc.*

Some considerable time has elapsed since the receipt of this book for review from the Editor of the Journal of the Burma Research Society. It would be kinder, perhaps, both to the author and to readers of the Journal to leave it unreviewed but the arrival of a peremptory reminder has withdrawn the case from the court of Justices Pity and Procrastination and judgment must at length be passed upon Mya Gale.

The sole virtue of the story is the easy narrative style which we have come to take for granted in all Burmese novels.

Pamela Mya Gale (it is curious that the author seems ignorant throughout of her first name; independent sources of information leave no room for doubt that it was Pamela) was an obscure maiden living in Ava somewhere near the palace. Her mother was dead and her father was a pious foolish old man. She spent most of her time—for she was very beautiful—in repelling the advances of various *runns* and other gentlemen of the period, for postage stamp collecting was then an unknown hobby and a complete and well equipped harem was the general object of ambition. All of her wooers were treated to dull and lengthy lectures far exceeding anything the English Pamela ever accomplished. Women were naturally her enemies. After she became a maid of honour the whole palace *gynaccum* was continually plotting against her, until an extremely credulous king ordered her to be trodden by elephants. A wearier lot however awaited, and the elephants refused to tread on her. She then spent sometime as a nun, but lest she should lose her faculty of lecturing, a venerable monk fell in love with her and had to be dealt with. Some of her old lovers, too, found out her hiding place and came hanging round. After the death of the principal queen the king remembered her and elevated her to the throne. The plotting started again but she is still queen at the end of volume I.

It is well known that the commercial novel runs on for as many volumes as the reading public may demand. Quite conceivably, a second volume of Mya Gale may be on the market. For people have to read something and Mya Gale may have been a welcome change after the weariful four-volume blackguardism of Maung Hmaing. Better books than either have appeared since and will continue to appear. The Burmese novel may not be a very high form of literature but it is a living literature of sorts.

Mya Gale, as has been said, is a palace novel. The palace convention has been as much of an obsession as the pastoral convention in the literature of other countries. The long sub-title or advertisement of the wares within which appears on the outside cover of such

* Rangoon : Brahmavati Press, 1912. An earlier edition was printed by the Tainglon Zabu Press, Rangoon 9th December, 1904—*Editor*.

novels, invariably claims to educate the reader in polite and oily language—to give an unsympathetic and possibly inaccurate translation. As there is no danger nowadays of being put under a mat and trodden by elephants the need for this sort of language is not great. And even in the old days the efficacy of the polite and oily style seems to have been exaggerated. In spite of Mya Gale's accomplishments in the talking line, the king ordered her to the elephants. Possibly if the elephants could have understood her they would have trodden on her a little.

J. A. STEWART.

6.—*Maung Hmaing*: Part III, by U Maung Gyi, Rangoon, Kavin-dāsiri Press, Waso 1267 B. E.

A wearisome continuation of the same tale of the doings of a neurotic flirt in the days of polygamic Burma. This volume like its predecessors has no other value than that of fine language in the mouths of the many lovers.

—Editor

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, 31st March, 1918-9. (The Lineage of Kyanzittha).

One of the most important points of controversy in Burmese history is the lineage of Kyanzittha, the famous King of Pagan. Mr. Taw Sein Ko discusses it in the Report under review, and on the strength of two extracts from Arakanese manuscripts decides that the Vesāli from where Anawrata obtained the Princess Pañca-Kalyāṇī, the disputed mother of Kyanzittha, is not in India but in Arakan and that the Princess "is no other than the prosaic Arakanese Princess Hti Hlaing Pru." We confess ourselves unable to agree to this. History for history why should these two extracts from Arakanese manuscripts have greater validity than the Hmannan Yazawin and other Burmese chronicles? We want very strong evidence before we demolish Burmese History. One reason assigned by Mr. Taw Sein Ko for the improbabilities of Mr. Duroiselle's theory (virtually the same as that of the Burmese histories) that Kyanzittha's mother was an Indian Princess is "the distance between Pagan and Central India, together with the absence of facilities of communication, social intercourse and of a common language" (p. 15). There was a difference of only seven years between the death of Anawrata (1077 A. D.) and the ascension of Kyanzittha (1084 A. D.) and yet the following paragraph of the Report treats of 'Intercourse of Pagan with Northern and Southern India', how 'Kyanzittha sent a mission to India with funds for the restoration and endowment of the temple at Bodh Gayā', i. e., in Majjhima-desā (Central India), from where the Princess Kalyāṇī came to be Anawrata's Queen. This we think is sufficiently self-contradictory. We do not maintain that there is no Vesāli in Arakan. But the mere fact that a Vesāli has been identified in Arakan is no reason why a Princess should not come from Vesāli

in Central India (Majjhimadesa, definitely stated in the Burmese chronicles). In identifying a town due regard should be attached to the country where it is situated. In putting forward the theory that the Vesāli in question is in Arakan and not in Central India, Mr. Taw Sein Ko has not taken Central India into account. Will Mr. Taw Sein Ko disbelieve that a Princess—let us suppose—was educated at Cambridge, England, simply because some American friend gives documentary evidence of the existence of a Cambridge in America?

Mr. Taw Sein Ko has also disregarded the name of the Princess. Pañca-kalyāṇī, the beautiful Indian name is consigned to oblivion in favour of Hti Hlaing Pru, the name of the Arakanese Princess mentioned in the aforesaid extract. The name of the Princess has been changed together with her nationality. The extracts also refer to the invasion of Arakan by Anawrata, a fact not corroborated by Burmese history. However that may be, both Mr. Taw Sein Ko and Mr. San Shwe Bu, Honorary Archaeological Officer for Arakan suggest that the silence of the Burmese historians is to be attributed to the failure of the invasion. If so, it would be difficult to believe how the King of Vesāli could have presented his daughter to an invader who did not meet with success. The whole allusion to the invasion is not convincing at all.

In showing these improbabilities in Mr. Taw Sein Ko's theory, we do not wish to be understood to place implicit faith in the Burmese Chronicles. But before such time-honoured traditions are brushed away as so much cob-web we should like to sift the arguments against them. The wisest plan is to withhold one's opinion until Mr. Duroiselle has visited Vesāli in Arakan.

Editor.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE AUGUST 1918, Vol. VIII, Part II.

1. **Die Republication in den indianischen, indonesischen und indogermanischen Sprachen**, von Prof. Dr. Renward Branstetter, [1917].
2. **Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma**, for the year ending 31st March 1918.
3. **The Indian Antiquary**, April and May 1918.
4. **The Progress Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle**, for the year, 1917-18.
5. **The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland**, Vol. XLVIII, 1918—January to June.
6. **The Annual Progress Report (abridged) of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle**, for the year ending 31st March 1918.
7. **Journal of the East India Association**, October, 1918.
8. **Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Part I**, 1916-17.
9. **Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle**, for the year ending 31st March, 1918.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Mr. J. A. Maung Gyee, Barrister-at-law was duly elected a member on 25th September, 1918.

Mr. J. C. Mackenzie, I.C.S. took over charge of the duties of Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer from the Editor on 27th September, 1918.

EDITOR.

Ordinary Meeting.

THE GREATER TEMPLES OF PAGAN.

By Mr. G. H. Luce.

An ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at the Rangoon College on Thursday night when a paper entitled "The Greater Temples of Pagan" by Professor G. H. Luce of the Rangoon College was read.

Mr. M. Hunter presided and there was a good attendance. In the absence of Professor Luce on military duty in India, Professor Ward read the paper, illustrating the subject by means of photographs and sketches, which proved of great interest. The paper is printed in the present number of the Journal.

Dr. Gilmore said he wished to say something which though not having to do with the paper he thought was interesting. Rev. Dr. Strong after returning from his visit to Pagan remarked to him that the temples in Pagan were erected about the time when Cathedral buildings in Europe started. This he (speaker) thought was a coincidence which was interesting, and that was why he had made mention of it.

The Bishop of Rangoon inquired as to the cause of the difference in style of architecture between the Ananda and the That-byin-nyu. Did Mr. Ward know who the architects were? Were they Indians or what races did they belong to?

Mr. Ward said that a good deal of Indian art was in evidence, particularly in the That-byi-nyu, but the Ananda was more Burmese in style. He could not say who the architects were or whether they came from India.

Mr. Ross thought that some of the temples were peculiarly shaped, and reminded one of Singalese, Indian or Chinese temples.

Mr. Harvey inquired as to whether Mr. Ward could tell them whether the architecture of these temples was efforts of one master mind or the result of the townsfolk; whether they were the efforts of one leading spirit, who was inspired by the people?

The Bishop of Rangoon said that he has visited Pagan and thought that the Ananda Temple was the most beautiful.

Mr. Ward said that those who had studied the temples closely thought that the That-byin-nyu was the finest. The Ananda was kept better and that accounted for its outward appearance. But the Bishop probably saw the That-byin-nyu when it had not received its usual clearing and looked dark and dismal.

The chairman in closing the meeting said the thanks of the society were due to Mr. Luce for his interesting paper and they all hoped that when he returned from India, he would be able to enlighten them more on the matter. Thanks were also due to Mr. Ward for his trouble in connection with the illustrations and explaining the paper. This was the first time that anything in the way of illustrating a paper had been done at their society meetings, and he hoped it would not be the last. An attempt had been made to give notice of this and open the meeting to the public, but this was not done. He regretted to see that more of their Burmese members had not attended.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks for Mr. Luce, Mr. Ward and the chairman.

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THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

(FOUNDED 1910)

*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in
relation to Burma and neighbouring Countries.*

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THE MONASTERIES OF PAGAN.*

Burmese Art and Architecture have been smothered for years by a cloud of indifference and unconsciousness on the part of the British and Burmese public and officials. Through the initial action of Lord Curzon, a good deal has been done to safeguard these objects, but nothing has been done since Sir Henry Yule wrote his "Mission to the Court of Ava" in 1855, to dispel the public ignorance that exists as to the nature, the intellectual and artistic value of Burmese buildings.

So much has this spirit of "What, can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" been prevalent, that very few people are aware of the existence of a wonderful series of Burmese semi-religious buildings contemporaneous in date with the Great Temples of the 11th and 12th centuries.

I refer to the monasteries large and small, simple and complex, that are grouped in large numbers in and around Pagan. These monasteries are in themselves quite a complete study and reveal much that is not disclosed by the study of the Temples alone. The free manner in which the plan and arrangements were varied, according to the special needs of each case, is most marked, and shows that the Burmese were not slavish copyists of accepted forms and features, where the religious rules permitted freedom. In addition to this versatile spirit, the mastery of considerable architectural problems is revealed in the magnificent scale of the larger monasteries, which is quite startling to the average person who believes that the priest or phongyi never lived in anything better than a ruined wooden kyaung.

An average example of one of these monasteries would approximate to the size of the Keep to a Norman Castle, the Burmese buildings having large vaulted halls and passages two storeys in height, reached by staircases arranged in the thickness of the walls. The whole was finished with plaster enrichments, terra-cotta enamels and frescoes, all of which seem to have been of a higher artistic excellence than much of what was attempted by the Normans. The Burmese carried out massive vaulting on the

lower and upper floor levels without difficulty and disposed of the great thrusts of vaults which provided difficult problems for the Gothic builders. The arch in all its forms, circular, pointed and flat was well known and constantly used, while in India the arch at this period was unknown and only the circular arch was in use in Europe. The exterior treatment was refined, well balanced, and worthy to take a distinguished place among the achievements of the past. Thus it appears that the affluence of that Burmese period was doubtless much in advance of any culture the East then knew or that has since been known in Burma. All this we shall see portrayed even in the dwellings of such renowned ascetics as the Buddhist Monk. Of the many types of these monasteries, there are clearly defined groups showing distinct stages of development, and I propose to describe these now in sequence.

Plate 1. This is the simplest and most elementary form. A square building containing one apartment downstairs and one upstairs, and vaulted with plain pointed vaults springing from one central pier. This pier contained a small cell on the first floor. Attached to the entrance front or main facade was a large square platform covered by a triple gable wood roof, and supported by rows of wood posts. This external feature is confirmed in several instances by the remains left of the lines of the roof on the wall, and the stone sockets for the upright posts carrying the roof which yet remain on the platform. The main shrine in this type of monastery was outside the building in this open porch, and formed the central feature of this facade in an elliptical recess on the central axis, with a door on each side leading to the building, the three features being enriched with small pilasters and flame pediments. In the later types the shrine or image is placed inside the monastery. In general effect these buildings were well handled. Two of these monasteries were grouped together about 50 feet apart and enclosed with the usual bold fence wall. The main walls were battered, i.e., sloped inwards, and finished with a main cornice, angle pilasters and strongly marked plinth; all these

* Delivered at an Ordinary Meeting at Rangoon College on 6th February, 1920.

devoted to the educational side of the priests' life. It is unlikely that these halls were employed for ordination as they are far too open to public access, and the presence of the priests' living cells is against it. The staircases arranged on both sides of and off the main porch are quite what we should expect in European buildings, and not in Eastern buildings, where they are generally relegated to some odd and out of the way corner. These stairs led to the first floor level, which appears to have existed over the square hall only. The exterior design of this building was most successful and direct. The oblong building is treated with a pedestal, plinth pilasters, cornices and parapets, on good classical lines, while the upper floor is set back and forms a kind of "Attic." The whole facade forms the restful setting for the projecting pyramidal central porch, giving the keynote of richness and national spirit to the composition.

Plate 7. The last type of monastery is the largest and combines the arrangements of the last two buildings in one. This example is found near the temple of Apeyatana and marks a climax in coherent and articulate planning, which throughout is such a marked characteristic of Burmese construction. The outline of the building is an exact square broken on its east and west sides by the projecting entrance hall and chapel respectively. A great central hall about 45 feet square is the main apartment with cells and exit passages around the north and south sides and angles. A staircase with its tower occupies the south-east angle and evidently only led to the flat roof which was of wood and has disappeared. But the shrine chamber was carried up to the roof level and a similar shrine and image appear here, which was finished externally as a central western tower to the west facade. All the arches to the windows and most of the doors are flat arches with radiating voussoirs beautifully finished. This form of arch was well known to the Burmese, as it appears in many other buildings, and is freely used as a relieving arch. This is a remarkable thing, as it is very doubtful and improbable that this refinement of the arch principle was even known to any nation in Europe at this period of history. Now I decline to attempt to trace the prototypes of these buildings, as it would require an extensive knowledge of the early Indian and Chinese buildings before any-

thing conclusive could be reached. But I have observed the very close similarity between the Indian rock-cut Vihara caves at Ajanta and the last monastery near the Apeyatana. A series of these are illustrated in Fergusson's History of Arch. The examples described as caves Nos. 2, 3 and 16 are almost replicas of this Burmese example as far as the plan is considered, with the exception that in the rock-cut halls there was no need for the numerous side exits, and the entrance took the form of a long portico rather than a square entrance hall. The interior effect of these rock-cut examples with their massive stone columns and heavy entablatures and ceiling were undoubtedly very far removed from the effect produced by the Burmese buildings. This goes to show that the procedure conventions and religious system of the Indian Buddhists were faithfully adhered to as far as it could be conveyed by written rules, and we see the established precedents of religion reflected in the arrangements of the plan, but the way in which the plan has been clothed by the Burmese is entirely national and peculiar to the race. Having given some outline of a few of the types of the monasteries I was fortunate to come across in my brief visit to Pagan, I now propose to describe a few of the minor parts. The phongyi or priest's cell is an apartment common to all these buildings and seldom varied much. This was an apartment about 8 feet or 10 feet square placed on an outside wall, vaulted with a plain intersecting pointed vault. The external wall contained one window often filled and divided up into squares with brick mullions and bars, or finished with a wood open frame of the same character. The two side walls contained niches generally arranged with two in one wall and one in the other—the entrance door being on the internal end, which was also of wood. On careful inspection of all the cells the old beam holes of an upper floor still remain. This doubtless formed the monk's sleeping apartment and could be reached by a bamboo ladder. Light was often admitted by small spy holes through the wall. All the wall surfaces were properly plastered and were finished with very plain frescoes consisting chiefly of black and gold lines cutting the wall surface up into panels and marking the cornices and skirting lines, and picking out the niches with ogee-shaped arch heads. The whole effect

was most refined and well lighted, making living rooms that would not be despised to-day.

I should be unworthy of my subject if I left it without some reference to the cardinal and national feature of Burmese Architecture; I refer to what has been described as the Flame Pediment or Gable which is employed both as a structural form and decorative feature to doors, windows, porches, gables and in every conceivable position where its character could be displayed to some artistic advantage. Its form and composition is probably too well known to need any description from me. Its astonishingly unusual character expressed through the medium of brick or stone has formed the subject of wide speculation and conjecture, without ever reaching any reasonable or satisfactory solution as to what brought it into being as a pronounced national feature. This question was constantly before me during my stay in Pagan and much that I saw there led me to what appears as a very reasonable solution. In studying the broad issues of each national style of architecture there is always one condition which inevitably shaped its characteristics in one certain set direction. That was the character of the building material each nation was forced to use. To take a few instances—the Egyptians had to depend upon reeds and Nile mud for their early buildings, and this necessity produced the great sloping expanses of wall surface, the peculiar cornices, the reeded columns, and almost every detail that attracts the eye. The Assyrians had no timber or stone, and perforce the brick was evolved, with all its possibilities in arches, domes and so on. The Greeks employed timber and we see the resulting post and lintel and finally the column and entablature in marble. The Romans discovered the use of concrete and spanned enormous spaces with the dome, and were enabled to take the greatest stride in engineering the world has ever known. Examples could be continued thus with almost every nation. Now with this clue to work upon, an examination of the earliest building materials employed in Burma or China, their original home, should furnish some data—but the difficulty here is that in the majority of cases these materials were of a perishable nature, and nothing is left to us. However, sculptures, frescoes, carving and the like come to the rescue and

supply the missing evidence. From sketches of certain examples of frescoes and sculptures, that now exist in Pagan, it can be fairly established that this original building material was the palm tree, possibly in combination with timber and the bamboo. In several frescoes in a triple temple at Minanthu (Plate 8) are bold and clear drawings of this early type of construction, showing that the great stems of the large palm leaf were used in the construction of the angles of building and gave the concave curve so closely associated with Mongolian forms. In the use of these palm stalks the leaves were left on as a decorative feature and adorned every angle, gable and doorway with a fine bold and flame-like feature. The drawing shows a fine example of a tower of more markedly Mongolian type than anything usually associated with Burmese work and the palm leaf angles and gables are so unmistakable in their representation that it leaves little room for doubt as to the correctness of this theory. No form in wood could ever be practically executed in the manner shewn, but it will be observed how much it was modified when in later times wood was employed for this feature, until finally this again was represented in the brick and stone conventional lines seen to-day at Pagan. An example of this feature after it had attained a wooden form will be seen well represented in a sculpture group at the Ananda (Plate 8). This shows the palm leaf already subdued, but the curved form of the walls are still retained, although the wood was used in beams and uprights as are clearly shewn. The scroll form below the palm leaf or flame was derived from this form of ornament which always appears carved on the large boards of wood buildings even to-day. This scroll ornament was one of the symbols of Buddhism, used before the image of Buddha was introduced by the Greeks. It forms the shield of the Trident.

In bringing my remarks to a close, I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Ward and Professor Luce, whose enthusiasm in this neglected cause was inspiring, and through their wide knowledge and guidance I was enabled to gain some grasp of the extent and vast fund of information and history that lies at Pagan.

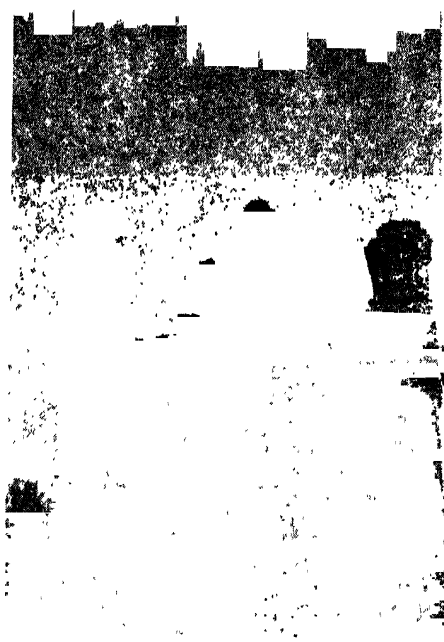


Fig. 3.

Figs. 1 and 2. Daxinpatto Monastery. See Plate 2

Fig. 3. A Monastery N.-W. of Upali Thien

Fig. 4. Monastery S. of Apyatana. See Plate 7.

Fig. 5. A palm leaf pediment



THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF CHANGE*

When I was approached to contribute a paper to be read at this first Oriental Conference at Poona, I could not help selecting the above subject, suggested partly by Mrs. Rhys Davids' illuminating article on the Buddhist Principle of Change⁽¹⁾ and partly by Professor K. M. Ward's lucid paper on Buddhism and Bergsonism,⁽²⁾ but chiefly as a protest against current views even at the risk of being considered reactionary or revolutionary. The present essay is but an elaboration of what I condensed and compressed into about forty lines on the Vipassanā course of culture in my Buddhist Philosophy of the Real.⁽³⁾

As the subject is of intrinsic importance, I am afraid this paper may exceed the Conference limit of 10 printed pages.

Pali scholars define rest as motion inhibited or arrested.⁽⁴⁾ Thus in their view motion is primary. That Buddhism, like Bergsonism, starts with motion, and not with rest, may be judged from the significance and implication of its technical term *anicca*. It is a compound of *a+na+i+tya*. Root 'i' means 'to go or move' and *icca*, therefore, signifies motion. But believers in souls assert rest by denying this motion,⁽⁵⁾ for their very conception of soul implies rigidity, fixity or stability.

Science teaches change, but before the discovery of radium, atomists, who believed in unalterability of their elements, admitted change of form only, and not of substance. Buddhists who deny this substance confute them. Their term *anicca* therefore implies a contradiction of rest and carries a negation or refutation of the wrong view of motion as rest. Thus for Buddhists, motion is real and rest, apparent; the latter being but an unperceived motion. The word *anicca* is applied to five complexes or Khandhas⁽⁶⁾ which

change, while *aniccatā* is used to express change. In point of fact, khandhas themselves constitute change and the mark of this change is denoted by the word *anicca-lakkhaṇa*. But it must be borne in mind that change is one thing and its mark, another.

The nature of this change is unmistakably described in Buddhist works as a flux. To us who cannot as yet realise this flux from within as do our stream-winners (*Sotāpannas*) it can only be described in the form of a simile: "Like the current of a river."⁽⁷⁾ But this remains a description like any other hearsay or report (*anussavādi*). In practice we Buddhists, from our present-day mental constitution in common with the rest of mankind, have of necessity to view this flux from outside as a succession of solidified or congealed states.

A child labours under hallucination of perception (*sañña-vippallāsa*) which perceives rest in motion.⁽⁸⁾ He takes what I may call a magic-lantern view of fixed pictures on plates across a screen. To him a thing takes a fairly long time to change. In other words, he views change by means of periods (*addhavasena*). With an adult who is still suffering from hallucination of mind (*citta-vippallāsa*) which views stability in mobility,⁽⁹⁾ a thing lasts a while before change. But philosophers not yet exempt from hallucination of view (*diṭṭhi-vippallāsa*), which judges a static condition in a dynamic flow,⁽¹⁰⁾ break up the flux into a cinematographic succession of what the Hon. Bertrand Russell calls time-corpuscles,⁽¹¹⁾ each lasting but a moment. That is to say, philosophers view change by means of moments (*khaṇavasena*).

True, the cinema is an improvement upon the magic lantern. It does not, however, differ in

*Contributed to the First Oriental Conference, Poona, November, 1919.

(1). *The Quest* (Oct. 1917).

(2). *J. B. R. S.* (Dec. 1918).

(3). *Op. cit* (Aug. 1917) Critics have apparently thought that I have read Bergsonism into Buddhism. I am an ardent admirer of Bergson's genius which wonderfully lights up obscure passages in Buddhism, and I may here frankly acknowledge my indebtedness to him for having opened my eyes. But he has not added any new thought to Buddhism.

(4). *Thā gatinivattiyān. Abhidhānappadīpikāśūci.*

(5). *Attādivasena na iccān. Tīkāgyaw.* It is curious that this heterodox phraseology as used by our author is translated by Burmese scholars by "not reachable, i.e., knowable in the sense of attā, etc." But I am inclined to think that he used the phrase in the sense of *na attādivasena iccān* (change without a soul, etc.).

(6). *Na niccanti aniccān, khandhapañcakan. Old Tika on Compdn.*

(7). *Nadisoto viya. Compdn.*

(8). *Anicca niccanti sañña-citta-diṭṭhi-vippallāso. Tīkāgyaw.*

(9). *The Monist* (July 1915).

kind but only in degree of the rapidity of succession of fixed pictures on a film instead of on plates.

Men may even succeed by means of their cultured intellect in conceiving of this succession as continuous (santati- or santāna-vasena).⁽¹⁰⁾

But the human concept of continuity (santati-paññatti) rather disguises the real continuity, since every concept is rigid and obscures its corresponding fluid reality by fixing it at least in our minds. That is to say, human mind is apt to regard continuity-as merely a series of momentary states. We spatially represent this series of states as bound together by continuity and causal laws. In this spatial representation of the time series, mankind depict the vanished past as still existing.

The faculty of perceiving change (anicca-saññā) in each of all the three classes of observers—the child, the adult and the philosopher—makes two marks (lakkhaṇas) in order to note a change. For it is the function of *saññā* to know, or rather note, a thing by means of the mark or marks made by itself,⁽¹¹⁾ just as a carpenter puts chalk-marks on his pieces of wood. The external observer places⁽¹²⁾ these selfmade marks upon things and looks upon becoming (bhava) as disappearing after coming into being.⁽¹³⁾ In other words, he analyses becoming into being (atthitā or bhāva) and non-being (natthitā or abhāva), growth (udaya) and decay (vaya); or, arising or generation (uppāda) and ceasing or dissolution (bhaṅga).

To no man is it possible to think of change except in, and by means of, these two terms. Indeed, they are essential conditions through which we are compelled by our very constitution to note a change. What is conceptual change? It is the disappearance of one thing or form succeeded by the re-appearance of another. By constantly thinking of change in these two terms, men became oblivious of the fact that these terms

were mere marks made by themselves as a means of noting change,⁽¹⁴⁾ i. e., in order to enable them intellectually to conceive change. And in course of time they began to look upon these marks of notation as real processes⁽¹⁵⁾ attaching themselves to things.

So the Buddha in the *Tika Aṅuttara* said:—

Uppāda (arising) is apparent⁽¹⁶⁾

and vaya (passing away) is apparent.⁽¹⁷⁾ But he added a

third hypothetical state after

these two terms in the form of *thiti* (duration) because men under the influence of hallucination of one kind or other mentioned above posit rest in the interval between the two terms. It will be noticed that this hypothetical mid-state was described by the Buddha last, and not between the two terms as it ought to have been if the three states were all real processes. The reversal of this natural order clearly shows that the *thiti* stage is superfluous as held by Ānanda, the author of *Mūlatikā*. In other words, *thiti* is not only a false, but a misleading, mark. The Buddha's actual phraseology was *thitassa aññathātani*, which literally means "a state (tāni) of duration (thitassa) other than (aññathā)." Other than what? Other than the two terms of genesis and dissolution already mentioned. So in our *Points of Controversy*⁽¹⁷⁾ we rendered it by "duration amidst change" since change is denoted by these two terms. My elder colleague, Mrs. Rhys Davids, has since preferred to render it by "otherwiseness of duration" in her striking *Quest* article. Thus she has made out change or alteration, the very opposite of duration in the ordinary, not the Bergsonian, sense of the term. But she is not alone in her interpretation, for she obtains support from such eminent scholars as Shwegyin Sadaw who held the same view of alteration from a state of rest. If this interpretation be correct, we must regard the phrase in question as merely explanatory of change as denoted by the two foregoing terms of *Uppāda* and *Vaya*. In that case the Buddha

(10). Ariyavaṃsa of Sagaing inclined to confine the expression santativasena to continuity in the present existence. Paccuppanabhava yeva atitānāgatapaccuppanna-santānavasena. *Maṣīḍaramaṇjūsā*.

(11). Saññāṃ katvā jānāti saññā. *Tikāgyaw*. Perception is a faculty that notes a thing by having made a mark.

(12). Lakkhaṇaṃ āropetvā. *Maṣīḍaramaṇjūsā*.

(13). Hutvā abhāva. *Tikāgyaw*.

(14). Anena lakkhitabbari. *Tikāgyaw*.

(15). Aniccatā yeva lakkhaṇaṃ (iti) lakkhitabbari. *Op. cit.*

(16). Paññāyati. On the implication of the word 'apparent' as opposed to 'real', see my *Dialogue on Nibbāna* in the *J. B. R. S.* (Dec. 1918).

(17). P. 55.

would have spoken of two phases or aspects or marks instead of three (*ttiṇi lakḥhanāni*) as he did. It seems to me that the word 'otherwise-ness' (*aññāthāttam*) should be understood as in the English expression 'Changeability or other-wiseness of things' where it expresses the contrast of changeability and not of things.

Buddhaghosa and other writers recognise *ṭhiti* as an intermediate phase between the two terms. But there can be no doubt that Buddhist scholars have the Bergsonian turn of mind, for it is curious that they also use the word *ṭhiti* (duration) in the Bergsonian sense of duration, i.e., in the sense of flux and not in the sense of rest. They render it by "maturation or transition towards dissolution." They are reluctant to commit the Buddha to the teaching of permanence, however short its duration may be. As a matter of fact, the Buddha never taught rest as part of his creed, but merely recounted what men under hallucination think. The Buddha tolerated intellectual change as a means to the intuition of true flux as will be abundantly clear from the following exposition of the Buddhist practice of insights to evolve intuition.

An aspirant to intuition is first exhorted to select and single out personality (Khandha) from among past, present and future cosmic things in causal relations⁽¹⁸⁾; and taking it as a whole⁽¹⁹⁾, he is to contemplate it as changeful by reason of dissolution⁽²⁰⁾, first by way of periods as in the case of a child and then by way of continuity or rather by way of continuous series. This continuity may be viewed by way of periods as in the case of a lay adult or by way of moments as in the case of a philosopher. The contemplative intellect (*sammasanāñña*), which develops time-corpuscles, handles (*sammasati*), so to speak, its object by means of the self-made marks referred to above. As its name implies, it is more a method than a distinct faculty of insight. It is, more or less, common⁽²¹⁾ to other insights which follow.

Hence the practitioner at this stage is not yet designated an accomplished seer.⁽²²⁾ Space does not permit us to show that this contemplative process is inductive and leads to a general conclusion that everything is changeful.⁽²³⁾

The next stage is the verification of this general conclusion. After a preliminary consideration of the arising of personalities in general in consequence of ignorance, desire, kamma and food (physical or mental) and their ceasings when these causes are withdrawn, the intellect, termed *udayabbaya-nāṇa*, now confines itself to a present, particular personality, preferably one's own, by way of moments without further reference to causal relations.⁽²⁴⁾ The practitioner carefully notes (*samanupassati*) the change of this individual personality by means of those two marks of waxing and waning made by intellect on each time-corpuscle as it flows past his post of observation or as he follows the flow itself. Human mind is apt to be satisfied with such a view of change. But we are unmistakably warned against the danger of this self-satisfaction. The conceptual apprehension of change (*aniccānupassanā*) is liable to be mistaken for intuition (*maggāñña*) of the real flux, and this mistake may prove a formidable obstacle (*vipassanupakkilesa*) to further progress of the mind towards spiritual development. It is, however, a distinct advance by which the mind has got rid of the misleading mark of *ṭhiti*, i.e., all traces of hallucination (*vippallāsa-nimitta*), viz., rigidity, fixity, staticity, stability, and so forth. Hence the word *aniccānupassanā* (the exercise of mind on change) is synonymous with *animittanupassanā*, a view of things as free from rest or rigidity. But it is not the goal. It is but a means to an end. It is, as it were, the gate of spiritual or transcendental intuition (*maggaphala-dvāra*) and is therefore, called 'means of emancipation' (*vimokkha-mukha*) from rigidity, fixity or stagnancy. The danger, of course, lies in regarding this useful means as an end-in-itself.

Intellectual
verification of
conceptual
change

(18). *Sappaccayesu tibhūmakasaṅkhāresu atitādibhedābhinnesu khandhādinayaṃ ārabha. Compdn. of Phil.*

(19). *Kāṭṭhavasena saṅkhipitvā. Op. cit.*

(20). *Kāṭṭhavasena aniccā. Compdn. of Phil.*

(21). *Tikāyaṇa sabbā pi vipassanā lakḥhaṇattaya-sammasana-kiccāva. Maṇidramāṇjusi.*

(22). *Sammasana-nāṇalābhi āradhavi-passakoti saṅkhyāṃ na gacchati. Op. Cit.*

(23). *Sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā. Dhammapada.*

(24). *Paccaye anāmasitvā paccuppanna-khandhesu nibbattilakkhana-mattassa vipariṇāmalakḥhana-mattassa ca dassanena khaṇavasena ca. Tikāyaṇa.*

Inter-relation
between concep-
tual change and
pain

Of the two marks of change made by intellect on things, the being is readily discernible but not the non-being except when it comes at the end of a considerable interval. So the intellect is now trained to note change by means of the sole mark of dissolution or 'passing-away' during the stage of *Bhaṅga-ñāṇa*. But whether discerned momentarily or at the end of an interval, human mind is averse to non-being. Our own mark of dissolution now frightens us as if it were a real process, just as a child is frightened by the stump of a tree, which it fancies to be a ghost.

Taking these marks to be real processes, Buddhist scholars regard things as again and again oppressed (*paṭipīlita*). But it is as absurd to regard an inanimate object as 'oppressed' as to regard any non-mental thing as painful. In point of fact, it is we that are reflexively oppressed by our own marks. This constant oppression constitutes our *Dukkha* (misery).⁽²⁵⁾

The word *dukkha* is generally rendered into Burmese by "pang-pan" a curious counterpart of the English expression "pang-of-pain." Like the English word painful, our word *dukkha* has also two senses. When the Buddha said: *saṅkhārā dukkhā*, he referred to objects as capable of causing pain. But when he spoke of *dukkha* as in the expressions *dukkha-dukkha* or *dukkha-vedanā*, he referred to the painful feeling itself. Thus in the former sense things themselves may be looked upon as instruments of fear (*bhayaṭṭhena dukkhā*) capable of causing us pain and grief. But in reality, as has just been observed, they do so through our own marks of change. It is the bogey of *Vaya* (destruction), rather than of *Udaya* (generation) that gives us worry and trouble. If this frightful *Vaya* intrudes upon our attention after the lapse of a considerable interval of false security we feel all the more aggrieved. The greater the interval, the greater the grief as in the case of the death of a grown-up member of a family compared with the death of a new-born babe. So by accustoming ourselves to the philosophical way of looking at things by way of momentary deaths, the sting of conceptual change is less felt and our pangs of pain are attenuated. So

much for the stage of intellectual fear or apprehension of danger, termed *Bhaya-ñāṇa*.

If our fear of objects gives us pain and causes us trouble, either the thing feared or our fear is at fault. We have seen that things in themselves are harmless. Then our fear must be faulty. It is faulty because it is groundless and it is so because we have been frightened by phantoms of our own creation. It is our way of thinking that is fraught with such evil consequences.

If we see our own faults, we attain *Ādinava-ñāṇa*. Thus in a discourse on Intuition in the *Patisambhidā-magga*, it is said: Seeing the fault of generation, the mind runs into non-generation.⁽²⁶⁾ Our scholars see the fault in generation forgetting that it was of their own making. They interpret the word *uppāda* in the quotation to mean the world, and *anuppāda*, *Nibbāna*. Looking upon generation as a real process, they unconsciously deny even spiritual existence in *Nibbāna*. But we might equally well substitute *bhaṅge* for *uppāde* in the text quoted and say: "Perceiving the defectiveness or fault of (our idea of) ceasing, the mind leaps towards non-ceasing." We have seen that both *uppāda* and *bhaṅga* are marks made by faulty intellect. The passage under consideration therefore implies that when we have found fault with our own way of thinking of change in these two terms, we are on our way to intuition of true flux. Thus we must keep clear of intellectual change as if it were a house on fire (*ādittagharassa viya*), so that we may not be consumed by the fire of our own conception.

Now no one likes evils. Therefore the practitioner is wearied of his own faults causing him so much trouble and ever bringing him to grief. His intellectual sense of weariness is *Nibbidā-ñāṇa*.

With this feeling of disgust or abhorrence he desires to escape from the shackles of conditions imposed by intellect on the three worlds of conceptual change, as fish from nets, etc., (*jālādito macchādikā viya*). This intellectual desire of escape is described as *muccitukamyatā-ñāṇa*.

In order to effect this release, he must now think of the ways and means (*upāya*) of escape like a man, who mistaking a snake for a fish, has

(25). Udayabbaya-paṭipīlanasāṅkhāta-dukkhabhāvo.
Tikāgyaw.

(26). Uppāde ādinavaṃ disvā annuppāde cittaṃ pak-
khandati.

caught hold of it by the neck and now revolves in mind how best to escape its attack. As the man squeezes the neck of the snake in order to scotch it, so the practitioner makes an effort to weaken the power of conditioned things over himself. He does this by pondering on them again and again as changeful, so that they may never appear to him again as permanent.⁽²⁷⁾ Continued and sustained efforts are necessary, for rest lurks in conceptual change or motion and things tend to appear stationary despite our efforts to think the contrary. This intellectual reflection marks the stage of *Paṭisaṅkhā-nāṇa*.

Seeing now that there is nothing to be taken as "I" or "mine" in things reflected upon as changeful, he is no longer actuated by fear or favour; nor moved by hate or love, nor by like or dislike. In short, he is affected neither by praise nor by blame. He is utterly indifferent to things like a man to his divorced wife (*cattabhariyo pūriso viya*). He was blind to her faults when he loved her. But when he saw her faults he hated her and he was equally blind to her good points. So he divorced his wife and he now knows her true nature when he neither loves nor hates her.

This intellectual indifference confirms our view that the thing in itself is not to be feared. Our fear is only engendered by our desire rooted in ignorance of true change. It is this desire, this ignorance, that has to be got rid of (*pahātabba*), and not the change which should be only understood (*pariññātabba*).⁽²⁸⁾

The intellectual equanimity or philosophical calm is what Buddhists call *Saṅkhārupekkhā-nāṇa*. With calmness the practitioner takes a bird's-eye view of the ocean below before he flies away from it (*samuddasakuṇi viya*).⁽²⁹⁾

A disinterested and impartial view of things is an essential condition of knowing their true nature. For as long as a man has interest, so long he is bound to follow the bent of his inclination to satisfy it. He would try to

draw or derive profit by, and from, the use of concepts. That is to say, he carves or cuts up things into concepts and he accepts a portion that suits him but rejects the rest that suit him not.

No wonder then that Buddhists consider this insight of calm to be very important. When it matures (*paripākam*) and reaches the climax of its own development (*Sikhāpattā*), it receives the name of 'adaptive' intellect (*anulomañāṇa*), sometimes called *sānuloma* because equanimity co-exists with adaption. It also leads to intuition. Hence the additional appellation of *vuṭṭhānagāminī*, the term *vuṭṭhāna* or 'Emergence' being applied to the Path because intuition rises above concepts of conditioned things and because the Path is an escape from evils. This intellect prepares the way for intuition by gradually removing ignorance which conceals true flux.⁽³⁰⁾ During the period of adaption the intellect of equanimity not only sharpens itself gradually, but fits, equips and qualifies the practitioner for intuition. Hence it is called *Saccānulomika-nāṇa*⁽³¹⁾ in the final process of transition from intellect to intuition.

This process is described in the *Aṭṭhasālīnī* as follows:—

When the time for intuition is about to arrive, mind-door consciousness turns the stream of being and adverts to the personality which has been the object of previous insights. In the three moments of adaption which follow, the same personality adverted to is apperceived and contemplated as changeful. The first adaptive intellect, removing the coarsest layers of ignorance which conceals true flux, strengthens the idea of change against non-change which, as already pointed out, tends to present itself again and again. The second adaptive is stronger and clearer and removes the next less coarse layers of ignorance. The third adaptive, being the strongest and clearest, is capable of removing the subtlest layers left of ignorance of true change. The first moment of adaption is called *parikamma* (preliminary or

(27). *Saṅkhāre dubbale katvā puna niccākārena upaṭthātuṃ asamatthabhāvaṃ pāpetvā. Maṇisāramañjūsā.* The *Tikāgyaw* has omitted the snake example which is given in the *Vissuddhi-magga*.

(28). In Buddhist works *dukkha* is said to be *pariññātabba*. We have seen the inter-relation between change and pain. Besides, both *anicca* and *dukkha* are applied to the same *khandhas* in the quotation 'Yam aniccaṃ taṃ

dukkhaṃ' from the Buddha. See the oldest *Tikā* on the *Compendium of Phil.*

(29). The *Tikāgyaw* has wrongly applied the figure of the bird and the ocean to the *Paṭisaṅkhā-nāṇa* in the sense of hovering over and over again.

(30). *Olārikolārikassa saccapaṭicchādakamohassa vigāmena saccapaṭivedhassa anulomaṃ saccānulomaṃ. Maṇisāramañjūsā.*

preparatory); the second, upacāra (proximate), and the third, anuloma⁽³¹⁾ ('qualificatory').

Now one or other of the four intellectuals (nāṇa-sampayutta) of the Main Type of Moral Thoughts (Mahā-kusala) described in Part I of the *Compendium of Philosophy* supervenes as 'adoptive' (gotrabhū-ñāṇa) by which the worldly heritage is cut off and the spiritual lineage is evolved. This then is a typical instance of creative evolution. But it is not yet an intuition proper. Neither is it called an insight (vipassanā) because it serves only as mind-door for intuition, adverting to true flux or Nibbana of which it has but a fore-taste, so to speak.

The following is the illustration given of the above final transitional process:—

A man who wishes to see the moon looks up at the cloudy sky. A wind drives away the densest masses of clouds; another stronger wind drives away the next less dense layers; and a third, the strongest, drives away the last layers when the moon becomes clearly visible to view.

The three 'adaptives' are comparable to the three successive winds and ignorance, to clouds. The 'adoptive' is represented by the man, while Nibbāna may be likened to the moon and intuition, to light

Here in this example the winds cannot see the moon and the man cannot drive away the clouds. Thus the respective functions of the 'adaptive' and the 'adoptive' may be distinguished.

The figure of the moon is also useful to indicate the difference between the Nibbāna of the 'adoptive' and the Nibbāna of the Path. If I were to point my finger at the moon, my finger is not the moon. So the Nibbāna of the 'adoptive' intellect is but an index or a given mark (dinna-saññam) of the true object of the Path. In other words, the Nibbāna of the 'adoptive' still possesses the semblance of being conceptual.

The moon analogy must not be pushed too far. While the moon is external and existed beforehand, Nibbana is internal and did not exist beforehand. The latter is evolved along with in-

tuition. In this connection, Buddhaghosa warns us to understand the Path, the 'Fruit' and the Nibbana not as ornaments worn on another's head but only in one's own mind.⁽³²⁾

The probationer who has been adopted into the family of Ariyas or Saints (santo) is inspired with a thought: "Now I shall know the Unknown."⁽³³⁾ He is then initiated into the mysteries of true flux, by being graduated in the Path. The initiate no longer views changes of fixed pictures upon a cinema screen, but enters the motion of the machine behind it. He has won the stream (sotāpatti) and he now lives flux. The figurative language "Like the river in a flow" with which we began is no more for him. In fact he may now dispense with all language which at its best is but a golden wand, and at its worst, a pithless castor-wood stick, pointing indifferently to heaps of things.⁽³⁴⁾

I have confined myself to the consideration of change as the title of this paper demands. But in Buddhist books, marks or characteristics of pain and of soullessness are treated of along with those of change, since all the three are but different aspects of one and the same reality. I have here only incidentally shown how conceptual change gives us pain.

The contemplation of pain (*dukkhānupassanā*) enables one to give up his desire (*taṇhā*) by which he claims: "This is mine" and says: "This is good." It is synonymous with *appaṇihitānupassanā*, a view of things as undesirable. This view is a means of emancipation from the rounds of evil.

When the view of identical self, viz., *I* reap what *I* sow, is given up by a true knowledge of real change, however much a policeman may swear to the identity of a criminal with a thief as Russell in his *Monist* paper puts it in a Buddhist way, the opposite view of soullessness (*anattānupassanā*) is arrived at. It is synonymous with *suññatānupassanā*, a view of things as void or empty of entities, and is the means of freeing us from the theory of immortal souls.

(31). In the *Aṭṭhasālinī* all the three adaptives are spoken of as anuloma. But in the *Visuddhimagga* this term and *saccānulomika* are specifically applied to the third. The terms *sikkhāpatā* and *vyūṭṭhānagāminī* are the synonyms of all the three.

(32). Tasmā na esa parassa sise ābharapath viya daṭṭhabbo; attano pana citte yeva daṭṭhabbo. *Visuddhimagga*.

(33). Anattānupassanā sūnānā. *Tikāyow.*

(34). *Pts. of Controversy*. P. 135.

The tendency of the human mind to staticity or stability is so great that when men can find nothing else to staticise, they must needs stabilise Nibbāna if only by way of contrast as though Nibbāna which is absolute were relative.

Now that Nibbāna is true flux intuited by graduates may be inferred from the fact that the Path, the Fruit and the Nibbāna are each named threefold, viz. animitta, appaṇihita and suññata, according as the adaptive intellect in the final process of thought-transition contemplated the object by the marks of change, pain or soullessness.

But one may be inclined to think that our books are not so insistent on Nibbāna being a flux. When the Buddha compared it to an ocean as in the *Samyutta*, he spoke of Nibbāna as a collective whole. But there can be no doubt that he considered individual Nibbāna beings as streams flowing into that ocean. Indeed, the mental flux of the Eightfold Path is called stream (sota) because it flows into Nibbāna like a river into an ocean.⁽³⁵⁾ We may lose the the well-defined streams in the ocean, but no one will deny that flux continues, must continue, unperceived by us mortals.

As to the continuum of this flux after the final death of an Arahant, the Buddha said:—

“The intuitionist (vedagū) who has become established in the Dhamma after the dissolution of body can no longer be reckoned (as man, god, etc.)”⁽³⁶⁾.

Buddhaghosa, if he did not rely on earlier authorities as he professed to have done, speculated that this Dhamma spoken of by the Buddha is no other than the Arahatta-phala-citta or Nibbāna.⁽³⁷⁾ Thus the divine favoured the continuation of the highest Fruit in the Anupādisesa Nibbāna as in the Sa-upādisesa with this difference that there is no physical body after the final death. Note the little word ‘or’ in his comments. He verily believed that the highest Fruit

and the Nibbana are but two names of one and the same reality. Logically speaking, Nibbāna in the abstract is an attribute of the Path and the Fruit. But, in reality, that attribute cannot exist apart from the Path or the Fruit, both in terms of spiritual consciousness.

By showing Nibbāna to be a spiritual flux, I may be accused of considering Nibbāna as changeful and therefore fraught with evils. We have, however seen that only conceptual change is so fraught with evils but not true flux. Pragmatically speaking, our cutting up of an Arahant's mental flux does not affect him in the least. It makes no difference at all to his life as in the uninterrupted flow of his intrafruitful consciousness of Nibbāna (phalasamāpatti), however busy an analytic psychologist may be in breaking up this flux into time-corpuscles for our edification.

Elsewhere in my *Dialogue on Nibbāna*,⁽³⁸⁾ I have, through my spokesman, identified Nibbāna with the peaceful mind of a saint. If this identification be objected to on the ground that the saint's mind is conceptually changing, we may reply that we are expressly forbidden to apply the methods of the sammasanic intellect to transcendental objects.⁽³⁹⁾ In other words, we must not apply the marks of change (anicca), pain (dukkha) and even non-entity (anatta) to them.

Hence we must draw a distinction between the mere recognition of all realities including Nibbāna as anatta or soul-less⁽⁴⁰⁾ and the realisation of them as such. The former is intellectual and the latter, intuitionist. In the former stage we apply the marks of anatta to them, but not in the latter. That is to say, a saint who has realised true flux by intuition no longer uses those marks which our intellect continues to employ.

The whole course of vipassanā culture described in our books as above may be summed up by the following illustration:—

(35). Nibbānaṃ paṭisavanato nibbāna-mahā-samudda-ninnatāya sotasadisattā vā soto ‘ti vuccati: ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo. *Tikāya*.

(36). Kāyassa bheda dhammattho saṅkhyam nopeti vedagū. *Sālyatana-Samyutta*.

(37). Dhammattho’ti asekhaddhammesu nibbāne eva vūthito. *Commentary*.

(38). The *J. B. R. S.* (Dec. 1918). Since writing that dialogue my attention has been drawn by Bhikkhu Silācāra to the Mahāyanic paradox: Samsāra is Nibbāna. I confess that I am struck with the subtlety of the Mahāyanists' bold speculation.

(39). Anuttarānaṃ asammasanupagattā āha lokuttara-vajjesu. *Manisāramasijāsa*.

(40). Sabbe dhammā anattā. *Dhammapada*.

A lame man hops on two crutches with halting steps. He drops one crutch first and limps on the other. But when he has regained the power of walking freely, he discards the other, too. After learning how to walk, he plunges into a stream to swim.

Can we apply the rules of walking to swimming?

Here the lame man resembles the feeble and frail practitioner and walking stands for motion punctuated by intellect. The crutches are the marks by which we note a change, and the halting steps, the arresting stops which intellect in-

serts as breaks. The firm, solid ground recalls congealed and rigid states in conceptual change, while the mobile water reminds us of flux. The swimmer represents the stream-winner. He has no further need of high and dry ground, nor of the crutches which have served their useful purpose there.

A carpenter rubs out his chalk marks upon the completion of his work. We Buddhists remove a scaffold when a pagoda has been crowned with its *Hti* (umbrella). So with the structure of our philosophy.

SHWE ZAN AUNG.

SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM.—IX.

. The present verse concludes that charming and stately poem which stands unique in Burmese literature. Though it is in no way connected with the theme yet it reflects to some extent the character of the poem. It also reveals the lofty thoughts and sentiments emanating from one who is destined to become fully enlightened. This is evident from the fact that the poet, unlike other writers makes no prayer in his concluding verse to gain some sort of reward in return for the production of his work. Perhaps because he is mindful of his self-importance he unhesitatingly and boldly declares himself to be the embryo Buddha who is to succeed *Metteyya*, the next future Lord. He adds that *Metteyya* will utter a prediction to that effect.

This strange statement by the poet himself may not sound well in the ears of those who have not made a serious study of the poem. As a matter of fact, it certainly has to some degree the effect of enhancing the value of the poem chiefly in regard to its subject matter. On the other hand we may consider it a prayer couched in poetical language.

In the opening lines နောင်ဖြစ်အလော၊ မိတ္တယျာလျှင် နိဗ္ဗာန်ရှင်တာ။ the poet describes *Metteyya*—the last Buddha to-be in the present *Kappa*—as one who has attained *arahatship* and who has therefore *Nirvāna* in possession.

နောင်ဖြစ်အလော၊ မိတ္တယျာလျှင် simply means "*Metteyya* who is to come last" the word နောင် meaning "Last." ဓမ္မတ္ထေယျ is the name of the fifth and last *Buddha* for only five *Buddhas* are to appear in this *Kappa*. Four have already appeared. The four *Buddhas* who have preceded Him are *Kakusandho*, *Konagamano*, *Kassapo* and *Gotamo*.

နိဗ္ဗာတေား Literally this means "The victorious sword." နိဗ္ဗာ which stands for အနိဗ္ဗာ is a Pāli term for "victorious." But the compound နိဗ္ဗာတေား is here used metaphorically for *Arahatta* or *Arahatship* by the attainment of which all evils are cut off. Now this *Arahatta* has a triple name. It is termed "the void" or "Emptiness" (*suññata*), or "the Signless" (*animitta*), or "the Undesired" (*apanihita*) according as it is attained by the contemplation of things as unsubstantial, or impermanent, or evil. Hence the next expression အဘျားသိုလက် which literally means

"The three edges." နိလက်တက် which literally means "One single handle" implies the same *Arahatta*, for though it has a triple name it is always regarded as one.

အပြိုင်ခြင်း (five appearances) refers to the five *Jhānas* which form the principal means of entrance into the four *Pathis* of which the *Path* of *Arahatta* (*Arahatta-maggo*) is the last. အိမ်ရှင်တော့။ Here အိမ် (the sheath) refers to သမာဓိ (*samādhi*) which is a state of supernatural tranquillity and is one of the most characteristic attributes of *Arahatta*. The figure is apt for *samādhi* keeps the mind at perfect rest as the sheath the sword.

ကျောက်မှပေါ်ထွက် literally means "Springing from the rock." But here *Sīla* (moral practice) is spoken of as ကျောက် (the rock) because from *sīla* which should be as firm as the rock springs *samādhi* and from *samādhi* springs true *paññā* (knowledge or insight into the four *Pathis*).

ရွှေတုန်းဆက်သည် simply means that glory is extended. Here glory acquired on the attainment of *Arahatship* is referred to.

သန်လျက်သီလဝံ means "The sword belonging to the virtuous," that is, *Arahatta*. It therefore conveys the same meaning as နိဗ္ဗာတေား mentioned above. သန်လျက် means "A two-edged sword" and is a common epithet of *Arahatta*. The three edges above-mentioned may be taken to include the pointed end of the sword also. သီလဝံ (*Pāli* သီလဝံသ) means "Having relation to the virtuous."

နိဗ္ဗာန်ရှင် literally means "possessor of *Nirvāna*," that is "one who is to attain *Nirvāna* at death, or one who has *Nirvāna* in sight or one by whom *Nirvāna* is intuited or discerned."

မဂ္ဂရှင်တန်၊ လမ်းမှန်ခရီး ဗျာဓိဝိဇ္ဇာသား။ This means that *Metteyya Buddha* seeing that the poet would at last arrive at *Nirvāna* through the practice of the Eight Ariyan Path-constituents makes the (following) prediction.

မဂ္ဂရှင်တန် means "The holy Eightfold Path" (*Ariyo Atthangiko maggo*). See also notes on Verse VI.

လမ်းမှန်ခရီး means "The right way to *Nirvāna*" that is the holy Eightfold Path or the practice or cultivation thereof.

ရပ်ကြီးသာစည် Here *Nirvāna* is referred to as "a great flourishing locality."

သုံးမည်ရမ။ The most eminent master of the three classes of mankind, namely men, *nats* and *Brahmas*. This refers to *Metteyya*. For the meaning of the term ရမ see notes on Verse I.

ဗုဒ္ဓိတ်ဓမ္မသား means "To make a prediction." For a further explanation of the term ဗုဒ္ဓိတ် see notes on Verse VIII.

သပြေကျွန်းသာ.....ပွင့်အံ့တုံဟု။ This refers to the prediction noted above and means that on the Island of *Jambūdīpa* the noble priest by name Shin Uttamagyaw will at some future date succeed me as One who knows "the Four Noble Truths."

သပြေကျွန်းသာ means "The pleasant Island of *Jambūdīpa*, so called because သပြေ *Eugenia jambu* or the rose-apple tree is said to grow there as its emblem. *Jambūdīpa* is one of the four great Islands in "the world System" of Buddhist cosmogony. The remaining three Islands are *Pubbavideha*, *Aparagaya* and *Uttaraguru*. သညာသမုတ်၊ ပညတ်ထုတ်သည် simply means "To call by a name;" သညာ (Pāli) means "A name;" and သမုတ် means "To call." ပညတ် is derived from the Pāli ပညတ္တိ which means "Making known."

အဟော်နောင်လာ means "Indeed the future comer," အဟော် which stands for အလာ being a Pāli term for "Indeed, oh, alas." That is to say "Indeed the poet is going to become a Buddha in future."

ငါ့ရိုက်ရာကို။ This is a direct speech by *Metteyya* and means 'In my place.' ရိုက်ရာ stands for အရိုက်အရာ which is the same as အရိုက်အရာ and means "Place or office." Here it implies Buddhahood.

သဗ္ဗာ in သဗ္ဗာဖုရ်၊ ပွင့်အံ့တုံဟု means "Truth" and it refers to the "Four Noble Truths." The poet does not yet know "the Four Noble Truths," but he is destined to realize them in future. So to him they are like a flower bud which will bloom one day. Hence the expression သဗ္ဗာဖုရ်၊ ပွင့်အံ့တုံဟု which means "The poet will become enlightened in the Four Noble Truths."

By the concluding lines from ကိုးရက်ရှည် down to the end of the verse the poet means to say that it is quite certain that he will (thus) be acclaimed *Bodhisatta* (Embryo Buddha) by *Metteyya*.

ကိုးရက်ရှည် means "The Lord who possesses the ninefold glory." (Cf. ကိုးရက်လူဆွေ in Verse IV) ရှည် is a common epithet of Buddha. (Cf. ရှင်ဘော) The allusion here is to *Metteyya Buddha*.

မိမိတင်သည် means "To acclaim, to applaud" ငါ့လည်းကောင်း၊ ဗောဓိလောင်းဟု means "I myself am a

Bodhisatta." ငါ (I) here stands for the poet for he is speaking to himself. ဗောဓိလောင်း means "An embryo Buddha," that is a *Bodhisatta* or one who is destined to attain Buddhahood. ဗောဓိ is a Pāli term for Buddhahood.

ညွတ်ညောင်း in ညွတ်ညောင်း တံဆိပ်၊ ခတ်နှိပ်သေချာ means "To accede to, to acquiesce in; to yield to, to be influenced, to give way." The whole expression therefore means "To cause carefully a clear impression by a stamp."

နှုတ်ပြဘာ means "A verbal declaration." For the derivation of ပြဘာ see Verse VIII.

ညွတ်ညောင်းတံဆိပ်၊ နှုတ်ဗုဒ္ဓိတ်ဖြင့်၊ ခတ်နှိပ်သေချာ၊ နှုတ်ပြဘာ သည်.....မြဲစွာဖြစ်လိမ့်လောက်သည်။ may be rendered thus: It is absolutely certain that a verbal declaration (by *Metteyya*) will come true and stand firm as a clear-cut impression carefully caused by means of a stamp.

Po BYU.

IX.

ဇ။ ။ နောင်ငြိမ်အလာ၊ မိတေယျာလွင်၊ မိန္ဒာ ဟ န။ အသွားသုံးရွက်၊ မိုးလက်တက်၊ အပြိုင်ငါ့ကြိမ်၊ အိမ် နှင့် တ ကွ၊ ကျောက်မှ ပေါ်ထွက်၊ ရွှေဘုန်း ဆက်သည်၊ သန်လျက် သီလဝင်၊ မိမိနှင့် ရှင်ကာ၊ မဂ္ဂင် ရှစ်တန်၊ လမ်းမှန် ခရီး၊ ရပ်ကြီး သာစည်၊ ရောက်အံ့ရည်ရှိ၊ သုံးမည်ပရမေ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓိတ်ဓမ္မသား၊ သပြေကျွန်းသာ၊ နောင်အခါဝယ်၊ သညာသမုတ်၊ ပညတ်ထုတ်သည်၊ ရှင်ဥက္ကမကျော်၊ ထေမြတ်သော်လည်း၊ အဟော်နောင်လာ၊ ငါ့ရိုက်ရာကို၊ သဗ္ဗာဖုရ်၊ ပွင့်အံ့တုံဟု၊ ကိုးရက် ရှည်ပင်၊ အံ့ချီး တင်သည်၊ ငါလွင်လည်းကောင်း၊ ဗောဓိ လောင်းဟု၊ ညွတ်ညောင်း တံဆိပ်၊ နှုတ်ဗုဒ္ဓိတ်ဖြင့်၊ ခတ်နှိပ် သေချာ၊ နှုတ်ပြဘာသည်၊ မှန်တည်း။

Metteyya, the last to shine as Buddha in this age has cleft the bonds of evil with the triple-edged sword. He sits in saintly splendour and enjoys the unruffled serenity that springs from the rock of virtue.

The victorious Lord who is destined to achieve *Nirvāṇa* fore-discerns the To-be. In due time he would announce that Shin Uttamagyaw, the venerable monk, is the one who will next tread in his steps the superb eight-fold Path. The Lord of the nine glories will speak with no uncertain sound. His word must needs come true.

B. H.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

THE TRIALS OF AN EMPIRE BUILDER.

Of all those who have dreamed dreams of Empire building, one of the most disappointed at one time, must surely have been Captain Ross, who nearly a century ago, settled in the Cocos or Keeling Islands. This group of islands is situated about 700 miles S. W. of Sumatra and 1200 miles S. W. of Singapore. It consists of about twenty small coral islands. These form a horse-shoe, enclosing a lagoon in which ships find an excellent anchorage. The area is about nine square miles, and cocoa-nuts are the chief, if not the only, product. The climate is temperate and healthy, but devastating cyclones occasionally break over the islands. The group takes its name from William Keeling who discovered it in the year 1609. Before that it had been uninhabited, and remained so for fully two centuries more, no one considering it worth the taking. During these two centuries English, French and Dutch navigators roamed these seas, but they were out for trade, and a group of small islands producing cocoa-nuts only, had no attractions for them. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century things were different, and the idea of bettering one's position in life by settling abroad attracted many. The first to select the Keeling Islands was an Englishman named Hare. He settled there in 1823, but what became of him, whether he tired of solitude and left or died in loneliness, I have been unable to learn. Undaunted by the fate of Hare, Captain Ross determined to settle in the islands with his family. It was a bold but risky venture, and one can imagine that Mrs. Ross would shrink from it, while the children, the boys especially, would hail it as an escape from school and as giving a chance of adventures somewhat similar to those of Robinson Crusoe.

Whether the boys found it quite the ideal life any boy would expect in such circumstances, there is nothing to show, but their father was soon in the thick of difficulties. The *Maulmein Chronicle* of 7th July 1838 gives the first part of

a memorial sent by him addressed to;

“His Excellency Vice Admiral

The Hon. Sir T. P. Capel

Commander-in-Chief &c. &c. &c.”

The memorial is very long-winded, and unfortunately only the first two parts of it are in my file of the *Chronicle* as several numbers of the paper are missing. These, no doubt, contained the remainder of this tale of woe, but there is enough in the two parts I have to give a fairly clear idea of what the trouble was.

The memorial begins,

“May it please Your Excellency,

I the undersigned settler of the Cocos or Keeling's Isles, humbly beg leave to lay before you the following representation of the case, on which I have come hither to solicit your benevolent aid and protection.

It is now more than ten years since I actually settled with my family and a party of followers upon these Isles, with the view of appropriating their resources to the support of a permanent settlement. Believing that with respect to that protection of government which it might become in process of time needful to obtain—although the extent of these resources at the moment, was far too minute and insignificant to occupy any portion of the attention of the supreme government—yet that the then expected and now occurring extension of British commerce with the Chinese Empire—the progressive improvement of the British Indian dominions—the rapid extension of the Australian colonies, and the probable resort of British whalers to the very inviting theatre for their business, which I knew to be afforded on the eastern side and southern gorge of the Indian ocean, even from Kerguelen's land, up to those Isles, and thence towards New Guinea; would whilst correspondingly extending the British commerce, metropolitan and colonial—in all likelihood impart to the harbourage afforded by the Isles, posited as they are upon the routes of

that commerce—a degree of importance, which might ultimately render it worthy of receiving a share adequate thereto, of that attention which originally it did not deserve, and therefore could be expected to receive.” This portentously long sentence rather takes one’s breath away, but it gives an idea of the mentality of this pioneer. For some two centuries before his time, various schemes of colonisation had attracted those, who were dissatisfied with the conditions of life in Great Britain, to the idea of emigration, but most of these went to places where there was a prospect of building up a State more or less on the British model, but modified to suit their own particular views of what a State should be. In what is now the United States of America, in Canada, and later in Australia, they hoped to find a new and a better home, but still more or less on the British model. Moreover in these places they would still be among people imbued with ideas similar to their own; would find companionship and help in any time of need that might arise. In a word, they were going to change their sky but not their environment. Captain Ross, however, stands on a totally different footing. In the Keeling Islands he would inevitably be cut off, for months at a stretch, from all European companionship and from any possibility of help in any need which might arise. It meant a great risk even had he gone alone, but the taking of his family with him increased the risk enormously. One can only call it foolhardy. Presumably he knew Hare’s experiences there, yet, a few years later, he took the same risk and in an aggravated form as he was risking his family as well as himself. We do not know the date of Hare’s death or departure, but Capt. Ross followed him very soon. The Chronicle of 7th July 1838 says that the memorial is extracted from the Pinang Gazette, and points out that H. M. Brig “Pelorus” which had sailed from Maulmain in October 1837 had been instructed to call at the Cocos on her way to New South Wales, probably in response to the Memorial from Capt. Ross. The date of the memorial therefore was probably late in 1836 or early in 1837. In it Capt. Ross says that it was more than ten years since he settled in the islands, so he must have gone there in 1826. Hare went there in 1823 only, so his stay must have been very short. His experience, however, whatever

it was, does not seem to have been any deterrent to Capt. Ross.

He tells the Admiral, in his memorial, that he was forty years of age when he left England to take up his residence in the Keeling Islands; and then gives the following account of how he came to go without any sanction, or promise of protection from the British Government. It had better be given in his own words. It runs:

“I had, however, fully intended that before leaving England to commence upon the undertaking which, at my age, (then forty years) most probably involved the fate of all that possibly remained with the capacity of being advantageously employed for the interests of my young family—I should wait upon the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the colonial department, with the object of ascertaining whether or not the patronage of the government would in any peculiar case, if not in general, be dispensed towards the support of the undertaking. But the gentleman to whom I applied to introduce me for the purpose, at once volunteered to make the application himself for me on the ground of his being possessed of influence to obtain an audience and consideration, to which so obscure and unimportant an individual as myself could not hope to attain, and I gladly accepted his apparently very kind offer; mysteriously enough, however, it happened that, after his procrastinating until I had to leave England without its being gone about, he finally neglected it altogether, and consequently the desired application was not made.”

Many of us have probably had somewhat similar experience and can sympathise with Capt. Ross in this matter. We know the man who says “My dear fellow, leave it to me. I’ll attend to it,” but does nothing. In this particular case, however, the friend possibly did not realise at the time of promising all that it implied. To ask the British Government in 1826, when its hands were full of far more important matters in many other directions, to take responsibility for what to most men must have seemed a Quixotic adventure, was to ask what on reflection he must have known no responsible Minister was likely to grant. He had infinitely more important interests to consider and was not likely to take Capt. Ross’s view that these small and out of the way islands would help to extend to any serious amount “British commerce, metro-

politan and colonial." He should, however, have told Capt. Ross that on reconsideration he did not see his way to give the help he had promised.

Capt. Ross does not seem to have known for some years after his settlement that his friend had not fulfilled his promise in this matter. Nor, from first to last, does he seem to have realised that he was asking Government to give what did not belong to them and to incur a serious and awkward responsibility should any other nation advance a claim to these islands.

In his memorial to the Admiral, he goes on to say;—"So soon, however, as I was apprized of this result, I proceeded to make out and forward through the government of the Mauritius, a petition to His Majesty for a grant of the private property of those Isles—having been advised that such was the proper mode of proceeding for obtaining the main object of my wishes; namely, an assurance of the protection of His Majesty's government being conceded to the settlement which I was making. To that petition I received no direct answer; but learned indirectly, that it was rejected on the ground of the apparent inutility of the settlement to any British interests; accompanied nevertheless, with an assurance, that the grant which I had petitioned for, should not be made to any other British subject—and as I had by the time when I received this information, viz. now only three years ago—become too far involved in the undertaking, to prudently abandon it, whilst a possibility remained of rendering it ultimately remunerative to my children, if not to myself, for the time, labour and capital, then expended upon it—and having occupied it as proprietor sufficiently long for obtaining a right to its property in permanency, which under the laws of England, the royal prerogative alone can set aside in favour of any other party—I felt myself to become under a moral necessity of going on with it at all hazards."

It is curious how persistently he ignores the obvious fact that the laws of England had no bearing on his case. They can only apply when a country has come under British control and, in this case the British Government had definitely refused to take over the islands. It was not until some twenty years later, in 1857, that they were annexed, and it was after the lapse of

nearly thirty years more that, in 1886, they were placed under the Government of the Straits Settlements. The total population was estimated at 807 in 1916. The Ross family still manage local affairs. The population consists chiefly of Malays.

Capt. Ross goes on to say in his memorial that it was only in the preceding year that he had managed to cover his outlay by his receipts. This, to say the least, must have been a very great disappointment and a keen anxiety to him; but he appealed to the Admiral mainly over trouble of a very different kind. He says that in 1835 he had only one man as head servant. This man's name was W. C. Leisk, but he had to be away frequently as mate on the small vessel by which some communication was kept up with Mauritius; Capt. Ross took advantage of a chance which offered to engage a man, "calling himself Joseph C. Raymond" who was a supernumerary on a British vessel which called at the Keeling Islands on her way from China to England. This man was appointed mate of the schooner in which Capt. Ross then went to Singapore. "On that voyage, I perceived, that although he was an able enough navigator, and tolerably expert seaman, his habit and manners were of a description so unsatisfactory and depraved that I should certainly have discharged him at the first of those places, but for the alarm which at the time prevailed of pirates being exceedingly numerous in the Straits and no European being to be had to put in his place" Capt. Ross was to visit Prince of Wales Island as well as Singapore. The schooner returned to the Keeling Islands in May 1836 and then the trouble began. Capt. Ross objected to any relations between his European employees and the Malay women, but the two—Leisk apparently remained—resented his attempts to stop this, and apparently stirred up disaffection among the Malays. "It remained in abeyance as it were, until the arrival of two American whalers to recruit and idle on shore—their declarations that so soon as the place became known to their fellows on the whaling ground great numbers would resort to it, for the same purposes, at once re-animated the spirits of the conspirators and made them desirous of going on with their nefarious views, without further delay."

Apparently matters remained in this very unsatisfactory state for months, but in December 1836 Capt. Ross went to Mauritius and did not return until February 1837. On his return he found five ships in the harbour, all or most of them American whalers, and found also that his instructions on various points had been disobeyed, for instance, a few hundred cocoanuts had been sold to a Dutch ship at five times the fixed price. Leisk seems to have left after this, but Raymond remained. Of him Capt. Ross says: "That having as will be presently noticed, such weighty reasons for sticking to the place, which he believed to be without the pale of regular law or justice, as would counterbalance in his estimation all the risk he ran of failure, or punishment in, or for attempting to go on with it."

No doubt in such an isolated place it was difficult to get reliable European assistants; but Capt. Ross does not seem to have been the man to manage the sort of men he had to take. For instance he says in regard to Raymond "that as I never hitherto had permitted any officer under me to strike, or even to scold, any person working, or being under their charge, so would I certainly not permit it to him." The British seaman of nearly a century ago was not the man who could be managed on any kid glove theory, and still less could he be expected to trust to such methods in dealing with those under him.

The next step in the drama was a rising of nearly half the Malays to demand an extravagant rise in wages as well as other concessions. The remainder of the story had better be given in the words of Capt. Ross himself.

"I offered the rate demanded because the demanders comprised nearly the whole of the nut-huskers and collectors, although they were previously far the highest paid of any department of the establishment, and in point of fact, were only working at the rate of about three to three and a half days per week, yet their total strike had the effect of setting all idle; but I refused to agree to the other condition, reminding them at the same time, that although they had a right to demand as much as they pleased of wages for their work, they had no right to remain upon my property, unless by my permission, which I certainly would not give to any that refused to work except upon such unreasonable conditions

as those with which they insisted upon my complying. But having been fully persuaded by the conspiring pair of ringleaders that they might safely act as pleased themselves any where on the Isles, they forthwith proceeded to commence wasting, burning, and appropriating accordingly, and refused to desist, although warned of the criminality of these proceedings, and offered by me a free passage from the Isles elsewhere. Convinced that such conduct on their part must have been prompted by the fellow Raymond, I turned my attention to his motions, and two more American whalers coming in, I presently found that he was employed in defending to them the proceedings of the revolvers, i. e. the masters of those vessels, and stimulating them to lend their aid in the way of virtual encouragement of those lawless doings. On this information, I took the fellow to task for his treacherous conduct, whilst he was actually pocketing my money as wages for faithful service, and was at once met with an outbreak of the most reckless falsehood and vulgar blackguard insolence, which had ever before fallen to my lot even to witness, although the first seven years of my life at sea had been passed amidst the refuse of sailors which usually composed the bulk of a whaler's crew in those days. Fortunately my previous suspicions and the gradual manner in which the whole affair had opened upon me, had so far prepared me, that I was not taken by surprise, in which case, I had certainly bestowed upon the villain his quietus on the instant; but as it was, I notified to him his being thenceforth dismissed from my service, and withal made to him the same offer of a passage from the Isles which I had made to the others, and with of course the same result, a refusal to accept it.

Finding myself thus situated, and not only destitute of means to protect the faithful portion of my servants whose lives were actually threatened by the anarchists, because they would not join in their lawless doings, but also of the means of carrying on any work in safety, even if I had hands to employ thereon, I saw that nought remained for me to do but proceed with all expedition to obtain adequate aid for the restoration of order; from whithersoever such aid might be had and as a British born subject, in duty bound to seek at least in the first instance from the con-

stituted authorities of his native sovereign, I resolved to proceed to lay the affair before your Excellency, 'as being the local chief of that department of His Majesty's government to which the surveillance of these Isles, if they are at all to be considered as under his dominion, do with the greatest propriety appear to belong naturally, if not artificially. And although I do submit myself most unreservedly to whatsoever decision your Excellency may be pleased to make upon consideration of these premises, yet, I humbly beg leave now to represent that I do not presume to contemplate the incurring of any pecuniary expense on account of His Majesty's government, but do believe that the sanction of your Excellency's name alone will be to me a tower of strength adequate to effect the peaceable submission of all the anarchists, the white faced ringleader perhaps excepted, but with whom, I shall in that case, have little difficulty of dealing so as to effect his following apparently, if not willingly, the example of the others. Nevertheless he is an atrocious character, whose subsequent presence upon the Isles for any considerable period, would doubtless be highly dangerous to the safety of property if not of persons; as may fairly be inferred from the fact of his having, as witnesses on the Isles are ready to prove, contemplated as a part of his lawless plans, the piratical seizure of this my schooner by the co-operation of the revolted Malay servants, for the purpose at once of possessing themselves of the means of getting away, if their plans failed, and in the meanwhile depriving me of the power of resorting as thus to seek for aid adequate to the arrestation and up-breaking of those plans.

Although asserting himself to be a British subject, I have obtained proof of his being in reality a foreign American a native of Charlestown in Massachussetts, as also that he has left America as a fugitive from New Orleans, where he had incurred the penalty of immurement in a States prison for a period of ten years a penalty to which, in that country, none other than a heinous crime could have subjected him, and which therefore renders probable the statement which has been broached on the Isles by some of his countrymen that the crime is, the having murdered a coloured woman; at all events whilst the fate which the unfortunate Englishmen Ambris-

ler and Arbuthnot, met at the hands of the American President hero of ditches and cotton-bag walls remains upon record, surely no such treacherous brigand as this American seems entitled to receive any very delicate consideration, if in addition to his wilful and premeditated violation not only of the laws of England, but also of the common rules of fair dealing and honesty expected of one man by another, he should further presume to oppose himself to duly constituted British authority, on territory which, if not British, is at all events not American."

It is evident that Capt. Ross realised the difficulty in which he was placed owing to his being in a sort of No man's land; and, consequently having no one to appeal to when he confronted lawlessness and refusal to submit to his rule. He stood virtually alone; he had no troops or police to back him in maintaining some sort of law and order; nor had he any valid claim for help in his dilemma from the British Government, as he had settled without sanction in a place which it had refused to annex. It would be interesting to know what was in the concluding part of the memorial; also how Capt. Ross managed eventually to restore order, but I have no means of ascertaining this. I find that I was wrong in saying that the want of the conclusion of the memorial is due to my file of the "Chronicle being incomplete." The second part of it is in the issue of 14th July 1838, and the next issue on my file is dated 1st August, so I concluded that one or more numbers were missing. But on looking again I find the following notice attached to the issue of 1st August:—

"In consequence of the death of the Printer of the Maulmain Chronicle, and the hitherto unsuccessful attempts to obtain another, the Editor regrets the necessity of suspending the publication of that paper. He is unable to form any idea as to the length of time before the publication can be resumed, but the vacancy occasioned by the death above alluded to will be filled as soon as practicable." Though a new printer was found in less than three weeks, by that time the tale of woe of poor Capt. Ross seems to have been lost sight of.

A BUDDHIST TANTRA.*

A Review.

Some one has remarked that religions are like clothes: each has its own style of cut, but all are apt to take on very much the shape of the men who wear them. The truth of this remark is largely confirmed when one takes a look around one in any part of the world, be it in Burma or Europe or America. It is borne out in this volume on Tibetan Buddhism, the seventh of a series of "Tantrik Texts" now being published under the general editorship of "Arthur Avalon," who—it is betraying no secret now to say—is Chief Justice Sir John Woodroffe of the Calcutta High Court.

In the ancient days the religion of the people of Tibet was a worship and placation of the unseen powers, mostly malignant ones, supposed to haunt the wild and desert places of that largely desert country. Demons these chiefly were, of grim and grisly aspect in their pictorial and sculptured representations. Then Buddhism was introduced into the country from India. But about the same time there seems also to have entered the Tantra branch of Hinduism, the worship of the horrific Shiva and his terrible spouse, which, with its resemblance—as regards externals at least—to what was already familiar to them in the autochthonic religion, procured for it a ready welcome from the Tibetans, whence has resulted among other things the existence of what is called here, a Buddhist Tantra. To a Buddhist of Southern lands however, there must always be something odd, or at least incongruous, about such a title. For if Buddhist, how can it be a Tantra, a Scripture of a branch of Hinduism? And if Tantra, how can it be Buddhist? how belong to a religion which teaches—as a stanza of the Dhammapada puts it—that "good is *restraint* of body, good is *restraint* of speech, good is *restraint* of mind; good is *restraint* in all ways," that *restraint* being for the Bhikkhu compliance with the Bhikkhu-Vinaya, and for the householder, the observance of the Five Precepts? However, let us not be too captious, but proceed at once to the consideration of the book itself in which there is much to interest seeing

that it is the first Tibetan Tantra Scripture to be translated into English or any other European language.

The volume opens with a very informing thirty-page foreword by the General Editor. For his preliminary remarks in this foreword, "Arthur Avalon" finds his text in a passage from a book entitled "Tibet and the Tibetans" by a Rev. Graham Sandberg, wherein the reverend gentlemen would appear to have delivered himself of this pronunciamiento:—

"As is invariably the case in Buddhist philosophical statements, were we to quote here (as we do later) these enunciations, they would be found to contain no real recondite wisdom, nor even any scheme of metaphysics and morality which could be dignified with the title of an ethical system. They are, mostly, mere pretentious phrases which have little consistency, and the profundity is only apparent and will not bear analysis. There is nothing ennobling to the individual, or calculated to make the world better; or even, in the Buddhist sense, less steeped in misery, in the doctrines of sublime vacuity and indifference to all claims with which Buddhism, whether Indian or Tibetan, occupies itself."

On this deliverance "Arthur Avalon" passes the sharp but not unpertinent comment:—

"Though this is perhaps an extreme statement, many other Western authors expatiate on the 'meaningless charlatanism and degeneracy' of Northern Buddhism. When will they learn, in this as in other cases, not to discredit common humanity by supposing that any large body of men have devoted themselves throughout the ages to 'meaningless' doctrines and practices! If they are meaningless to them, it is because they do not know the meaning. . . . Racial prejudice often grudges to the Asiatic the possession of any real merit, much less superiority over Western theories of life. Nevertheless, the true spirit of scholarship will endeavour to be just, and if any doctrine or practice is not understood, it is better and safer to admit this ignorance than to allege meaninglessness and absurdity—a

* Tantrik Texts, Under the General Editorship of Arthur Avalon Vol. VII. Shrichakrasambhara Tantra, a

Buddhist Tantra, edited by Kazi Dawa-samdup. Luzac & Co., London. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1919.

charge which often implies nothing more than irritation in the face of what is not understood. We are, many of us, too much disposed to hold that what we cannot understand has no meaning at all. That is because we overflatter both our abilities and our knowledge. It is surely the acme of absurdity to deny that Northern Buddhism has any scheme of metaphysic, when it has developed some of the most subtle and logically welded themes which the world has ever known; or to deny that it has an ethical system, seeing that Buddhism, as also Brahmanism, have produced the most radical analysis of the basis of all morality, and have advocated every form of it which any other religion has affirmed to be of worth."

He then proceeds to draw the distinction—a distinction which exists in all creeds—between the crude beliefs of the more undeveloped minds among the adherents of Tantricism, and the deeper understanding of its more advanced followers, the former believing in the objective reality of the multitudinous Devatās they are called upon to worship; the latter knowing quite well that these—like everything else—have an existence that is entirely mind-made, the ritual of worship prescribed having for its object the ultimate bringing of both classes of devotees to a genuine practical realisation of the truth of the mind-made-ness, so to speak, of everything that is. He admits the existence of abuses of some of the details of this ritual, in fact, of sorcery of very unpleasant kind—of which we know something, in an obscure way, in Burma, also—but rightly says: "We must do credit both to our intelligence and sense of justice by endeavouring to understand any religion in its highest and truest aspect. The Tantras contain both a profound doctrine and a wonderfully conceived praxis."

Upon Shūnyā or Shūnyatā (Pali: Suññā or Suññatā) the central doctrine of Tibetan Buddhism, commonly translated "The Emptiness" or "The Void," he remarks that it is empty or void relatively to our mode of conceiving, but that does not mean that it is an absolute emptiness or void: "It is absurd to suppose that the Buddhist seeks, and is on his way to this. . . . 'Annihilation' means annihilation of the world-experience of forms, which as forms, are bound up with suffering. Liberation is sought from suffering, that is, from forms."

To this foreword, the general editor appends a translation in prose of a short Tibetan poem called "The Good Wishes" of "The Buddha Samanta Bhadra," with instructive explanatory notes interspersed through the text. This poem taken with the notes attached, furnishes a very illuminating conspectus in brief of the essence of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Unconscious Ignorance, it declares, is the root basis of all evil. This Ignorance regards self and others as separate. From this false sense of separateness arises gradually attachment, and craving after all the various objects of enjoyment. From the idea of things external to himself there arises in a man a subtle sense of something to be feared; and from this fear arises hatred. Pride puffs up the mind, and the man is inclined to exalt himself and decry others, whence follow quarrels, enmity, strife, and the killing of men by men. Also, lack of intelligence, dullness, unknowingness, cloud men's minds so that they engage in all sorts of useless actions, such actions as are done in the worlds of manifested life. From these evils and their baneful consequences, men are to find deliverance through the realisation within themselves of the "clear, pure mind inherent in every being. . . . May all those beings who suffer from their desires, strive not studiously to avoid them, nor (weakly) to give way to them; but let the Knower take its own course and attain its own exalted position." This last phrase, a note adds, "meaning literally, 'detaching the teeth-hold of the knower,' that is, detaching the knowing mind from its objects, thus letting it attain its own level free of them. This is a profound counsel. Merely to run away will effect no cure. The same temptation will recur. To surrender is to lose the fight for the supreme end. Let the mind take up a position of detachment from the objects which attract, and let it detachedly examine them, and the cause of their power over it, and so attain dominance." Here is indicated the characteristic feature of Tantra practice; not restraint, nor yet limitless, unbridled indulgence—pace the ordinary critic of Tantricism—but a praxis which has for its final object the clearing up of the ignorant mind by the bringing into activity and ultimately full growth, of the seed of the pure illuminate mind conceived to exist hidden and latent in all men. What is this 'pure mind,' this *Rigpa* of the Tibet-

ans, one would like to ask? Can be it any relation of the Nibbana-dhātu of which we find occasional mention in Pali literature? Has it anything to do with that seed, that element of Nibbana, which makes its presence fully known in Buddhas and Arahans?

The piece ends with these words: "By the power of the good wishes of me, Samanta Bhadra (Küntu-bZangpo) may all sentient beings without exception attain Buddhahood in the Dharma kāya (which is the Void, Shūnyatā, and Compassion, Karuna)."

The translation of this poem, as of the text of the Tantra itself which after an Introduction by its translator now follows, is the work of the Kazi Dawa-samdup of Gangtok, Sikkhim, an almost lifelong student of Tibetan and having an excellent knowledge of English, possessing also the advantage of having been instructed in Buddhism and in Tantra by a competent Tibetan Guru of Bhutan. Of the help of this his own personal Guru, as also of the kind assistance of a learned Lama of Tibet temporarily resident in Gangtok, he was able to avail himself in making his translation and in adding to it the very full notes that accompany his text and make it intelligible to the uninitiated reader.

About this text itself a Buddhist of Burma is not competent to say much that will be of any great value. It is largely a recital of ritual designed to help its performer to attain "the highest state of *rDorje-hChang* or *Vajradhara*," who is conceived of as the 'supreme head of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, that is, stands for highest Buddhahood. Only the first part of the Tantra is translated in full, since the translator unfortunately lost by their deaths, the assistance of his teachers, when only so much of his task was completed, and did not feel competent to finish the work correctly alone. He has, however given a condensed summary of each of the six parts that follow the first, and in the last part, translated more fully than the other five before it, has ventured to give the interesting description it contains of a practice for the realisation of the *mind-made-ness* of all sense-impressions which somewhat resembles several of the practices in Satipatthāna current here in Burma among *Yathays* and others.

In the full text of the first part of the Tantra there is also an interesting instruction to the

devotee to this effect: "Then with a view to dispelling doubts about the Devatās and the Path, identify the thirty-seven Devatās created by, and meditated upon by, the mind with the thirty-seven branches of the Dharma which leads to Buddhahood, and these again must be thought of as being within the worshipper himself in the form of the thirty seven Devatās. This practice is for men of the highest intellect. Men of middling and lower intelligence should identify the recollection of the body to be Khando-ma." The notes to this passage then explain that the "thirty-seven branches of the Dharma" here mentioned are:—the Four Satipatthānā, the Four Sammāpadhānā, the Four Iddhipadā, the Five Indriyāni, the Five Balāni, the Seven Bojjhaṅgā, and the Eight members of the Ariyamagga; and that the recollection of the body as Khando-ma means to recollect that the body is made up of various elements, parts, functions, and so forth.

The obvious comment which a Buddhist of Burma would feel inclined to make on it all would be that it seems a very round-about way of saying what in Southern Buddhism is said in a few plain words. But to this the Northern Buddhist would probably reply: "The words truly are there in your Scriptures, but is their purport fully realised? What we are aiming at is a practical unmistakable realisation of the truths contained in these words. And this ritual and all our rituals are designed to take any and every kind of man just where he is and as he is, and gradually lead him on in the direction of that realisation by an easy natural method which takes care never to discourage him from moving forward, by asking him at any stage to take a leap too great for his powers."

And to this what could a Southern Buddhist reply but: "It may be so. In any case I must wish you well, even as I must wish all men well, who, whatsoever the road by which they choose to travel, are aiming to reach the goal of the Best."

Perhaps it were ungenerous not to say also in conclusion, that the translator of this particular Tantra Text as also the general editor of the series to which it belongs, deserves well of all—and happily they are an increasing number in these days—who wish to know what each religion stands for as it is understood by the best

among its followers. We can never get to know what any religious system really means save from those who are inside it. And Tantricism in particular has been for so long misunderstood and grossly misunderstood by those outside it, and so grievously misrepresented—intentionally or unintentionally—in what they have said about it, that all whose concern is that which ought to be all men's concern, truth, cannot be too grateful to "Arthur Avalon" for his good deed in produc-

ing this series of its authentic Scriptures; while they are under deep obligation to his able coadjutor, and in some sense, teacher in the present instance, Kazi Dawa-samdup, for rendering into English and expounding one of its Texts current among Tibetan Buddhists. It is the first book of its kind thus made accessible to European readers. It is to be hoped of its capable translator, who is surely unique in his equipment for such tasks, that he will not allow it to be the last.

S.

HE BIRTH OF WONDER.

"Primitive Ritual and Belief, An Anthropological Essay," by the Rev. E. O. James. Methuen and Co., Ltd. 5/-.

Chance led me to take up one after the other *The Study of Words* by the late Archbishop Trench and *Primitive Ritual and Belief* by the Rev. E. O. James. Both works are studies in scientific history by priests of the Church of England. It would be difficult to find two books better illustrating the change which science and religion have undergone within two generations. For Archbishop Trench, who was at that time, 1851, Dean of Westminster, the world was created in B. C. 4004 and the only indubitable authentic account of the early days of man was given in the opening chapters of Genesis. He would certainly have reprobated and might perhaps have excommunicated the learned Christian priest whose study of primitive man forms the subject of this article. Mr. James looks for the rudiments of Christian ritual in the practices of the Australian aborigines; fifty years ago his religion would have been anathema, twenty years ago his science would have been suspect. That is one feature of his book of very general interest, that in these days he can be a scientist, dealing in the unconditioned spirit of scientific enquiry with facts concerning the origin of religion, and yet is able to remain a priest of the Anglican communion.

But the matter of his enquiry has an even wider interest. He is concerned to trace the relation between ritual, myth, magic and religion. His results differ from those of Sir James Frazer as widely as his methods; not improbably, as he himself suggests, the difference in result is largely due to a difference in method. Sir James

ransacked the world with more than German thoroughness, and reconciled his readers to the process by the wide sweep of his argument and the lightness of his style. Our present author distrusts such wide comparisons of a long catalogue of facts, "superficially similar but really incommensurable"; he follows the intensive method which he considers less likely to lead to false conclusions. He confines his analysis almost entirely to the Australian aborigines, only extending his range when the chosen area fails to provide him with sufficient data. It is now generally recognised that this is the more fertile method of studying social phenomena; a social fact is not a butterfly that can be pinned down and studied at leisure independently of its environment, man is something more than an unit in the census rolls. Sir James Frazer seeing that ritual was imitative classed it as magic, elementary science, the science of primitive man, who holds that "nature is determined by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically." The savage goes through rain making ceremonies in order to produce rain by imitating it. That was an obvious deduction from the circumstances; the savage imitates rain when he wants rain, therefore he imitates rain so as to make it rain. That is the intellectual common sense explanation, without multiplying causes. Mr. James admits that ritual is imitative, but holds that it is the outward sign of an inward emotion, the anticipation of a Christian sacrament. It is as essentially a religious act for the Burman or the English sailor to whistle for the wind as it is for a Buddhist boy to be admitted as a *ko-yin* or a Christian child to receive confirmation. It is common ground between both theories that pri-

mitive man is prone to ritual in every crisis of his life, but the one pictures him as magical, utilitarian, the other shows him to be religious in a very real sense, living his religion. According to Mr. James it does not occur to primitive man to wonder how the elephant got his trunk, he accepts the universe. He does not resort to ritual in order to gain a logically conceived end by some magical relation between means and end; the ritual is an expression of intense longing, "the rite as a whole is felt to be in some mystic way effective in bringing about the desired result."

An important feature in Mr. James' work is the stress which he lays on the distinction between private and public rites. The former are of an individual and sacramental nature, the latter refer to the well-being of the community, at large. On this basis of classification he proceeds to examine Australian rites, the private ritual of birth, initiation or re-birth, marriage and death, and the public ritual of totems, war and rain making. He traces foreshadowings and essential similarities between those and the ritual procession of the Christian life, baptism and the purification of the mother, confirmation, the Eucharist, marriage, funeral ceremonies and the communion of the saints. Thus "in the catholic creeds of Christianity the vital truths of all religious cults find a place." It would be interesting to trace a corresponding analogy between primitive ritual and the theory and practice of Buddhism in Burma.

It is interesting also in the light of this book to recall the two studies of ritual that have been placed on record in the Journal of this Society. Mr. Grant Brown described for us with ghastly detail the human sacrifices of the Nagas; Mr. Halliday gave us the more pleasant picture of the Talaing Kalok dance. But in attempting to analyse these descriptions one can hardly fail to be struck with the difficulty of distinguishing between their magical and religious elements. That difficulty is encountered in the interpretation of many of the facts instanced by Mr. James. It is in fact inherent in his theory. The savage imitates the making of rain because he wants the rain to fall. Sir J. G. Frazer explains that he does so *because* he wants the rain to fall. Mr. James holds that he does so because he can not help it. The ritual is "not only the outward

expression of thought, but also the vent of pent up emotions and activity." The savage acts before he thinks and forms of ritual must have preceded the development of ideas concerning the how and why of what was being done. When he tries to puzzle out the meaning of his actions he finds them so irrational that he invents gods to account for them.

That however is not the only way in which the hosts of heaven are recruited. Myths partly find their origin in drama. Men returning from battle or the chase recount their exploits with the aid of gesture; memorable episodes are crystallised in dramatic form; the event in which the drama originates passes from memory and they rehearse thenceforth the deeds of legendary heroes. Not improbably it was in this fashion that Tabin-shwe-ti, who lived so lately as the 16th century, gained his Place among the Thirty Seven Nats. But there is a further development, which did not happen with Tabin-shwe-ti. It becomes the practice for the drama to be acted on occasions similar to that which gave it birth and the savage reads into these anticipatory rites a magical efficiency. The ritual however is not effective because like produces like, but because in reproducing more or less realistically some practical activity it tends to establish an *ex post facto* idea of "sympathetic" causation. Then gradually in the normal development of religion the gods leave the earth and become regimented in a heavenly hierarchy of principalities and powers, whose spiritual functions are gradually absorbed by the one god of monotheistic religions.

The distinctive character of Mr. James' work is that it presents us with a religious theory of ritual. The theory associated with Herbert Spencer and Grant Allen pictured the origin of religion in the apotheosis of the Hero. He could "do things" when he was alive, he was a man to propitiate and not to anger; the same character is carried over with him after death. Sir J. G. Frazer pictures the savage turning to religion when magic failed him. He hoped to get something out of it that even magic was not strong enough to give. But these theories and all similar intellectual theories of the origin of religion are essentially irreligious. The authors see that religion is often confounded with the promise of a good time coming, but do not appre-

ciate the essential character of religion, that in no material or profane sense, immediately demonstrable, does the good time ever come. Mr. James avoids their fallacy; he traces the origin of religion to an earlier stage, to a specific religious instinct, an instinct to walk by faith. If you consider the savage walking by the light of reason it is obvious that he would have made a very poor job of life; he would not have walked very far. Even in the 20th century the soundest philosophers are those who find a reason for doing what the plain man does without worrying about a reason.

It can hardly be doubted that in this hypothesis Mr. James has made a notable advance towards the elucidation of anthropological problems. Viewed in the light of his theory primitive ritual is the elementary expression of the religious instinct before man has occupied himself with wonder. Then with the birth of wonder

he accounts for his ritual with myths. Directly he has a myth he has something that he can grasp intellectually and he endeavours to turn it to practical, utilitarian, intellectually conceived ends. That is magic. Out of magic slowly develops science, leaving religion as the solution of the problems that remain unsolved. Mr. James has demonstrated that in its earliest as in its latest forms religion is the metaphysical basis of morality.

We have wandered a good way from the Australian aborigines. But we have gone hand in hand with the author. His book is, ultimately, a tract. That is brought out in the interesting prefatory note contributed by Dr. Maret, the Reader in Social Anthropology at Oxford. But it is none the less good scientific work, a collection and classification of facts. Each reader can draw his own conclusions from them.

J. S. F.

BURMESE NOVELS.

12.—*Maung Ba Shwe and Ma Hla May* of Kyaiklat by Maung San Thein, Student, St. John's College, Rangoon. Rangoon, Irrawaddy Press, 1910. Price Rs. 1/4.

A remarkable production from a student. The language is good and restrained. The story is a simple one of the meeting and marriage of the hero and the heroine. The first part just gives us enough to expect an unfaithful husband in Maung Ba Shwe. The value of the novel suffers by printing it in parts, which may not get beyond the first part.

13.—*Maung Mya Din and Ma Mè Yu* by Maung Po Ye, Pakokku, Dhammavati Printing Press, Part I, 1911, price 12 annas.

Quite simple in plot being wholly a love-story of Maung Mya Din with Ma Mè Yu, his first love. Courtship is carried on in the ordinary way through the medium of letters entrusted to the indispensable go-between. The young man is not satisfied with the mere requital of his sweetheart's love but insists on meeting her. This the girl finds impracticable, not because she does not wish it but because Burmese etiquette does not allow her to see a young man, not yet approved by her parents. Mya Din goes off in high dudgeon and makes love to another girl in

exactly the same way, i. e., through the medium of letters. One is struck by the want of variety in the love-making of a young man to two distinct persons, the letters to the second love being written in almost exactly the same style and sentiment as to the first. And the go-between comes and goes and thrives by working on the deluded fancies of the lovers.

14.—*Maung Shwe Taung Wuttu* by Saya Thin, 1911. Yedanathiri Press.

This is more like a dull account of Burmese ancient history and archaeology than a novel.

15.—*Maung Cherry and Ma Myat Le, or How to get an appointment*, by T. Ba Thwin, 1912. Irrawaddy Press, Rangoon, 8 annas.

This is the first book of social interest. Cherry comes as a good genius to young Burmans, idle and too proud to work, while all the business is being snatched from their hands by the alien Chinaman and Kala. Cherry, being himself a European man of business, gives them friendly lectures and advice on the difference between independent life and service life, and urges them to develop some business, as without money—so he argues—not even such charitable acts as almsgiving can be made. He ridicules the vain modern Burman for his preference of foreign

goods such as Japanese silk to his own Tavoy silk, of boots and shoes to slippers. He at last prevails upon them to start a company to run a hotel and helps them by becoming its President. He is an advocate also for female education, pointing out the evils of the present system of primary education, where English is not taught and urges the inauguration of the Burma University. Interest in the book is maintained by a beautiful lady, Myat Le, the cynosure of all eyes. The first part, however, ends with her elopement with some outsider.

16.—*Maung Hlaing, the Pemyit seller.* Part I, by Maung Tha Zan, Thonze, Universal Printing Press 1912.

A good novel of humour and pathos with a touch of satire. The story is about a Burman who deceives a simple Karen girl from the plantations and forgets her as soon as he gets to Rangoon and takes a new wife. The Karen wife and her relations pursue him with the doggedness of blind love and the scenes that follow testify to the author's dramatic powers. The dramatic value of the book is enhanced by a skilful use of Karen accentuation of Burmese words. Indeed we have no hesitation in saying that this is the first Burmese novel which approaches European novels as regards the humour and satire of its dialogues. The love scenes are good examples.

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA 1919.

This Report is the last that Mr. Taw Sein Ko has written. It contains many important discussions by Mr. Taw Sein Ko who has thrown out suggestions on such points as the relation between the Shan and Tibetan alphabets, the preservation of Buddhism and the cultural origins of the Talaings and the Burmans. He reiterates his old contention about the influence of China on Burma in religion and language. Whether Mr. Taw Sein Ko is right or wrong in his views is a question of future research.

Mr. Duroiselle has contributed largely to the Report. We like his suggestions for a history of Burma, where his wide reading and careful scholarship are well displayed. Mr. Duroiselle writes well on the Lopburi Inscription, the oldest Talaing Inscription as yet discovered. The great interest to us of Mr. Duroiselle's articles lies in the fact that he gives us in clear language the substance of the learning that is scattered in French and German publications. His article on 'Kadāram not in Burma' is a good instance. Mr. Duroiselle approves of M. Coedès's new identification of Kadāram with Kedah in West Malay Peninsula. This and other identifications made by M. Coedès are different from those made by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, who has given us his views in the Annual Reports.

The question is an important one and we only hope, with Mr. Duroiselle, that Mr. Taw Sein Ko and M. Coedès will be able to come to a satisfactory conclusion.

In paragraph 43 Mr. Duroiselle touches upon the Alaungsithu *versus* Narapatisithu controversy. We agree to all that he says in the first part of the paragraph; but his sentence that "The stone inscriptions never call Alaungsithu by this name" has surprised us. We construe the sentence to mean that Alaungsithu, the grandfather is never called by the name Alaungsithu in stone inscriptions. But surely Mr. Duroiselle, who is so familiar with the inscriptions knows that the name Alaungsithu, to quote one instance, occurs in line 10 of the inscription on page 37 of the Original Inscriptions, collected by King Bodawpaya in Upper Burma, which Mr. Duroiselle himself, then officiating for Mr. Taw Sein Ko published in 1913? The date being 527 sakkaraj = 1165 A. D., Alaungsithu the grandfather is meant in the inscription, referred to. Besides, the author of the New Chronicle (Twinthin Mahasithu) tells us that in inscriptions Alaungsithu, the grandfather is called by the following names: Alaungsithu Shwegudāyakā, Alaungsithu-Minchara, Shwegudāyakā-Minsithu, Alaungsithu lord of the 36 white

elephants.⁽¹⁾ Now Twinthin, as Mr. Duroiselle doubtless knows was a scholar and historian of no mean order, as his New History, to give an instance, abundantly shows.⁽²⁾ One of his duties was to check the inscriptions in Bodawpaya's reign in the Archaeological office.⁽³⁾ His views on the Inscriptions are therefore entitled to special weight. Indeed, it is very probable from the number of Inscriptions that must have perished,⁽⁴⁾ that he was acquainted with many more inscriptions than we can ever hope to collect. Twinthin's testimony coupled with the evidence of the Inscription we have quoted above are sufficient proof that Alaungsithu, the grandfather is called Alaungsithu, as well as Sithu and Narapatisithu in the Inscriptions. If we have in any way misconstrued Mr. Duroiselle's

statement and if Mr. Duroiselle means some thing else we have missed, we tender our apology and hope that he will put us right.

In the second part of paragraph 43, Mr. Duroiselle, on the strength of the name *Arahan Shin* in an inscription, works out the building of the Nandamaññā to be between 1112 and 1118. Mr. Duroiselle's conclusion is worthy of note as pointing to the building of an Ari temple in Alaungsithu's reign, when according to the chronicles the Ari had already been disgraced by Anawrahta some half a century previously. We would like to have the whole inscription to see whether the context confirms Mr. Duroiselle's interpretation.

—Editor.

ANANTATHURIYA'S DEATH SONG.—A FURTHER NOTE.

In the last number of the Journal we have traced this song to the Great Chronicle of Maung Kala (1724 A. D.), and compared it with the versions given in the New Chronicle and the Glass Palace Chronicle. Some poetical friends have pointed out to us that *သွေးသည်အနိစ္စာ* which we have rendered as "The blood is transitory" (last line), taking *သွေး* to be the blood ought to be construed as *အနိစ္စာသွေးသည်*, making *အနိစ္စာ* (transitoriness, impermanence) the subject and *သွေးသည်* the verb, to *lure*. We were just considering whether this meaning (of the law of impermanence luring Anantathuriya into his fate) would be more poetical and were beginning to be *lured* away by its attractiveness, when we happened to consult the Old Chronicle, which gives a version different in many points. We obtained this Old Chronicle from U Tin, of Pagan, who prefers to call it the Middle Chronicle. It is certainly an older Chronicle than the Great Chronicle and its date has been assigned to about 1530. It is valuable for a comparative study of history. For instance, it makes Narapatisithu, the grandson a greater man than Alaungsithu the grandfather. Thus, the glowing account of travels which is related of the grandfather in the Great Chronicle and

Glass Palace Chronicle is related of the grandson in this chronicle, (and the New Chronicle of Twinthin also). We give the Death song in full:

သုတယောက်ကာ၊ ကောင်းသို့ရောက်မူ၊ သုတယောက်သည်၊
ပျောက်နှင့်လေသာ၊ ဓမ္မတာတည်း။

ရွှေအိမ်နန်းနှင့်၊ ကြွင်းလည်းခံ၊ မတ်ပေါင်းရဲလျက်၊
ညှိမ၊ စည်စိမ်မကွာ၊ မင်းချမ်းသာကာ၊ သမုဒ္ဒရာ၊ ရေမျက်
ဇောတက်သား၊ ရေညှက်ပမာ၊ တသက်လျာတည်း။

ကြင်နာသနား၊ အစားမသတ်၊ ယခုလွတ်လည်း၊ ကင်းပြတ်
ကြွေ၊ သုတကာတို့၊ ခန္ဓာခိုင်ကြည်၊ အတည်မမြဲ၊ ဖောက်လွှတ်
သည်၊ မချွတ်စရာ၊ သတ္တဝါတည်း။

ရွှေကော်ရော်၊ ပုဇွန်အကွန်း၊ ပန်ခဲတုံလျက်၊ သံသာစက်၍၊
ကြိုက်လစ်တွက်မူ၊ တုံ့မက်မလို၊ စိတ်မြဲသိ၍၊ ကြည်ညိုလွတ်မြန်၊ သ
ခပ်မွန်အား၊ မချန်စစ်စစ်၊ အပြစ်မီးရေ၊ ခွင့်လျှင်ပေး၏၊ သွေးသား
ခပ်မွန်အား၊ မချန်စစ်စစ်၊ အပြစ်မီးရေ၊ ခွင့်လျှင်ပေး၏၊ သွေးသား
အနိစ္စာ၊ သေမြဲရသား၊ ကိုယ်ခန္ဓာတည်း။

It will be seen that this Old Chronicle⁽⁵⁾ reads *သွေးသားအနိစ္စာ*, which confirms our interpretation. But if we were still under the *luring* influence we could easily attribute *သွေးသားအနိစ္စာ* (blood-and-flesh is impermanent) to a copyist's error for *သွေးသည်အနိစ္စာ*.

Editor.

(1). Quoted from the Bernard Free Library MS.

(2). See our remarks on Anantathuriya's Death-song in the last number of the Journal. See also Vol. V, part II, page 60 for his Vocabulary of Archæic words.

(3). See page 71. Inscriptions copied from the stones by King Bodawpaya, Vol. I, 1897.

(4). "Not a few must have been broken in transit or by mismanagement at the place of destination"—Duroiselle, Preface to the Inscriptions, 1913, above cited.

(5). As also the New chronicle of Pagan.

DERIVATION OF "ARI".

In the preceding number of this Journal (Vol. IX Part III, pp. 155-6) the Editor criticises my derivation of the word *arī* from the Pali *ariya*, and comes to the conclusion that it is not derived from *ariya* but from *arañña*. At first sight, his criticism appears to be sound; unfortunately his argument is based on two capital errors which vitiate it. He wonders whether it is a slip of the pen when I give *arañ* as the written form of the word *arī*. It was no slip of the pen at all, and the transcription is perfectly correct. Final ဌ has never been meant in pure Burmese words or in words derived from the Pali to represent a double *ññ*, it is but a symbol for the sounds *ī* and *ē*, and it does not stand therefore, as is attested by its use since the 11th century, for a final nasal; the Burmese themselves have understood this so well that, to give it a nasal sound when required, they place over it the *nigahita*, thus ဌ်, pronounced *in* (not *īñ*): and they have so well understood also that ဌ does not stand for a double letter *ññ*, that the custom is gradually gaining ground in educated circles and in books seriously edited, to represent this sound ဌ by the single nasal *ṣ, ñ* (pronounced *in*). Put shortly, ဌ in Burmese, has never been meant to be a double letter; it is merely a symbol used to represent the vowel sound *ī*, and is therefore meant for, and as it is used in reality is, a single letter; for Burmese, as the Editor doubtless knows, has not, and cannot have double final letters; hence the literal transliteration of ဌ by *ñ*.⁽¹⁾ This rendering has always been understood as an elementary matter of fact by orientalists in the Far-East and in Europe, not only for Burmese, but also for other languages. That is why Blagden, for instance, when transliterating Talaing, renders *တုဉ်* by *tuñ* and not *tuññ*; why Ed. Huber, transliterating a passage from the "New History of Pagan" (၂၀၇၀၀၀၀) in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française* for 1905, p. 179, renders *လုဉ်* by *luñ* and not *luññ*; *မြုဉ်* by *prañ* and not *praññ*; *သုဉ်* by *sañ* and not *saññ*. Examples might easily be multiplied, but the

matter is too elementary to give it such honour. My transliteration of *တုဉ်* by *arañ* was consequently not a slip of the pen, but a rational transliteration. If we admit with the Editor that ဌ as it is used in Burmese represents a double nasal, there can be no reasonable objection to ဌ, which is of course the same letter but initial, being a double nasal also, so that, in transcription we should get such incongruous forms as: ဌ် = *ññan*, ဌး = *ññā*, etc. So that when Maung Tin says that "the word is written *Araññ* (a) in Burmese (with a double nasal) so generally that if we came across *arañ* we should look upon it as a careless script," by his insertion of an (a) after the supposed form *araññ*, he seems merely to be begging the question and is asserting straight off that *တုဉ်* is derived from *arañña* (အရုဉ်), not only without further enquiry into the plausibility of his statement, but against all the rules of Burmese phonetics. No doubt, the two words look so very much alike, that the temptation to take them for one and the same word is indeed great; but appearances are not seldom deceitful in philological equations. His assertion that I have derived *arī* from *ariya* instead of *arañña* on the basis of its sound and not of its form does not stand in the light of the explanations which come lower down. Maung Tin has based his derivation *araññ* (sic) = *arañña*, on a passage of a history of Pagan written in Pali, which runs, "athāpi Samathittāne⁽²⁾ nisinnehi micchādittthikehi *araññabhikkhūhi* sad-dhim" etc; but what he does not tell us is that this is the only place in which *arañña* (အရုဉ်) is found: that throughout the whole work the author uses constantly the expressions *တုဉ်* or *တုဉ်း*; should not this fact alone have been sufficient to make Maung Tin pause before committing himself to his statement? This being the case, it is clear that *အရုဉ်* in this passage is nothing but a copyist's mistake, who forgot to place the *virāma* on the last letter of the word *တုဉ်*; that this is the case is shown by other copies which, in this very passage read *တုဉ်း*; for in-

(1) Because if transcribed phonetically by *ñ* it would not be distinguishable from the symbol *ñ* = *ñ*, and would lead to endless misconceptions in the meanings of words written with ဌ and ဌ်.

(2) Maung Tin transcribes here *samathi* = *တုဉ်*; but all the copies have *samathi* = *တုဉ်း*.

stance, in the copy of U Tin, Sub-Divisional Officer, Pagan, page 22, which runs—"athāpi Samathitthāne nisinnehi micchādittthikehi araṇṇ (အရင်း) bhikkhūhi" etc; moreover, it is doubtful whether the author, instead of araṇṇabhikkhū would not have preferably used the expression āraṇṇāka bhikkhū, which is the usual one.⁽³⁾ This copyist's mistake, as well as the fact that ည် is a conventional sign to represent the sound ī and not a double nasal ññ, vitiates altogether Maung Tin's derivation, *ari*=*araññ*=*arañña*.

Now, to show that the derivation from *ariya* is not impossible but rather reasonable and very probable. In words derived from the Pali, a final ည် always represents a final Pali—y (a),—iy (a) or—eyy (a). Examples of this change are numerous; a few will suffice here: *paccaya*, *paccañ* (ပစ္ဆည်း); *Kaccāyana*, *Kaccañ* (ကဇ္ဈည်း=ကဇ္ဈာယ်=ကဇ္ဈယ်—this form is found in inscriptions); *tullaccaya*, *tullaccañ*, (တုလ္လဇ္ဈည်း); *naya*, *nañ*, (နည်း); *vinaya*, *vināñ* (ဝိနည်း); also found as ဝိနယ်, ဝိနည် ဝိနည်, in inscriptions); *ājāniya*, *ājānañ* (အာဇာနည်); *arimetteyya*, which appears in Burmese also under the forms *metteyya*, *mitriyā*, *arimiteyya*, *mittiyā* and *arimittiyā*, becomes *mittēñ* (မိတ္တည်း, pron. meitti), *mittañ* (မိတ္တည်း) and *arimatañ* (အရိမတည်း). *Pāḷiyyaka* becomes *pulalañ*⁽⁴⁾ (ပုလလည်း=ပလိလယျက=ပလိလယ်=ပလိလည်း=ပလလည်း); *upameyya*, *upamañ* (ဥပမည်း); *Jeyasūra*, *cañsū* (ဧညသု) etc., etc. If then such words as *ājāniya*, *mittiyā*, *arimittiyā*, become in Burmese, *ājānañ*, *mittañ* and *arimatañ*, why should not *ariya* become *arañ* (အရင်း)? The process is simple: *ājāniya*—အာဇာနိယ = အာဇာနိယ် = အာဇာနည် = အာဇာနည်, because two signs ည် and ည် are unnecessary to represent the same vowel sound in the same syllable, and therefore one is dropped. So also; *ariya*—အရိယ = အရိယ် = အရိည် = အရင်း, just as အရိတ္တိယာ becomes အရိတည်း and ဥပယျ = ဥပည်း. I have shown⁽⁵⁾ that the old Burmese used indifferently the sounds ī, é, è, at a time when the language seems to have been in a stage of flux, new forms and consequently new sounds slowly displacing older ones; this lasted for centuries; we can, if I may use the expression, follow the struggle in a long series of inscriptions; this is particularly the case with the three sounds ī, é, è, and so are explained such forms, for the same word, as—ဝိနယ်, ဝိနည်

ဝိနည် = ဝိနည်း (vinaya; နယ်, နယ်, နိယ်, နည် = နည်း (naya), and numerous others; this long evolution has left its traces on the language of the present day, for such words written one way and so pronounced in formal discourse, are pronounced differently in colloquial speech; as for instance, ဆည် = ဆယ်; ပြည် (Prome) = ပြေး; နည်း (little) = နဲ; ရယ် = ရီ; လည် = လယ် and so on with a very large number. All these examples and those previously cited conclusively show that, from the time when Burmese began to be written (XIth century), this final ည် was used as a symbol to represent the sound ī (indifferently pronounced ī, é, or è); and that in words derived from the Pali, it regularly represents a Pali final —ya, —iyya and —eyya. I have, I hope, shown, that, in deriving *arañ* from *ariya*, I did not in the least do so "on the basis of its sound rather than on the form which has produced the sound," for as a matter of fact, ည် (ī) never represents a Pali final ññ (a).

It now remains to show that this ည် is not a Pali ññ (a). It is self evident if we bear in mind that—whatever its origins in a remote stage of the language of which we now know nothing—as far back as the XIth century, epigraphical evidence abundantly proves that it was used to represent the vowel ī in words which were then (and even now as has been shown) pronounced either ī, or é or è; if it is a vowel, then it cannot be nor can it represent a nasal consonant in derived words. I have already stated that words which, in Pali, terminate in—ñña have been adopted in Burmese, whether literary or spoken, just as they are, without clipping. For instance *paññā* (ပညာ) remains *paññā*, and so *kaññā*, *araññā*, *dhaññā*, *anuññā*, *vaññā*, *saññā*, etc; this is easily verified by running through a Pali dictionary. The exceptions to this statement are so very few that they are not sufficient to invalidate it. They are: *puññā*—ပုည=ဘုန်း (pron. phôn) in the word ဘုန်းကြီး (=ပုန်း=ဘုန်း; with this compare Talaing ပုန်း=puñña); *sāmañña*—သာမည=သာမန် (sāman); *suññā*—သုည=သုန်း (sun); *bhuñjana*—ဘုဉ်း=ဘုန်း (ဘုဉ်း=ဘုန်း; with this compare also Talaing ပုန်း in ကံပုန်း=ဘုန်းပေသည်); there may certainly be a few others, but I think they will be very few. It will be remarked that in these

(3). For instance, *Pārājikan-aṭṭhakathā*, Burmese edition, p. 532.

(4). With insertion of vowel *u* after the initial labial, a phenomenon quite frequent in Burmese.

(5). *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I Part I, pp. 30ff.

words, the Pali—*nni* (a) becomes an *n* (န) (6) and not an ဌ, which would be impossible, since this latter is a vowel *i*.

There is a clipped word, သမ္ပဉ် which represents *sampajāñña*; but it will be remarked that the final ဌ is not a nasal *ññ*; it is the vowel ဌ *i* nasalized by means of the niggahīta (◌◌) which in Burmese is pronounced *n*. သမ္ပဉ် is pronounced *thampazin*; if it were written without the niggahīta it would be *sampajī* (သမ္ပဉ်); ဌ throughout Burmese equals *i* + *n*, and is thus in sound equivalent to *ḥ n* pronounced *in*. In all these words, therefore, a final Pali-*ññ*(a) becomes *n* (န) and not *i*—ဌ; and this is quite regular since both *ññ* and *ñ* are nasal, and quite in accordance with Burmese phonetics in which all final nasals besides the dental (ḥ, ṣ, ḥ, ◌◌) are pronounced as *n* (န) dental. That ဌ=*i* + *n* is shown by many Burmese words: ကွဉ်—pronounced=*kyin*, but ကွဉ်=*kyi*; စဉ်=*sīn*, but စဉ်=*si*; ဖဉ်=*phyin*, but ဖဉ်=*phyi* or *phyé*, and so on. Now, as in some words, a final nasal has inherent before it the sound of *i*, (this is always the case for ḥ, *n*=*in*), the word သမ္ပဉ် could not have been written otherwise if its proper sound was to be represented. Had it been written သမ္ပဉ် (sompajin) it would be pronounced *thampazēn*, and would represent a Pali word **sampajina* or **sampajinda*, cf. သုဉ် (sūrin)=*sūrin*da; if written သမ္ပဉ် (sompajān) it would be pronounced *thampazīn* but would derive from a word **sampajānga*, cf. နှဉ် (dhutañ)=*dhū-taṅga*; if သမ္ပဉ် (sompajīm), it would be pronounced *thampazēn*, and refer to Pali word **sampajīm*; if, lastly, it were written သမ္ပဉ် (sompajāñ=sompajī, its pronunciation would be *thampazī* and it would refer to a form **sampajaya*. Therefore, in the word သမ္ပဉ်—သမ္ပဉ်, the Pali final nasal-*ññ*(a) is also represented by the nasal *n*=niggahīta. To illustrate that in this word the ဌ is nothing but *i* + *n*, this *n* representing the final-*ññ*(a), I give the following words in which the ဌ *in*, proceeds from a final-*n* or *n*; they will at the same time illustrate what has just been said, first that,

all final nasals whether Burmese or Pali become a dental nasal; and that in such words, ဌ (i) in ဌ (in) merely represents that *i* sound inherent in Burmese in a large number of words ending in a nasal: အဉ်ညဉ် and အဉ်ညဉ်, pronounced *abhinyin*=*abhiññāna*; ဝဉ်ညဉ် or ဝဉ်ညဉ်, pron. *Winyin*=*viññāna*; ဝဉ်ညဉ်, pron. *puṭhuzin*=*puṭhujana*; ဝဉ်ညဉ် or ဝဉ်ညဉ်, pron. *uyin*=*uyyāna*; ဝဉ်ညဉ်, pron. *yin*=*yāna*. This class of words is numerous, but these few examples will suffice. The words given above in illustration, ဝဉ်ညဉ်, ဝဉ်ညဉ်, ဝဉ်ညဉ်, represent the oldest way of spelling them; they are found regularly written with an န (n) in inscriptions, manuscripts, and most books. I say *most* books because since about three decades there has been a tendency to change the spelling of certain words; the principal being the change of *o* to *u* in numerous words; the adoption, of which I have already spoken at the very beginning, of ဌ (ñ final) instead of ဌ *in*, in Burmese and Pali words, and also to replace final န *n* in the very few words, derived from Pali ones terminating in *ññ* (a). So that now, for instance, we may see but not universally, the word ဝဉ်ညဉ် (pron. *phōn*) from *bhuñjana* written ဝဉ်ညဉ် but pronounced the same as ဝဉ်ညဉ်; or ဝဉ်ညဉ် (pron. *sōn*) from *suñña* written ဝဉ်ညဉ် (pron. *sōn*). But this goes only to prove again that, in the very few cases where a Pali word ending in *ññ* is adopted in Burmese after clipping it, the *ññ* becomes a dental nasal *n*.

To resume: ဌ represents always the vowel *i* in pure Burmese or in derived words. In derived words, it is the result of a Pali final—*aya*,—*iya* or—*eyya*.

Pali final—*ññā* is preserved intact in borrowed words, and in the few words in which it undergoes change, it becomes the dental *n*. The word အဉ်ညဉ် *ari*, consequently, if it is after all a foreign word, is properly derived from *ariya*, and not from *araññā*, however closely the two words look like twins. And the statement of Maung Tin that a Pali final *ññā* is the origin of the Burmese vowel *i* (ဌ) is disproved by facts.

CHAS. DUROISSELLE.

(6). This change of final *ññ* or *ñ* to *n* is not peculiar to Burmese, it is also absolutely regular in Talaing: *maññā* (the Mon or Talaings)—*မာဉ်*=*မာဉ်*=*မာဉ်* (man); *amān*—

အာဉ်=*အာဉ်* (amān); *twāñ*—*တုဉ်*=*တုဉ်* (twān); *pan*—*ပဉ်*=*ပဉ်*=*ပဉ်* (pan), etc.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee held at Rangoon College on the 28th January, 1919.

PRESENT:

H. Hunter, Esqr., C. I. E., *President*
(in the Chair).
 J. T. Best, Esqr., M. A., *Vice-President.*
 J. J. Nolan, Esqr.
 Maung Tin, *Honorary Editor.*
 Mr. A. Khalat.
 G. E. Harvey, Esqr.
 J. C. Mackenzie, Esqr., *Honorary Secretary*
and Treasurer.

BUSINESS:

1. Arrangements for the election of office-bearers for the forthcoming year were discussed.
2. The revenue and expenditure report for the year 1918 was read and circulated.
3. It was resolved that out of the balance in hand a sum of Rs. 1,000/- should be placed on deposit with the Upper Burma Central Co-operative Bank.
4. The Honorary Secretary's report for the year 1918 was read and approved.
5. It was agreed that the Society should undertake the publication of the English translation of the *Hmannan Yazawin* which is at present being made by Maung Tin the Hony. Editor. It was agreed that the publication should be spread over a period of about two years.

J. C. MACKENZIE.

Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee held at Rangoon College on 14th August, 1919.

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esqr., M. A., *President.*
 J. T. Best, Esqr., M. A.
 Maung Tin, *Editor.*
 J. C. Mackenzie, Esqr., *Secretary.*

BUSINESS:

1. The minutes of the meeting held on 20th December, 1918, were read and confirmed.
2. The date for the meeting of the Committee was fixed for Thursday, 21st August, 1919.

3. The date for the next General Meeting was fixed for 29th August, 1919.

4. It was agreed that a paper by R. Halliday, Esqr., on the "Birth Feast of the Mons" be read at the General Meeting.

5. The following new members were admitted:—

(i) S. J. Oates, Esqr., proposed by Mr. J. S. Furnivall, seconded by Mr. J. C. Mackenzie.

(ii) Maung Hla Tin, { proposed by Mr.
 (iii) Maung Hla Tin, { Hunter and second-
 ed by Maung Tin.

6. Letter No. 1167 M/4 B 3 dated 9th May, 1919, from the Secretary to the Government of Burma on the subject of the establishment of central libraries throughout India was read and, after discussion it was resolved that the matter be referred to the Committee.

7. A proposal by Messrs. J. S. Furnivall and B. W. Swithinbank that the Society should address the Local Government urging the desirability of sending Professor Maung Tin to Europe was considered and after discussion was referred to the Committee.

8. A letter from the President of the Burmese Academy, Kyauksè, was referred to the Committee.

9. A proposed change in the Secretaryship was discussed as the present holder desired to resign. Maung Tin stated that Professor G. H. Luce was willing to be Secretary. The matter was referred to the Committee.

J. C. MACKENZIE,

Secretary.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee at Rangoon College on Friday, the 29th August, 1919, at 8 a. m.

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, C. I. E., *(in the Chair).*
 J. J. Nolan, Esqr.
 The Hon'ble U May Oung,
 Mr. A. Khalat.
 Rev. J. A. Drysdale.
 J. T. Best, Esqr., M. A.

Professor Maung Tin.
 Professor K. M. Ward.
 Professor G. H. Luce.
 U Hpay.
 J. C. Mackenzie, Esqr.

BUSINESS:

1. The minutes of the meeting held on 28th January, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. On reference from the Sub-Committee letter No. 1167-M/4. B-3 dated 9th May, 1919, from the Secretary to the Government of Burma was considered.

It was resolved that a reply be sent in the following sense:

(a) That if central libraries are to be constituted Burma should be a separate centre.

(b) That the Bernard Free Library as at present constituted is entirely unsuitable to form the nucleus of a central library.

(c) That the Society considered that there is urgent need in Rangoon for a new library, with an adequate supply of books and an adequate staff; and that for such a library a new building in a central position is required.

3. On reference from the Sub-Committee a proposal by Messrs. J. S. Furnivall and B. W. Swithinbank that Government should be addressed on the subject of sending Professor Maung Tin to Europe before the Burma University is inaugurated, was considered.

It was resolved that the Secretary should address the Local Government on the subject urging the extreme desirability of Professor Maung Tin being sent to Europe and pointing out that the case is so urgent that if the present rules do not permit of his being sent with an adequate stipend for an adequate period, the present rules should be disregarded.

It was also resolved that the Secretary should address the Educational Syndicate on the subject.

4. A letter from the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, was read in which the Society was asked to appoint a judge to award a prize offered by the Academy for an architectural design at the Provincial Art Exhibition.

It was resolved that the Society regretted that it could not appoint a judge.

5. The resignation of Mr. J. C. Mackenzie of the Honorary Secretaryship was accepted. It was agreed that Professor Luce should take over the Secretaryship and Treasurership from Mr. Mackenzie.

J. C. MACKENZIE,
Secretary.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee held at Rangoon College on Thursday the 26th February, 1920, at 8-30 a. m.

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esqr., C. I. E., *President,*
(in the Chair).

J. J. Nolan, Esqr.

J. T. Best, Esqr.

Professor Maung Tin.

Professor K. M. Ward.

Professor G. H. Luce, *(Hony. Secretary).*

BUSINESS:

1. The minutes of the last Committee meeting held on August 29th, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. M. S. Collis and Professor A. Campbell were elected members.

3. In accordance with the resolution made at a meeting of the Committee on January 28th, 1919, it was decided to invest Rs. 1,000/- out of the balance to the credit of the Society for five years with Upper Burma Central Co-operative Bank, as soon as funds are available.

4. A set of 25 gramophone records, received from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, of the languages spoken in Bombay Presidency, was placed on the table.

It was resolved that the gift be acknowledged with the thanks of the Society, and that a request be made for a catalogue for the purpose of identifying them.

5. The Annual Report of the Honorary Secretary was read and adopted and the Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for 1919 passed round.

6. Suggestions were made for Office-holders and Committee members for 1920.

G. H. LUCE,
Honorary Secretary.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at Rangoon College on 27th of February, 1920. Mr. M. Hunter, C. I. E., President of the Society was in the chair.

The reports of the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer for the year 1919 were read. The Honorary Secretary's report showed that the number of members on the roll of the Society at the beginning of the year was 188. Three new members were enrolled during 1919. Four members resigned. Two ordinary members became life members. Two members died during the year. So the number of members at the close of the year was 185.

The principal activities of the Society during the year included a series of lectures at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition. The public addresses on Burmese History were delivered as well as two papers at ordinary meetings. The Committee met twice, the Sub-Committee once during the year. Three numbers of the Journal were published. The Honorary Editor, Prof. Maung Tin, is at present engaged on a translation of the Hmannan Yazawin, the publication of which has been undertaken by the Society. The Society also addressed the Local Government and the Educational Syndicate urging the extreme desirability of Maung Tin being sent to Europe before the University opens.

The Honorary Treasurer's report showed that the year opened with a balance of Rs. 8,061-2-7, the income during the year was Rs. 1,802-14-0, the expenditure Rs. 1,810-13-3, and the balance at the close of the year Rs. 8,053-3-4. Of the balance a sum of Rs. 5,100/- is invested in War-bonds and Cash-certificates. Bills for Rs. 1,802/8 for printing charges for three numbers of the

Journal are still outstanding. Mr. J. C. Mackenzie was Honorary Secretary and Treasurer till February 21st, 1920, when Professor G. H. Luce took over charge. On the motion of Prof. Ward and Mr. Nolan and seconded by Mr. Best and U Hpay the annual reports were unanimously adopted.

Office-bearers for the present year (1920) were elected. Mr. M. Hunter, C. I. E., was re-elected President, Messrs. J. S. Furnivall, J. T. Best, and U Hpay were re-elected Vice-Presidents. Professor G. H. Luce and Professor Maung Tin were re-elected as Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, and Honorary Editor respectively.

Last year's Committee, with the exception of Mr. Luce who is now Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, were re-elected and Mr. J. A. Stewart and Professor Fraser were added to their numbers. The members of the Committee for the present year are as follows:—

Rev. D. C. Gilmore, M. A.; Messrs. J. A. Stewart, M. A., I. C. S.; Taw Sein Ko, C. I. E.; Chas. Duroiselle, M. R. A. S. Professors W. G. Fraser; G. R. T. Ross; Mr. J. J. Nolan; the Hon'ble Mr. C. M. Webb, I. C. S. Bishop Cardot; U Kyaw Dun, K. S. M.; Mr. A. Rodger; U May Oung, M. A., LL. B.; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Maung Kin; Messrs. G. E. Harvey, M. A., I. C. S.; A. P. Morris; the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Rangoon; Rev. J. A. Drysdale, M. A.; U Po Byu; Mr. A. Khalak; U Shwe Zan Aung, B. A.; L. A. Yain, *Bar-at-Law*; Mr. L. F. Taylor, M. A.; Prof. K. M. Ward.

After the above business had been transacted an illustrated paper by Mr. Luce entitled "The Smaller Temples of Pagan" was read.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Revenue and Expenditure Account for 1919.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
1. By Last Year's balance	8,061	2	7	1. To Clerk's pay	360	0	0
2. „ Ordinary Subscriptions	1,230	0	0	2. „ Peon's pay	36	0	0
3. „ Subscriptions for Life Membership	300	0	0	3. „ Postage stamps	90	0	0
4. „ Interest on 5½% War Bonds of 1920	246	6	0	4. „ Printing of the Journal	1,071	12	0
5. „ Sale of Journal	26	8	0	5. „ Stationery	19	5	0
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Details of Balance.

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5½% War Bonds	4,500	0	0
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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE DECEMBER, 1919, Vol. IX, Part III.

The Indian Antiquary: a journal of oriental research, August to December, 1919.

Epigraphia Birmanica, being lithic and other inscriptions of Burma, edited by Taw Sein Ko and Chas. Duroiselle, Vol. I, Part I,

The Fauna of British India including Ceylon and Burma—Mollusca, by W. T. Blanford and H. H. Godwin-Austin.

The Fauna of British India including Ceylon and Burma—Rhynchota, Vol. III and V *

Castes and Tribes of Southern India, 7 vols, by E. Thurston (1909).*

Annual Progress Report (abridged) of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1919.

A complete set of 25 gramophone records of the languages and dialects spoken in Bombay presidency (i. e., Gujarati, Marathi, Kanarese, Konkani, Sindhi Bhil—2 dialects, and Khandeshi.)

Journal of the East India Association, January, 1920.

The Burney Papers,—List of Contents, Vols. I—V.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1918-19.

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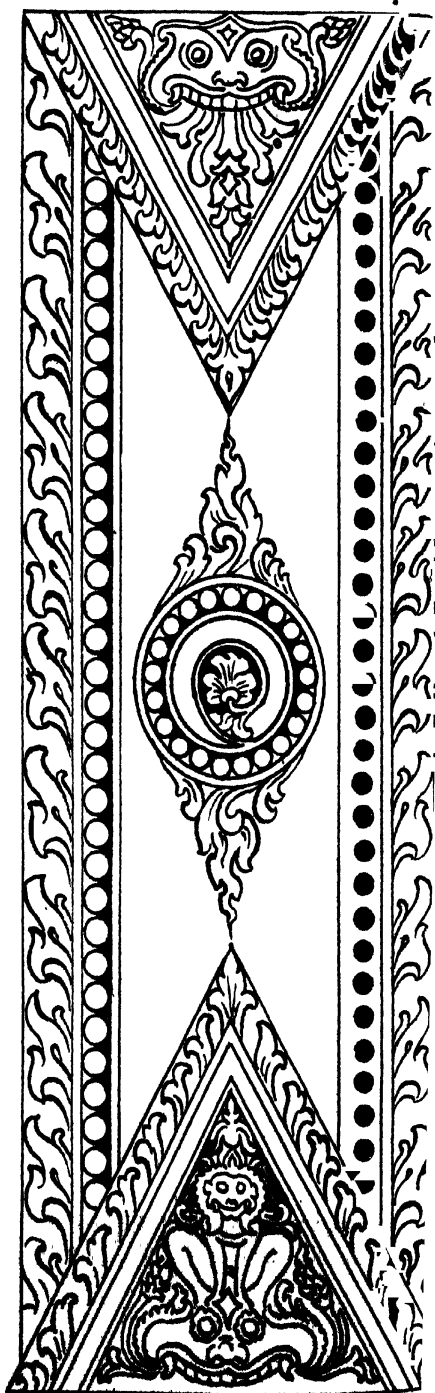
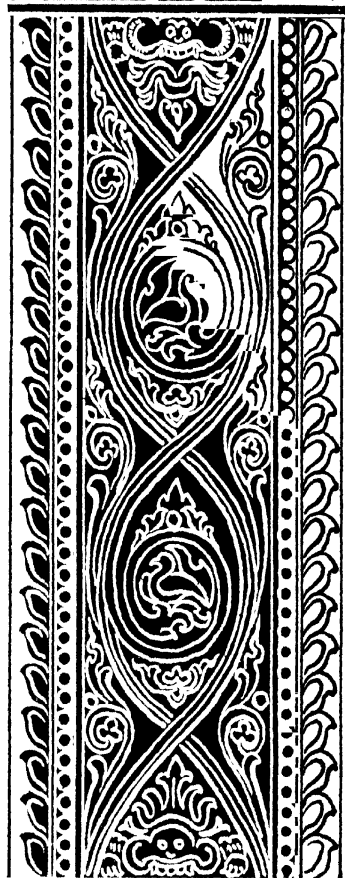
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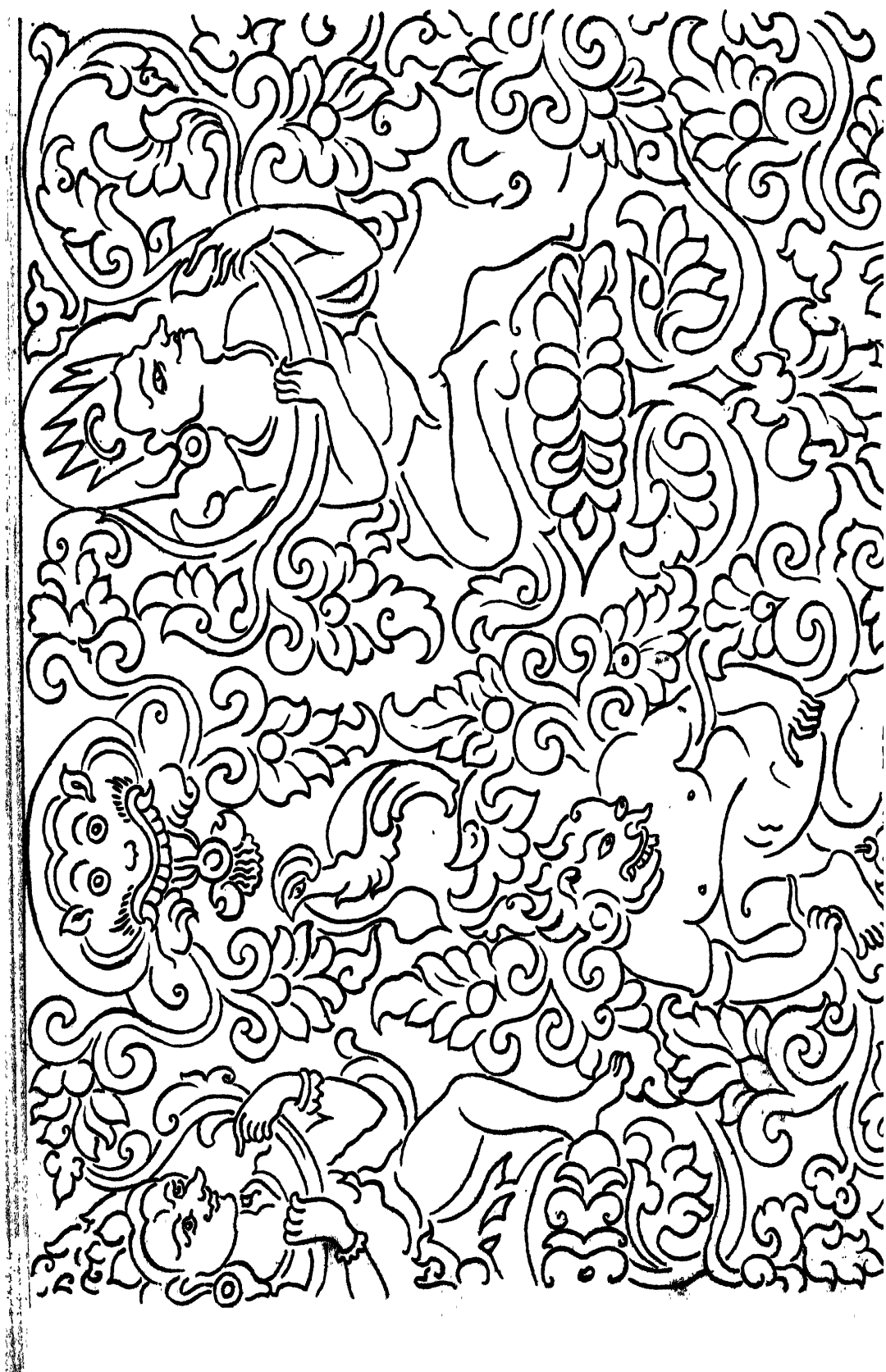
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THE SMALLER TEMPLES OF PAGAN.*

I

Let us build today one of the smaller temples of Pagan. It shall have but one storey, reaching no great height yet none the less aspiring. As in many of the greater temples we shall have a central pillar, square below and with a leafy struggling plinth, leaping without into the jagged curves of the *sikhara*. Against each face we shall enthrone the Buddha touching earth. Each mass and coign and curve of the building must relate to him. Sentinels at the door face outwards guarding him; the roof of the vestibule must lean and point to him; the vault of the corridor bend over him; within the side walls of the porch the stairways rise towards him; the two-headed cobra be his *hālō*; the whole flame-tipped temple stand as a crown about him. Yet he is no mere idol, no mere god even. The inner great flame-archway that almost bursts the vault of the vestibule, the small but eloquent flame-pediment framing the image, warn us that we have entered not a building but an idea, and are confronting not a person but a fact.

There are other designs open to us of course.⁽¹⁾ We might have no central pillar, but only a square chamber whose walls grow upwards and arch inwards, meeting like four petals of a flower in a point above the Buddha's head. For he, again, is the jewel in this lotus—throned against a screen or reredos that also arches to an apex. If we would have a bright and generous fane we shall open equal pointed archways on each side; if we prefer secrecy and religious light, we shall have but one entrance and a vestibule, set the screen and image against the further wall, and close the side arches in a plain recess

or perforated window. Then kneeling before the Buddha we may find more exquisite communion, the lotus closing over us and him.

Outside, we feel the same spirit of aspiration as in the greater temples, shewn in similar ways. Leafage of plinth and capital, flame-pediments, dado and pilasters with their V-mouldings, frieze⁽²⁾ of looping pearl pendants; and above, the terraces and fire-tongued corner stupas, the flights and flaming archways up the centre of each face, the broken curves and yearnings of the *sikhara*—are all the same. Often instead of the *sikhara* we have a bell-pagoda at the top, not indeed so aspiring for its curves are horizontal rather than vertical, but no less lovely.

But here is yet no main distinction between the great and smaller temples. The latter have but one storey; they are less stern, but far less grand and less aspiring. How shall we restore the balance and make these humbler shrines, if not so powerful, as moving? We will rest content with their smallness, make a virtue of it in fact, and give our best care to elaborate their smallness, their detail. And hence will arise this natural if surprising fact, that the Pagan temples which have most surface to adorn are the most empty of ornament, and those whose pettiness, one thinks, might well dispense with ornament are the most adorned. For of course these temples were treated from the first as works of art. To be seen at all, the giants must be seen at a distance; their surface therefore was treated in a broad manner. Inside, although their large wall-spaces might tempt the painter, the gloom and narrowness of the corridors told him that fresco was impossible. No such reflec-

*Read at the Annual Meeting at Rangoon Colelge on the 27th February, 1920.

(1). The prototypes of the two main kinds of Temple here described are the Lemyethna and Bèbè at Old Prome. See their groundplans (Plate I). The Thambula at Minnanthu is a good instance of the developed pillar-and-corridor Type, with vestibule.

(2). This is, I fear, an inaccurate use of the word, but it would be hard to find a substitute. The Pagan 'frieze' does not come between the cornice and the architrave but is the lowest member of the latter. The features alluded to in this paragraph have been described at length in the author's article entitled "The Greater Temples of Pagan" Vol. VIII, Part III.

tion would deter the architect of the smaller shrines. The very closeness with which his surface will be regarded will tempt him to make it worthier of a close regard. The artist who is denied the infinite will ever turn to the infinitesimal.

There are few pagodas at Pagan of which I think the decoration florid. Flowery it is often, certainly, but there is scarcely anything even of the fine extravagance of Bagyidaw's time, much less of the rank jungle rife in Burmese art today. Nowadays design is often utterly choked. A hundred years ago it was rarely lost but rarely emphasised; the interest was mainly local; we have noble detail—ramps of stairways, gables, scrolls of parapets—but only now and then great architecture. At Pagan ornament was severely chastened. Hardly is it allowed even for a moment to outstep the main bounding lines. Within the usual loops of the festoon frieze unlike foliage or praying figures throned on lotus might be indefinitely elaborated. Within the soaring flames of the pediments harpies, centaurs, bird-elephants, or dancing spirits coiled in spirals snorted from the jaws of dragons, are not stinted. And these details are not merely indicated by the slight incisions common in the larger temples, but are often modelled with a firm hand deeply. A few liberties of course are taken. The flametips pass insensibly into alternating leaf and bud, still keeping the surge of the pyramid. In the dado the hard jointure of the inverted Vs. is sometimes softened to a curve. The stern line below the frieze is modestly broken by little tails of pearl.

Meantime the usual mouldings are become more complex.⁽³⁾ Fine sheath mouldings and rosettes brace the string course of the architrave. Bands of square windswept leafage quicken the plinth. Bosses between the enamel plaques of the recesses or between the Vs of pilasters are carved with deer and peacocks or spirits seated or flying, and sometimes even fill the hollows for the plaques. Each lancet of the *sikhara* has a Buddha throned on lotus that rests on coiling fountains of foliage springing from a monster's head. From the top V of the pilasters a dragon

mask projects with bulging cheeks and indrawn lips disgoring the long scrolls and tassels that fill the V. Similar grotesques salute us on every leading quoin or gargoyle. At the bottom of the corner pilasters lions with double bodies lash their tails, or *kinnaras* (human to the waist, with heavy ostrich wings and talons below) stand out in high relief. Above, instead of the Vs, straight bands of foliage often climb obliquely to the edge. Porch pilasters are enriched with towering coils of foliage holding sphinxes, heraldic lions, unicorns, or dragons rampant and affronted. Amid this riot of strange shapes a simple frieze of separate oval leaves with seated saints or placid pecking birds between, will often take the place of the festoons and pendants. The most elaborate detail is perhaps seen in the moulding of the flame-pediments. In the outmost flames or horns claw-handed *makaras* coil back their trunks and gape: from within their jaws stand lions rampant up the vertical reach of the horn; beckoning figures leaping from their heads carry round the horn tip. At the foot of the centre flame is a goggle-eyed grotesque upon whose bulging cheeks squats a demon with a double paunch; a tusked four-footed monster stands erect upon his head, upholding the lotus stalk whereon the praying Sakra sits.

II

What means this fearsome brood, these
*"Complicated monsters, head and tail,
 Scorpion and Asp and Amphisbaena dire,
 Cerastes horned, Hydrus, and Ellops drear,
 And Dipsas"?*

John Bull has a wholesome contempt for monsters and barbaric art generally. His method, whenever he runs into them, is Milton's—to name and catalogue the brutes. "*Cerastes horned.*" That is simple enough, but what if one has a trunk and tusks as well as horns? No doubt it has some oriental quaint significance; it has the strength of the ox, the valour of the lion, the majesty of the elephant. But if it has some grining clown sprawled along its back? That surely detracts somewhat from its majesty. Let us go a little deeper and seek some allegorical

(3). See Maung Ba Nyan's free-hand drawings of and IV.

pillasters and festoon friezes at Minnanthu (Plates III

significance. This seems more promising at first; a certain tusked grotesque with a hooped navel seems commonly to stand for Lust; one begins to suspect one is on the track of some old comic art whose conventions, once intelligible, are forgotten. But what allegorical meaning, tell me, has a monkey with four cheeks?

Now I cannot define precisely the meaning of these monsters, and that is why I have indicated the course of thought they aroused in me, as perhaps in other foreign observers. And so we come to a full stop, and often in despair resign the study of Oriental, or rather Indian, art to "Orientalists" and to those who delight not in the delightfulness but in the pedigree of art. The fact is that until we have no other option we can hardly, try as we will, concede these old craftsmen of the mediaeval East a pure sense of art, of abstract formal significance.

My first inkling of what I venture to think the truth about these monsters was the observation that they are never terrible, could never have been terrible even to the simplest villager of old Pagan; that they were, in fact, never meant to terrify. Nor can I conceive what other lesson they could be intended to convey, nor what emotion except one—Delight.

One of their commonest subjects in fresco is a flying spirit girt with clouds. But given the bare outline of his garland of clouds the artist soon begins to quicken them. Now they resemble custard apples, now wreathed conchs, now breasts with nipples. Soon they develop goggling eyes and pass into wolves or owls, bulldogs, serpents, hooded cobras, or whole tussockfuls of hinted fiends. Indeed the fauna and flora of these frescoes are not easy to distinguish. Lions with leafy manes, fire-breathing unicorns with floral horns, devils with trailing creepers for their tails, goats, bears, ducks, and deer—all herbaceous and sprouting. No less easily does flora pass into fauna. The tops of palm trees coil into the trunks of elephants. Peepul trees have bones for branches. Vegetation waxes demoniacal. Leaves expand into groping hands with eyes in them. Now dragons end in foliage, now foliage in dragons. Nor is this community of form confined to leaves and animals alone. The hair of the more human figures is often soaring into

flame; their fingernails shoot fire. The crease of knees or thighs or elbows, the coil of anklebone or navel, are rarely left devoid of foliation.⁽⁴⁾ Eyebrows wriggle into snakes, and the curve of chin and jaw is prolonged outwards into rearing dragons.

"How often is a bush supposed a bear!" said Theseus; and when this happens, in art as well as in life, it is often very alarming. But when a bear is supposed a bush, in art at all events, it alarms no one. In the Pagan frescoes both illusions are continually present, and their common explanation, I think, can only lie in the artist's exuberant delight in the suggestiveness of line. It simply runs away with him. Now I do not claim that such rhapsodies of line are the highest form of art; they may be merely frivolous; but they are often magnificent, and they are certainly art.

III

But let us return to our temple. We have enriched the outside mouldings in a broad sufficient manner. We shall do far more with fresco in the interior. We will not however tolerate a riot. Every inch from top to bottom shall be covered, but all shall be properly designed from the beginning. Besides the large wall spaces, we have walls broken by the pointed archways into spandrels and the breadth, wide or narrow, of the piers; then we have the inner walls and soffits of the archways; and of course the vault of the vestibule and the four pendentives of the sanctuary ceiling. For all of these we must devise a scheme of decoration. We must not attempt to make it a gallery of independent pictures. Nothing prominent should distract attention from the image. The effect of the detail should rather reinforce that of the whole. In painting the vestibule therefore let us try to stimulate the right emotion, in the sanctuary to make it overwhelming.

The main entrance archways we will leave bare. All other arches will have their corners and edges lined with ribands running parallel to the arch along both the soffit and the face. The actual point of every arch we shall uplift with a painted ogee tip, the lowest voussoirs with broad painted horns. The space between the edge and corner ribands we can now divide by

(4). See Plate IX etc.

horizontal lines into panels—a tall oblong panel in the centre, several long narrow panels above and below, like plinth and architrave. Above, whether it be vault or soffit, at the point where the arch begins to spring we shall have a broad plain painted “frieze” of separate oval leaves such as we carved outside in the frieze-moulding of the porches. This will bind in the temple’s forehead like a plain fillet. At every corner we shall paint pilasters of the usual type, with up and down turned Vs.

So much for the plan. What then of the detail. As we enter the plain archway our glance leaps across the vestibule and fixes on the face of the inner arch—an important point d’appui. What have we there? No frieze; little or no fresco; but the great inner flame pediment surging almost to the roof, strangely significant as I have pointed out already. On each hand, beside the tall pilasters supporting it, will be seen in fresco or the round a standing spirit with up-lifted finger facing us as we enter; his gesture bids us, so it seems, be silent. Above him in the spandrels are spirits stooping from the clouds with lilies in their hands; they “make their bends adornings” and invite us, it appears, to enter. If however we can resist them for a while, let us first study the frescoes on the other walls of the vestibule.

The one by which we entered also has flying spirits in the spandrels; in fact they seldom fail to fill the haunches of the arches. Always graceful, whether they descend flying from above with tossing hands and palms of their feet upflung behind them and clouds about their knees, or whether they sit sidelong with an upright poise and pray; their forms are varied by the sorts of offerings they bear—flags, garlands, rattles, torches, conchs, flaming censers, caskets, or long stems of flowering acanthus. The three walls are mainly covered with continuous panels presenting scenes from the cycle of Buddhist Jatakas and folk-lore. Above the painted frieze the vault rises, from the entrance and two side walls only; the latter meet in a ridge pointing towards the image, the former leans in and meets them in a groin; vaults and soffits are painted golden brown in a subtle diaper, Greek cross, or circle pattern, often very beautiful and rich, enclosing tondos of the seated Buddha. The frieze too

admits of some variety, where for oval leaf are often substituted pendants and festoons, or a similar pattern in which long-snouted dragons lift the limp blue coils of intertwined serpents. At times the frieze is but a line of objects dangled from above, ducks, owls, globes, tripods, tortoises and *galons*. In the tall panels below the soffits lolling frank-eyed Bodhisats with wrist-bands and armlets and jewels knotted in their hair stand in dancing posture, their floating shawls about them, or sway gracefully with leaning mitres towards the sanctuary.

Let us now enter. As we pass beneath the archway, the large panels of the seated Buddha with processions of adoring saints and spirits offering gifts above and below him, prepare in us the more solemn feeling proper to the inner shrine. Above, in each triangle of the pendentives, sit beneath the *bodhi* tree or *pyatthat* the four Enlightened Ones of the present cycle—Kakusandha, Kassapa, Konagamana, Gotama. At the apex of the roof is a round expanded lotus-flower, orb within orb of overlapping petals ranged around a heart white and burning. Below, grouped in fresco along the walls round the colossal image of Gotama, is the Buddhist hierarchy, Buddhas countless as the sand of Ganges, each seated on his throne and touching earth beneath the tree of wisdom. Usually the panels are of varied size, one or more rows of small panels are of varied side, one or more rows of small panels enclosing a large one; each section large or small will have the same or similar design. Nor can this endless repetition be fairly made a matter of reproach. The faithful worshipper, admitted trembling to the company of all the heavenly saints, is not conscious of their monotony. Art here is certainly the handmaid of Religion; we cannot blame her for discharging her liturgy so well.

As a matter of fact, even here there is plenty of variety if we look for it; the nature of the temple demands, as I have said, that it should not be too conspicuous. Above and below these big panels are long processional bands of varying narrowness. If we examine them closely we shall often find some matter of interest. Now they prove to be blunt-headed dwarfs with horns and trumpets, and now four-handed Indian

deities, now mitred men with beaks of hornbills, now slim three-headed ladies holding closed umbrellas. Some are carried in a litter, some ride a Naga boat, others on baby elephants; many are waving flags or shaking tambours, and grim straddling drummers crash the barrels slung across their bellies. We may even find a *genre* subject—people fishing with nets like clubs, the fish meantime nibbling their ears; a king, perhaps, surrounded by his queens. In a low blue belt of fresco we find monks kneeling before reliquaries, horses in rich caparisons, horned cattle, crouching elephants, with studs of diaper between the panels.

We have still to deal with the three main archways of the cella, and here are often the most striking of the large designs. Their theme is commonly conventional. Here is the birth of prince Siddhattha. Here attended by acolytes with almsbowls he ~~descends begging from Mt. Pandava~~. Here he sits in profile receiving the homage of lumbering tailed ~~yakkas~~. Here in an aisle of a *tazaung-pyatthat*, often peaked and winged and beautiful, he sits preaching to ecstatic hosts. And here finally he reclines entering *parinirvana*; from his carpet rise curious "O's and eyes of light," fire-flowers, shell-torches, or shooting star fish. Another panel offers us a seascape. Through jostling, parallel, and broken curves that indicate the waves rise trembling lotus buds and tall lilies with long dropping bells. Waterfowl hover above. In and out among the flabby trees pass alligators, horned sea-spiders, snails, crabs, lizards, staring octopus and swordfish. A sea-serpent rears his hood above a pagoda of coils; wriggling fish like tadpoles slide down the deep towards him. In the midst a scaly dragon heaves his snorting head with forefeet flat upon the water; his tail is coiled behind him; his level body is a boat whereon a monk and his disciples ride the enchanted ocean.

We have now seen almost everything, but our artist's work is only just begun. Most of the themes I have described are merely his stock in trade repeated, with variations, in temple after temple. This, we may be sure, was due not to lack of originality but to self-control. Fresco at Pagan is always the servant of architecture, and architecture of religion. But art is irrepressible, and all our teeming artist can do is to hide his

new decorative work in corners and odd places where only the curious will find them. What places have we left still unexplored? There remain the corner 'pilasters,' the horns and ribands of the face and soffit of the arches. Here variety is the rule, and little can be said except to indicate a few of the varieties.

At the base of the 'pilasters' hidden in the gloom of the corners is a cynical faced monster. He leans over his outspread elbows with double arching shoulders spanning the angle and framing the broken curve of his head; beneath are wrinkles and the arch of his eyebrows, goggling eyes, and a long fence of teeth and tushes; his arms sweep inwards in a glorious curve around his foliated elbows, and warp or plunge into flaming fingertips. Sometimes we see him squatting, vast shouldered always, behind his mountain knees; he hugs two crowned and towering serpents, his tail coiled vertically around his navel. Above him in a halo floats a straddling urchin in Shan trousers from which proceed, not legs, but foliage that coils up and fills the Λ . Often however in the fresco these Vs are missing, and instead we have a ladder of panels up the corners with figures on each side of the angle artfully related. Here crowned women with seven jewels piled upon their heads and earlobes big with tubes dance, single or in pairs, contrasted on each wall. Sometimes they are grouped in amorous pairs or trios, tall jolly Bodhisatvas embraced by simpering Saktis. Panels of animals and monsters will alternate with these. Now it is two elephants with sprawling riders, a gloating loon asquat or dancing between them. Often the clownish riders hug with their thighs the necks of plunging monsters or leap aside gesticulating. In the corner a bear's head with foliated snout and four legs strutting inwards to the angle.

In the horns are *makaras* of all shapes, lions, ogres, elephants, and crocodiles, or more especially a medley of them all, composite or superposed in fine pyramidal design. Some with serpents knotted in their hair crawl and gape like Orc in Blake's prophetic books. Some have tails that wriggle all the way up the riband of the arch, each loop embraced by crouched or 'swinging' figures. More often the *makara* spouts foliage around the arch or soffit, rich fruit and intricate

tendrils, where bearded owls stand sentinel and hoary goats and rams and wrestling satyrs prance or stoop with foliated tails. Above or in the hollow of the horn is a *kinnara*. Down to the waist she is a clean and limber siren with fair face, full bosom, and prominent navel. Suddenly her white thighs merge into black ostrich legs and talons. Feathers like level flames burst outward from her hips; a vial of dark fire plunges from her womb. Her wrists and arms are circled by black bands which, when we look at them more closely, prove to be the writhings of a barking serpent whose neck she pinches in her hand. Her body, poised upon tall birdlike legs, now ends in coils of a reptile, now the trunk of an elephant, now the fluke of a whale. In the ribbands and soffits are mazes of superb foliage enclosing squares, circles, ovals, and ellipses, which contain an infinite circus of sly peering shapes, bestial and human, cats, camels, monkeys, bulls, peacocks, tapirs, and giraffes.⁽⁵⁾

IV

The scheme of fresco here set forth is better suited to the *cella* type of temple than to that with pillar and corridor. The latter, unless the corridor is broad and the vault low, will rarely allow the spectator to take in one large panel at a glance. This limitation applies of course only to the corridor; the broad vestibule as well as all the porches are as fit for fresco in the one type of temple as in the other. If then the corridor is narrow we will only have our circle pattern on the vault, the leaf frieze below, painted pilasters within the four corners, and horned and ogee dressings and ribbands on the inner face of the archways. Otherwise the walls of the corridor will be left bare, but to compensate for this we will hollow foiled or pointed niches, one between each corner and the central archway, and set therein stone images or reliefs. These niches are often faced with beautiful flame-pediments, sometimes backed with tapering *pyatthat* tiers or *sikhara* in high relief. Plainer and deeper niches or meditation cells are often found within the side walls of the porches.

Again it often happens that the image facing the vestibule must be larger than the others. This may push the pillar back some distance from the centre; and since the space for throned images may now be too small, the other sides will have instead great shallow niches, tall for a standing Buddha, long for one in *parinirvana*, with tilted head and halo, elaborate coffin, and tapering pyre of sandalwood within the trefoil arching of the niche. Sometimes to avoid this eccentricity of the pillar, the main colossus is set back within a deep recess;⁽⁶⁾ and this is even carried so far as to create a new *cella* actually within the central pillar. Thereby a passage from daylight to deep gloom is obtained similar to that we owe to the double corridors in the larger temples. But we are passing now into a new type.

Now though the narrowness of the corridor may make painting on the walls impossible, fresco is quite permissible on each face of the central pillar, for as one enters at the tall archways one sees it from a distance. Often the only fresco here is the conventional green branching tree within or without the cobra-hood or halo beneath which the Buddha sits. Often there are flying spirits in the clouds. And here especially will occur the largest theme of the Pagan painter—the attack and discomfiture of Mara's hosts—, here most appropriate, for it was in token of his victory over Mara that the Buddha, seated calm amid the tumult, touched the earth.

On the left of him they are seen advancing. They are riding asses, camels, horses with rich housings, portly fowls, three-headed cobras, zebras flecked and spotted, or white-maned snarling sphinxes, one with hooked nose and coiling tushes on an antlered stag. In merry rout they come, a troop of prancing Bacchanals, bearded men with loins girt, women in tight bodices, all with sidelong laughing eyes. Those on foot have each their leading knee uplifted, the gnomon thus suggestive of a difficult advance. All have arms stretched high above their heads, some shaking spears, or stretching bows, or brandishing their shields round, oblong, and embossed; others

(5). See Plates V, VI, VII and X for horizontal bands of fresco, Plate VIII for specimens of vertical arch-ribbands.

(6). See the groundplan of the Shwegugyi (Plate I).

clutch daggers or wind horns, or carry clubs across their shoulders. In the centre a white howdahed elephant dangles in his trunk a hapless wretch hanging head downwards with extended hands. At the top left and right hand corner is Mara, a tusked and snouted monster with a bow, watching or hounding on the combatants.

But the Buddha sits unmoved; and on the right hand they retire, routed but not a whit crestfallen. Their hands are empty, their weapons gone. Mara's bowstring is broken. As they recede some look backwards and raise their palms in gesture of humorous despair. Some in turbans and trousers straddle waddling ducks. Some are running, with plump and jolly thighs and swelling bosoms. A dragon—centaur barks with gaiety. Some dance or hug each other or laugh and wave farewell.

The theme is often treated, and with relish, for there is great room for variety, of which the artist fully avails himself. The best and largest specimen⁽⁷⁾ however has half fallen within the last few years owing to the cracking of the plaster.

V.

So far I have given little but a general description of these temples. I have not even mentioned them individually. Yet there is much variety, especially in the frescoes. These of course are in the main decorative and arouse therefore only a sense of pure aesthetic pleasure. But some artists had a clear preference for one method of arousing it. The Kanthapa, for instance, is alive with uncouth monsters, Ku 289 to the south of it with flying spirits, Ku 356, a lovely temple north of the Letputkan, is full of piety, the Thanbula of gaiety, the Payathonzu of lust. The Nandamañña, though small, has great variety with a liking for the grotesque. The artist of an unnumbered little temple near the river north of Thiripyissappya has devoted all his time to an excellent series of Jatakas. Sometimes the whole temple is thick set with minute squares of seated Buddhas, overpowering in their piety and ugliness. In some, like the Winido or Kutha, attention has been paid chiefly to the fresco, and the

plaster work neglected; others, like the Ateikdan or Malonbyit, go to the other extreme.

Unique among these temples is the Shweku.⁽⁸⁾ Its place, high set on a tall platform amid the giants of Pagan, makes it appear one of them; and its fame in history and tragic union with the fortunes of its founder strengthen the impression. Still more does its architecture; for though it is rich in ornament all is done in bold severest manner, which betrays, I venture to think, the youthful style of the architect of the Thatbyinyu. The detail however has been woefully defaced, and it must be admitted that the interior is heavy to the point of clumsiness. There is no fresco; it has the window openings and great wooden doors characteristic of the greater temples, but its muscular and lavish mouldings, especially without, its noble *pyatthat* stupas, the light and freshness of its interior, the plain luxury of its terraces and *sikhara*, distinguish it from every other temple and give it a place among the masterpieces of Pagan. But perhaps the finest thing about it is the prayer, inscribed within the walls, of its founder Alaungsithu.

VI.

Of the skill shewn by the painter it may be said in general that he has shewn all this great variety and life without the use of chiaroscuro or more than an elementary sense of perspective and foreshortening. How far this impoverishes his work it is not easy to determine. For in art ideas soon find their proper voice, and we who are today so used to realism are prone, I fear, to be unjust to those who are not so conscious of its importance. The balance, however, and flat pattern of many of these frescoes, the flow of line rhythmic and luxuriant, and ever-active fertility of invention are apparent, and often cause us to forgive an ill-drawn hand, a foot in awkward profile, or an elongated eye. In elaboration of leaf-form, indeed, the Burman is a master. Given his main bounding line, and guided not by measurement of dead points or right angles but by a true sense of growth, direction, and relation, he will

(7). In the Thanbula, Minnanthu.

(8). Built in 1141 A. D. by Alaungsithu, who was here, at the age of 101, smothered to death by his son Narathu (See Plates I and II).

even today produce quite wonderful work, playing with his form, refining and enriching it, with a certainty of mind he never evinces in philosophy.

Let us turn finally to the architecture. I have spoken only of the two chief types of smaller temples; there are other well marked types less common, as well as numerous solitary specimens. Of the two types I have dealt with, the one with pillar and corridor is certainly the more perfect as an artistic whole. The gesture of the central obelisk and Buddhas, the relation to them of the corridor and porches, are both sound in design, beautiful, and full of meaning. The *cella* type is sound indeed in structure, the lines of groining always soaring to a point and never rounding to a dome. But here the placing of the screen and image has often troubled the designer, unless, as in the smallest temples, the back porch is sacrificed and the image set against the wall. Otherwise the tall screen, set back of course some distance from the centre, straitens and obscures the porch behind it; and if, to make amends for this, a smaller image is also put against that side of

the screen the effect is even unpleasant. Still there is an inwardness, a spiritual intimacy one feels in a temple of this kind more than in the other. In the latter, stepping round the corridor and coming on the image from one side, the guest feels almost an intruder. In the former he is led unconscious to his proper station, and as he falls upon his knees, then, and not before, are screen and image beautiful and significant in their relation both to him and to the temple as a whole. Grander, however, and sterner is the emotion of the first type. There facing outwards from the omphalos of truth sit the Masters of the four Eras, gazing north south east and west over a world of illusion. They need neither our worship nor their own society. Only the flame of consciousness burns between them and above them; and even that they heed not, for they have reached nirvana; and though they still touch earth it is as laws and forces, cause and effect, impersonal, unmoved by prayer or passion, yet just, absolute, and eternal.

G. H. LUCE.

NOTE.

In the tracings here given, as well as in other ones too large to reproduce, I am much indebted for invaluable help to Maung Ba Nyan, Professor Ward, Captain Braxton Sinclair, Maung Tha Htun, Maung San Win, and to my wife. I am especially grateful to Maung Ba Nyan. For the reproduction of the plates (which in Plates VIII and IX has involved reduction in size) he is solely responsible, himself committing them to the stone; and to his hard work and enthusiasm the merit of the results is due. I am most anxious however that these designs should not be regarded in any way as the pick of the Pagan frescoes, or even as fair specimens of the variety and wealth there to be found. We had only a day or two to give to the tracing of them, and went chiefly to the Thambula, Nandamañña, and Payathonzu, where they happen to be exceptionally clean and clear. But it would be premature, and probably wrong, to say that they contain the best frescoes in Pagan. There must be over a hundred and fifty pagodas covered with frescoes—probably many more; and of these about fifty are of first importance, being painted in the bold style I have described. All but a very few of these are lost and coated in the mire of ages. The Theimmazì is an instance, a temple which the Archæological Department has begun

to clean; the effect is extraordinary; what was almost an indistinguishable blur is now a masterpiece of Burmese design. If all the other temples are cleansed with the same care and tenderness, Burma—I venture to believe—will have an art-gallery to be proud of, excelling anything of the same period in Europe. But the work is an urgent one. Beneath the smooth hard surface, fine as alabaster, which takes the fresco, the soft undercoat is everywhere riddled with insects, which either work outwards puncturing the surface or weaken the latter till it cracks and falls. Half the frescoes are already ruined in this way. If nothing effective can be done to stop the insects—and I consider this at once the most difficult and the most urgent problem of conservation in Burma—the frescoes should be cleaned and coloured, and tracings made of the broadest possible selection of them. This work should be entrusted to a number of good Burmese artists, for no mere ignorant or mechanical copyist (as I know by personal and sad experience) can do it justice. But if this work is done, and a gallery of the tracings kept in Rangoon or other cities, of Burma, I believe there are in Pagan enough variety and vigour of design to revive all the fine arts in Burma from their present pitiful decay.

OLD RANGOON.*

I

Towards the beginning of the rainy season in the year 1755 the victorious Burmese leader, Alaungpaya, moved down the river from Danubyu and occupied the position of Dagon, on the plain adjoining the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. "Never doubting for a moment," says Phayre, "his final success, though the enemy's capital was still unconquered, Alaungpaya laid out a new city which he designed to be the future port of Pegu. The site chosen was admirably adapted for this object, and to proclaim his forecast of the immediate destruction of his enemies, he called the new city Rangoon." Rangoon is Burmese "Yan-gon" and means "the end of the war." The confidence of this great warrior of the days of Clive was justified by the event, for he completely defeated the Talaings and succeeded in consolidating the kingdom of Burma. He carried his victorious standards into China and Siam, and founded the last reigning dynasty of Burmese monarchs.

Alaungpaya was determined to destroy Syriam which had for many years been the chief city of the South, and which largely owed its importance and prosperity to the growing trade of Burma with adventurous merchants from the European nations of the West. Syriam gave place to Rangoon as the centre of maritime commerce in Lower Burma: but not for a hundred years after its foundation did Rangoon begin even remotely to resemble the city of today. Its trade grew after the First Burmese War of 1824-6, but the Burmese government failed to seize its opportunity. The British had taken over the port of Moulmein which soon began its brief era of prosperity. High hopes of its future were in those days current among the settlers of Moulmein, hopes which have never been fulfilled; for the advantages which it owed to its being the chief port of British Burma, were lost when, after the Second

Burmese War of 1852, the whole province of Pegu became a part of the British Empire, and Rangoon became its capital. From this latter year dates the process of rapid growth in extent and in wealth, which has transformed the city of Rangoon and which clearly continues at the present day.

II

In these brief notes it is proposed first to make a short excursion into the history of Lower Burma before Rangoon received its name from Alaungpaya and secondly to attempt while narrating the city's subsequent history to reconstruct its outward aspect as it appeared at various dates from the 16th century to the present time. The material which I have made use of has been gathered from various sources but mostly from printed English books such as gazetteers of the locality and books by travellers.

It was with the extension of European discovery at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that European traders and Portuguese adventurers began to haunt the coasts of Pegu. But it must not be thought that prior to the sixteenth century Burma was isolated from the outside world. On the contrary it is probable that Lower Burma had intimate commercial and other relations with India and Ceylon by sea, and also with India, China and Siam by land. The Burmese and Talaings themselves were probably never a seafaring race, but there were prosperous empires and kingdoms in India, whence came colonists by sea and settled on the fertile coast of Lower Burma, and on islands which are now the delta of the Irrawaddy. We appear to possess remarkably scanty information regarding the early period of Burma's history. There are several reasons which explain this deficiency. In the first place the native records of Burma whether carved in stone or recorded on palm leaves have not yet been fully investigated. From

*Read at an ordinary meeting at Rangoon College on 26th August 1920.

the discovery and decipherment of inscriptions, a work which is being carried on with vigour and enthusiasm by the Archæological Department, and from the fuller study of the Talaing chronicles, which is being rendered possible by living scholars, much fresh information may be expected. The reports of the officers of Alexander the Great written in the fourth century B. C. and the account of Megasthenes shed light on the early history of India, but leave Burma in obscurity. The Chinese pilgrims who visited India in the fifth to the seventh centuries after Christ, came by way of the gates of the North West Frontier and their vivid records help the historian of Burma but little. Moreover the history of South India is far more obscure than that of North India, and it is from the historian of South India that we might expect to get information regarding its relations with the countries on the Eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal.

The South of India was in remote times shut off from the North by a barrier of hill and forest and had a distinct Dravidan civilisation of its own, into which Hindu ideas from the North only gradually penetrated. "Wealthy cities existed in South India, whose gold, pearls, conchshells, pepper, beryls and choice cotton goods attracted foreign traders from the earliest ages. Commerce supplied the wealth required for life on civilized lines and the Dravidians were not afraid to cross the seas."* It is certain that before the time of Christ the external commerce of the South was considerable. Asoka, the great Emperor and promoter of Buddhism, who reigned in the 3rd century B. C. conquered Kalinga on the Bay of Bengal, and from evidence of his time we learn of the Tamil Kingdoms of the South and their ports. Ceylonese chronicles of about the 5th century B. C. speak of Buddhist missions in Asoka's time to various countries, including Suvarnabhumi which is, rightly or wrongly, identified with Lower Burma. There were Indian settlements in Jabadios (Java or Sumatra) by the time of Ptolemy (150 A. D.). The Andhra dynasty whose original kingdom was Telingana ruled for $4\frac{1}{2}$ centuries from about 230 B. C. and were notable merchants by land and sea. During the first and second centuries

of the Christian era trade between Southern India and the Roman Empire was extensive. It may be regarded as certain that Burma was very early in contact with some of these flourishing nations of India, both Buddhist and Hindu. The history of the Tamil states up to a late period is still obscure. For centuries they must have flourished and we hear of Rājendra Choladeva of about 1000 A. C. who sent a fleet across the Bay of Bengal and temporarily occupied Pegu.

It is perhaps worth while to emphasise the importance and the enterprise of the Kingdoms of Peninsular India in early times, because the confusion of most enquirers seems to be that the coasts of Burma were colonised by Indian settlers from the Western shores of the Bay of Bengal and that through these settlers civilising influences were brought to bear on the Mongolian inhabitants of Burma especially the Talaings or Mons who dwelt around the lower reaches of the rivers of Burma. The Indians settled by the river banks and on the ridges, then not far inland, and were no doubt the builders of the oldest pagodas, which would therefore show the positions of their settlements. Evidence seems to show that they principally came from Orissa and the Telugu country. The Talaings belong to the Tibeto-Burman race but preceded the Burmans in the occupation of what is now called Burma. In course of time the Burmans occupied the northern part of the valley of the Irrawaddy and were probably from some very early time in contact with Indians who had come by the land route. They at length established a kingdom of a very high standard of civilisation around Pagan, which owed a great deal to South Indian influences transmitted through the Talaings. The Talaings occupied the southern part of the country and were probably dominated by Indian immigrants up to a comparatively late date, say the 5th century A. C.: their independent kingdom lay round Thaton and was destroyed by the Burmese conqueror Anorata in 1057 A. C. His motive in swooping down on the South was probably the destruction of strong and flourishing Indian settlements which dotted the delta, as Mr. Duroiselle has recently said.⁽¹⁾ The oldest of these settlements was probably Criksetra or

*Vine et Smith

(1) *Far East Rev.* Vol. I. Pt. I.

Old Prome; four others are mentioned near Rangoon viz. Pokkharavati Trihakumbha (from which Forchhammer derived the word Dagon), Asitanjana and Ramnagara.

One may conclude that while Indian settlers exploited the country, the Tibeto-Burman races were learning from them, and that in course of time the latter began to consolidate their power into their various kingdoms. The prestige of the Indian settlers diminished owing to the increasing coherence of Burmans and of Talaings, and perhaps also to the weakening of the Indians in their home country.

III.

A glimpse has been given of Rangoon with its Indian settlements. We hear a great deal about the Shwe Dagon pagoda from legends and chronicles. Its erection is dated back to remote times some centuries before the Christian era. The story of the pagoda, thus told, has an interest of its own, but it is not the interest of historical fact. It is stated that the first village on the site of the present Rangoon was built about 585 B. C. by two brothers who had received some of Gaudama's hairs, from the Buddha himself and buried them on the summit of a little hill, and over them erected the Shwe Dagon pagoda. Poonareeka who reigned in Pegu from 746 to 761 A. D. is said to have built or re-established the town which he called Aramana. We first come to trustworthy record in the 15th century when the pagoda was restored by the sovereigns of Pegu, that is, of the Talaing Kingdom whose capital was Pegu. There are Talaing inscriptions near the pagoda, engraved on stones and set up by King Dhammaceti in 1485. In the beginning of the 16th century the Talaing queen Shin-saw-bu raised a large terrace and erected a new pagoda over the old stupa. She is said have built a palace and resided at Dagon (i. e. near the Shwe Dagon pagoda) and it is stated, on what authority I do not know, that the ramparts of her palace are to be seen on the golf course at Prome Road. The mounds on the golf course no doubt are the remains of the walls built by Tharawadi in 1841, as will be pointed out later. The Talaing Paklat history states however that Shin-saw-bu built a town on the West of the

Pagoda. ⁽²⁾ After her time the pagoda was frequently repaired and enlarged. It is stated that the Shwe Dagon consists of seven pagodas, one superimposed on the other. Little is known of the town itself until we meet with the records of early European visitors: but its name Dagon is well known and its governor latterly occupied a position of importance second to none but the King.

IV.

So far it has been attempted to sketch a background of history for the locality where now stands Rangoon, before the times with which we are familiar. While war succeeded war and kingdoms rose and fell in the inland jungles, settlements in and near Rangoon looked to India and were centres of trade and probably of industry and art. As the Burmans in the upper country and the Talaings in the lower country grew stronger, the Indian settlements grew weaker. We may assume that villages on the site of Rangoon remained of little importance for centuries. Thaton sunk to insignificance after its conquest by Anorata: Pegu became and remained for long the capital of lower Burma. It was no doubt the port of Lower Burma just as Rangoon is today, but amongst other causes changes in the configuration of the country which have been remarkable and rapid in all this land of rivers, at length deprived Pegu of its position as a port. It was still a magnificent city in the 16th century, but its subsequent history is that of a transference of its business and trade to towns lower down in the deltaic lands. Hence the growing importance of Syriam and Dala in the story of commerce with European traders. As we have already seen, Syriam at length was to yield up its advantages and prosperity to Rangoon, which had probably been previously distinguished only by its possession of a famous shrine, the Shwe Dagon pagoda.

Early travellers from the West have left us their impressions of Dagon in those days. We know that the Portuguese leader, Dalboquerque, was in communication with the King of Pegu in the beginning of the 16th century. As early as the early half of the 15th century, a Venetian had visited Burma and from his time to that of

Dalboquerque and throughout the 16th century visitors to these shores were fairly numerous. An amazing picture is given in their accounts of the splendour and might of Pegu, until 1600, when a Jesuit priest describes the lamentable spectacle of its ruin wrought by 'the cruellest tyrant that ever breathed' the King of Arakan. Philip de Brito a Portuguese adventurer, received from the King of Arakan the port of Syriam but in 1613 he was overwhelmed and killed by the King of Ava, who from that date dominates the whole of Burma. Ralph Fitch a merchant of London was the first Englishman to visit Burma. He came in 1586. A few years later the first organised expedition from England to open up trade in the East was sent out; the defeat of the Great Armada in 1588 had dealt a heavy blow to the pretensions of Portugal, and Dutch and English became the rivals for the eastern trade. It was not till 1618 that trade began to be conducted by the British with the valley of the Irrawaddy, which had already been exploited by the Portuguese. The East India Company established settlements at Prome, Ava and Syriam, and intercourse was freer than ever again till after the 2nd Burmese war of 1852. Owing, it is said, to the frequent internal wars, trade languished by the end of the 17th century, though Syriam continued to be the residence of British and other foreign merchants. In 1740 the rebellion of the Talaings occurred and in 1744 the resident at Syriam was withdrawn. In 1755 the British factory at Bassein was destroyed by the King of Ava. In 1759 the population of Negrais which had been settled from Madras in 1753 was murdered. Subsequently little trade was done by the British though we hear of some being carried on with Rangoon, which as we have seen had been founded by Alaungpaya in 1755. From 1760 till 1795 there were no diplomatic relations between the British Government and Ava. From 1795 onwards we have the records of various envoys and missions from the Company to the Count of Ava, until and after the first Burmese war: and we have also the records of unofficial visitors to the country. The 2nd Burmese war of 1852 established British relations with Ava on an entirely new footing.

V.

Throughout this long period of trade and strife what do we hear of Rangoon? In the first part of the period before the foundation of Rangoon by Alaungpaya there are some interesting descriptions of Dagon and its celebrated pagoda. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto one of the occasional European adventurers in Burma during the 15th and sixteenth centuries of whose travels we have some record mentions Digon (Dagon=Talaing Ta-kong i.e. Rangoon). Caesar Frederick gives a glowing description of Pegu which he visited in 1569: Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian jeweller came to Pegu with a stock of emeralds in 1583. Until Balbi little or nothing is recorded of Dagon, though it is frequently mentioned; Dalla and Syriam were evidently much more important places. Balbi came to Pegu by way of Bassein, which seems then to have been the greatest port of Pegu and through which all the travellers of that time seem to have come. Bassein lost its importance after 1790 for its governors were such that no merchant dared approach the place. (1) Balbi went on to Dalla, (Dalla was a district of the delta from early times and its headquarters were probably near the mouth of the Rangoon river. Symes says it was reported to be on the west side of the "China Buckier river."), and the day after leaving Dalla he came to "the citie of Dogon" Of this place he writes: "After we were landed we began to go on the right hand in a large street about 50 paces broad, in which we saw wooden houses gilded and adorned with delicate gardens after their custom, wherein their Talapoins, which are their Friars, dwell and look to the Pagod or Verella of Dogon. The left side is furnished with portals and shops...and by this street they go to the Varella for a good mile straight forward, either under paint houses or in the open street which is free to walk in." Here there is no difficulty in recognising the approach to the pagoda from the river. Ralph Fitch is the first Englishman who has given an account of a visit to Pegu: Albert Fytche the second Chief Commissioner of British Burma was proud to claim him as an ancestor. He followed the route of Balbi, from Bassein via Dalla and Syriam to Rangoon. Here is his description of Dagon.

(1). Sangermano.

"About two days' journey from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode which is the Pilgrimage of the Pegues; it is called Dogonne, and is of a wonderful bigness and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an house by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their priests do preach There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with golde. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are four ways to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man goe in the shade above two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the Kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast." Dagon, then, was a great place of pilgrimage for the people of Burma: we meet with no suggestion that it was otherwise important, although it must always have possessed remarkable natural advantages for a trading station. In 1755 Alaungpaya established the town as the port of his Kingdom and gave it the name by which it is now known. A British factory was early established there and was kept up at least till 1782. Symes says the Burmans in order to encourage trade invited strangers of every nation to resort to their ports. Wars and domestic dissensions impeded trade but during the short intervals of tranquillity many strangers flocked to the port, among whom the industrious few soon acquired wealth by means of their superior knowledge. "The Parsees, Armenians and Mussulmen engrossed the largest share of the trade," and some of them occupied high posts under government. Thus the descendant of a Portuguese family was Shawbunder, "intendant of the port, and receiver of the port customs." To his activity Rangoon was indebted for the pavement of its streets, for several well-built wooden bridges, a wharf raised on posts and a spacious custom house. Crawford attributes the construction of two roads which led to the southern face of the Shwe Dagon to a Muhammadan merchant of Rangoon. The post of Shawbunder referred to above was later occupied by a Spaniard called Lansiego or "the Don"

to whom frequent reference is made in records. English and other merchants settled in Rangoon. Although Symes describes it as a flourishing seaport the town was by no means imposing in appearance. It lay by the river on the site of the commercial part of modern Rangoon but was "little more than a collection of bamboo huts on a marshy flat, but little above the level of low tides, intersected by narrow and irregular streets." In 1794 the Governor-General of India sent Captain Michael Symes on an embassy to the King of Ava. Symes' record of his journey is interesting, but he appears to have formed an exaggerated opinion of the magnificence of the Burmese Empire. Evidence of this is perhaps seen in his account of Rangoon, which though by no means highly coloured, yet contrasts with the picture of the mean and wretched town as described by subsequent visitors. On the other hand it is probable that in Symes' time the town was enjoying a period of unusual prosperity. Symes thus describes the place:—"It stretches along the bank of the river about a mile and is not more than a third of a mile in breadth. The city or miou (myo) is a square surrounded by a high stockade and on the North side it is further strengthened by an indifferent fosse, across which a wooden bridge is thrown; in this face there are two gates in each of the others only one. Wooden stages are erected in several places within the stockade, for musqueteers to stand on in case of an attack. On the South side, towards the river, which is about twenty or thirty yards from the palisade, there are a number of huts and three wharfs with cranes for landing goods. A battery of twelve cannons, six and nine pounders, raised on the bank, commands the river; but the guns and carriages are in such a wretched condition that they could do little execution. Close to the principal wharf are two commodious wooden houses, used by the merchants as an exchange, where they usually meet in the cool of the morning and evening; to converse and transact business. The streets of the town are narrow, but clean and well paved; there are numerous channels to carry off the rain, over which strong planks are laid, to prevent an interruption of intercourse. The houses are raised on posts from the ground; the smaller supported by bamboos, the larger by strong timbers. All the offi-

cers of Government, the most opulent merchants and persons of consideration, live within the fort; shipwrights and people of inferior rank, inhabit the suburbs. Swine are suffered to roam about the town at large: these animals which are with reason held unclean, do not belong to any particular owners; they are servants of the public, common scavengers; they go under the houses and devour the filth. The Burmans are also fond of dogs, numbers of which infest the streets; the breed is small and extremely noisy." Again he says "the road leading from the city to the temple (i.e. the Shwe Dagon) is formed with care; a wide causeway in the centre prevents the rain from lodging, and throws it off on the sides: numberless little spires are ranged along the edge of the road, in which are niches to receive small images of their divinity Gaudma. Several Kioums or monasteries lay in this direction, generally removed a short distance from the public way, under the shade of pipal or tamarind trees." He was told that the number of pongyis exceeded 1500. The population is estimated at 30,000; more probably it was about 25,000. The "city or myo" as described above was comparatively small, but as Symes points out, increasing trade and consequent population, had extended the town far beyond the limits that formerly comprehended Rangoon as it was founded by Alaungpaya. It has already been suggested that Rangoon fell off in population and prosperity after Symes' visit in 1795: this is supported by the fact that its population in 1812 was only about 8000. In 1826 a census was taken and there were then 8666 inhabitants: after the First Burmese war an impetus was given to trade and the town again expanded, so that in 1852 the population was estimated at about the same as in 1795. "Through changes of government," says Spearman, "laws neglected or ill-administered, insurrections, wars, and a dirt-and-marsh-poisoned atmosphere the number of houses and of inhabitants rose and fell, until the country passed under British rule." Mrs. Judson, wife of the famous missionary, writes about 1813, "At the present time there is quite a famine. . . . There are constant robberies and murders committed." Later on she speaks of the dreadful ravages of cholera. Moreover the attitude of

the Burmese government at this time was not calculated to encourage business and trade: witness its treatment of Captain Cox who was British resident in Rangoon from 1796 to 1798.

Mrs. Judson's occasional remarks throw light on life in those days. "There are no English families in Rangoon and there is not a female in all Burmah with whom I can converse." When she arrived in Rangoon she was thoroughly disheartened by the prospect of the town. "The evening of that day, we have marked as the most gloomy and distressing that we have ever passed." Before she left it, it had become "the dearest spot on earth." She speaks of the beauty of the surrounding country in contrast with the squalor of the town.

H. Gouger, a merchant from Bengal, went to Rangoon in 1822. Then, says he, the Empire was a terra incognita, and he speaks of the three or four traders at Rangoon, who had rarely penetrated more than a few miles from the town. The published narratives of the two missions from the Bengal Government to Ava (Symes in 1795 and Cox in 1796) contained all the information he could collect. But as a matter of fact by this time missionaries like Sangermano and Judson, had learned a great deal about the country. Gouger describes Rangoon as a miserable, dirty little town, containing 8000 or 10000 people. The houses were mostly of bamboo and teak and were thatched. The town was almost without drainage and intersected by muddy creeks through which the tide flowed at high water. It was the seat of government of a province, ruled by a viceroy or wongee in high favour at the court. Lansiego was at this time collector of customs. The royal duties on imports were 1/10th of every article. The Officers of Government had to find their own salaries, and the consequent corruptions will be readily imagined. Every morning Gouger rode out to "a secluded little lake two or three miles from town"—the Royal Lake or Kandawgyi. In this little frequented spot, he bathed, well concealed from public view by trees and brushwood. He repeated his visit to Rangoon after the war of 1824-1826, and found the banks of the lake dilapidated, the trees cut down, and the clear, sparkling waters converted into a filthy shiny pool.

"It seemed to have been made the common washing pot for the whole British army."

All accounts agree as to the poor appearance of the town, and as to its mud and filth. Outside the small town and apart from populous suburbs like Tat-gale the country was a jungle, with tanks and marshes here and there, right up to the great pagoda. In addition to the roads to the pagoda, there were only innumerable paths through the jungle. But the landscape was bright with pagodas, which in times of stress, were at this period frequently being despoiled of their treasures. The punishment for this offence was death. Most of these pagodas have disappeared through decay or in the destructive course of wars.

Accounts of Rangoon during the occupation by the British in the first war, confirm the impression left by earlier writers. They may however be quoted. It is important to remember that before the British landed the Burmese leader drove the people out of the town away into the jungle, and hence the British found the town all the more desolate by being entirely destitute of inhabitants.

From Wilson's narrative of the Burmese War the following description is taken. The town was found to extend "about 900 yards along the bank of the river and to be about six or seven hundred yards wide in its broadest part: at either extremity extend unprotected suburbs, but the centre, or the town itself, is defended by an enclosure of palisades 10 or 12 feet high, strengthened internally by embankments of earth and protected externally on one side by the river, and on the other three sides by a shallow creek or ditch communicating with the river and expanding at the western end into a morass crossed by a bridge. The palisade encloses the whole of the town of Rangoon in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, having one gate in each of its three faces, and two in that of the North; at the river gate is a wharf, denominated the King's Wharf." Major Snodgrass was thoroughly disappointed by the appearance of a town of which he had heard so much. In reading his account, one must remember the disappointment felt on finding the town deserted and no supplies obtainable. Moreover the rains were beginning and no accommodation was avail-

able save "dirty and miserable hovels." In such circumstances, it is hardly to be expected that the Major should have viewed the town in a very favourable light. "We had been so much accustomed," says he, "to hear Rangoon spoken of as a place of great trade and commercial importance, that we could not fail to be disappointed at its mean and poor appearance. We had talked of its custom-house, its dockyards and its harbour, until our imaginations led us to anticipate, if not splendour, at least some visible signs of a flourishing commercial city; but however humble our expectations might have been, they must still have fallen short of the miserable and desolate picture which the place presented when first occupied by the British troops. The town, if a vast assemblage of wooden huts may be dignified by that name, is surrounded by a wooden stockade, from sixteen to eighteen feet in height, which effectually shuts out all view of the fine river which runs past it, and gives it a confined and insalubrious appearance. There are a few brick houses, chiefly belonging to Europeans, within the stockade, upon which a heavy tax is levied.....It has ever been the policy of the Court of Ava to prevent, as much as possible, both foreigners and natives from having houses of permanent materials....The custom-house, the principal building in the place, seemed fast tottering into ruins. One solitary hull upon the stocks marked the dockyard, and a few coasting-vessels and country canoes were the only craft found in this great commercial mart of India beyond the Ganges. "One object alone remained to attract universal admiration: the lofty Shwedagon, rising in splendour and magnificence above the town, presenting a striking contrast to the scene below. The houses in Rangoon and Ava, generally, are built of wood or bamboo: those of the former material usually belong to the officers of government, or the wealthier description of inhabitants: the floors are raised some feet above the ground, which would contribute much to their dryness, healthiness and comfort were not the space almost invariably a receptacle for dirt and stagnant water, from which, during the heat of the day, pestilential vapours constantly ascend.....Herds of meagre swine, the disgusting scavengers of the town, infest the streets by day and at night they

are relieved by packs of hungry dogs.... There are two roads from town to the Shoedagon, which on either side are crowded with numerous pagodas..... The village of Kemmendine, situated on the river, only three miles above Rangoon, was a war-boat station and chiefly inhabited by the King's war-boat men. The ground behind the village, elevated and commanding, is surrounded by a thick forest in its rear. Another account of the roads to the great pagoda" says: "Connecting this hill (i.e. the hill of the Shwe Dagon) with the town is a gradual slope along which are two excellent roads proceeding from each extremity of the northern face of the stockade to the pagoda and lined with substantial teak buildings belonging to the priesthood. The ground on either side is described as swampy, but it is difficult to find any in the neighbourhood which is not so: there are also several tanks along the road overgrown with rushes and weeds and full of mud and stagnant water." The same account goes on: "Towards the south, as far as the mouth of the river, rice flats extend on every side, intersected here and there by low bushes; but on the north a dense jungle reaches almost to the very verge of the pagoda, and, with the exception of occasional patches and open plains, forms the only prospect in that direction." The British held Rangoon till December 1827. Thereafter a new stockade was built around the town, and other works of restoration were undertaken. But still about 1840 the town is described as a dull, miserable place which during the rains resembled nothing but a neglected swamp. The principal portion of the town lay within the stockade but the larger and more popular part was the suburb called Tat-gale on its west face. The main street led from the custom-house through nearly the middle of the stockade. This was built in the form of an irregular square with its southern face running for some 1200 yards parallel to the river. The northern face was of similar length, the eastern face was 605 yards long and the western 210 yards.⁽¹⁾ In the north face there were two gates and one sally-port, in the south, facing the river, three gates and three sally ports, in the east two gates, and in the west one gate and three sally

ports, in the east two gates, and in the west one gate and one sally port." We may conclude that the town stood between 1826 and 1841 much as it stood before the war.

VI.

It has been shown that there are fairly ample materials on which to base an attempted reconstruction of the old town of Rangoon as it was in early part of last century. No great change occurred till 1841 when Tharawadi built a new stockade near the Shwe Dagon and the town at least in part was consequently removed thither. We may now endeavour to determine more or less precisely the site of the old town up to the latter date and place it in relation to the modern city.

The principal part of the town as has been seen was the small area (about 75 acres) surrounded by a stockade on the bank of the river. In 1833 the stockade was still standing: by 1846 it had almost entirely disappeared, almost the sole alteration in the general appearance of the town from the time of Syme's visit. It had been destroyed when Tharawadi built his new town. The new stockade which had been built after the war of 1824-26 was of solid teak, 18 to 24 inches square, nearly 18 feet high. Near the top at intervals were port-holes. A platform ran around the inside near the top wall, approached by eastern steps. It was surrounded on the outside by a ditch. Rev. Mr. Bennett who knew Burma for over 50 years, writing in 1883, says that the southern face of the stockade ran nearly on the line of the present Strand Road from near Sparks Street to near Mogul Street. It is probable however that western extremity was more nearly on the line of the present Tseekai Mounge Tawlay Street. It is no doubt now impossible to determine the exact site of the old town. Even in 1883 there was left hardly a single foot of soil, roads or buildings of what was once Rangoon. As Spearman says in his *Gazetter* of 1879, "the Rangoon of today is as unlike the Rangoon of 1852 as modern London is unlike the London of 500 years ago." We may however accept the suggested line of the southern face of the stockade. The eastern side ran from a little east

(1). It will be observed that estimates of the size of a larger area than the old: but this would not quite account

the "myo" disagree. Perhaps the new stockade enclosed for the disparity.

of Sparks Street northwards to near Dalhousie Street. The northern side lay partly on Dalhousie Street, and partly on Merchant Street as far as near Tseekai MOUNG Tawlay Street and the western side linked up the north western corner with the Strand. The stockaded area was roughly quadrilateral but the eastern side was considerably longer than the western side. The whole area was much lower than at the present day and was consequently marshy. The spring tides ran all over the town. Outside the town on the south, there was the main, for long the only wharf, also known as the King's Wharf. It was near the present Barr Street Jetty. The Custom House was on the bank a little to the west of the wharf on a site that is now part of Strand Road. From the wharf a road led past the custom house to a gate in the stockade and ran almost straight through the town a little to the east of the line of the present Barr Street, to a gate in the northern face of the stockade. Apart from the Custom House there were only one or two buildings on the river bank outside the stockade. It was intended in 1853 to preserve the whole of the Strand open, except for the Custom House. In those days the strand near the wharf was the meeting place of "all Rangoon and shipping folk." It was sometimes called the Exchange or Gossip Wharf: here people of all creeds and races gathered in the evenings. On the western side of the stockade there was a single gate, probably near where Merchant Street and Tseekai MOUNG Tawlay Street meet. Just beyond it on the west was a small creek, with a populous village mostly occupied by boatmen. The tide ran up the creek for some distance: and the latter was crossed by a large wooden bridge. The road went still further west to another and much larger tidal stream a little to the west of where Latter Street now is. On the banks of this stream were the timber yards of several European merchants. Beyond this to the west there were paddy fields on the low ground as far as Kemmendinge, which was the village of the Burmese King's boatmen.

On the north side of the stockade was a swamp which probably varied in extent with the season and the tides. It surrounded the Sule Pagoda,

which was to the north of the stockade and to which access was given by a brick causeway over the swamp laid from a point near the gate already mentioned on the northern face of the stockade. The swamp stretched well to the westward, and a road running northward from the river on about the line of Latter Street crossed it by a long wooden bridge; and so led out to the country towards the north. The swamp was connected with the river by a creek "near the Government Timber Depot on the west" and with the Botatoung creek on the east.⁽²⁾ On the north side of the stockade east of the Sule Pagoda there were, it is stated, in 1833 pleasant gardens belonging to the Burmese officials and the merchants, where picnics were frequently held. On the north a road issued from the town by the gate almost opposite the gate near the main wharf on the south. This road bent round on the north of the Sule Pagoda and joined another road which ran northwards from the river a little to the east of the present China Street. The road must then have continued approximately on the line of the present Pagoda Road. It was lined with Kyaungs which were especially numerous where the road approached the southern entrance of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda.

On the northern side of the stockade there were two large gates, although on each of the other sides there was but one. The second gate on the north was towards the east, and a road issuing from it ran northwards near the line of Phayre Street to near the Scots Kirk, whence it continued to the great pagoda roughly on the line of the present Signal Pagoda Road. It was lined with pagodas and Kyaungs. This road appears to have been known as the Wongyee's Road and the gate by which it issued from the town as the Wongyee's gate. One writer calls this "the Death Gate" as out of it all funerals and execution parties were required to pass. The road continued to rise after passing the Signal Pagoda (then called Sale's Pagoda, after Sale the general subsequently famed at Jalālābād) until it approached the south-eastern corner of the Shwe Dagon; then it dipped low to the right and passed round the eastern side of the pagoda. Beyond

(2). Probably here is meant the creek near West St.

which was later on the end of the canal, vide map of 1867.

he eastern entrance of the pagoda was the Scotch Tank (so called, it is stated, owing to its "medicinal" qualities). On the further side of the pagoda was a swamp. On the low ground beneath Signal Pagoda was a small lake called "Kandawglay," so distinguished from the larger lake or "Kandawgyi," now called the Royal Lake. Kandawglay has almost entirely disappeared. It was then a favourite resort for picnics, being surrounded with beautiful woods in which stood many pagodas and zayats. The greater part of the country between the Shwe Dagon and the town was thickly wooded in its higher part and swampy in its lower. All the high ground where now stand the Jail, the Asylum and the Judson College, was occupied by mango, jack and pine apple gardens. Fruits abounded everywhere. In the woods there were many kyaungs. Thus where the High School now stands, were then several large buildings known as the King's Kyoungs. Where the Railway Station now stands the ground was swampy both east and west, and there were many tanks. This part was later on after 1852 drained by a canal (whence Canal Street) which ran practically round the town. It has now almost entirely disappeared.

On the east of the stockade the ground was a swamp and there were but a few huts until the fishermen's village of Poozoundoung was reached.

We may now have a glimpse of the town within the stockade. It had changed so little that the descriptions already quoted will hold good for the eighteen thirties. On entering the gate near the main wharf on the south, the visitor was on a road leading north as has already been pointed out. A little beyond the gate he would come to a street running east and west, the Kuladan street, so called because it was mainly inhabited by foreigners. Some of the buildings were entirely of wood. There were few houses entirely built of brick. Owing to the extreme danger from fire in a town of wooden buildings and thatched roofs, elaborate precautions were taken against fire. Koladan Street ran on a line east and west probably near the modern Shafraz Road. A few hundred feet further north was the main street of the town running east and west, probably near the line of the present Merchant Street.

On this street was situated the palace of the Burmese Viceroy, consisting of a series of wooden buildings elevated about 5 feet above the ground, and the High Court lay southwards of the Palace. On or near this street were the few brick buildings which belonged to foreign merchants. The principal English merchants then were Messrs. Spears, Roy, Trill and Crisp, who dealt in book-muslin, cotton goods &c. These merchants also owned the timber yards outside the town on the west, already mentioned. Trade in those days was greatly impeded by the laws against the export of such commodities as gold, silver, precious stones and rice. There was thus difficulty in paying for goods in Calcutta. To return to the town itself, the streets were paved with brick and there were brick drains on either side, in which the children caught fish when the spring tides flooded the city. The streets were in good repair as no carts were allowed inside the stockade. In addition to the three streets already mentioned, there was a fourth of importance leading across the town northwards on about the line of the present Lewis Street to the Wongyee's gate.

Much that is of interest might be recorded of old Rangoon but the present purpose is to sketch the further history of the town. In 1841 King Tharawadi, the successor of Bagyidaw, also known as Konbaung-min, founded a royal city on the south and west of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. This was the supposed site of the ancient village of Ukkalaba (Ukkala=Ussa=Orissa), a name which had also been applied in former days to a Kingdom of the delta, presumably west of the Dalla district. He destroyed the stockade of the old town of Rangoon by the river. He threw up a bund around the site of his new town. In 1846, little had been done to complete the new town except this bund and the stockaded gateways, one of which was on Godwin Road probably a little to the south of the present stand on the race course, another in the middle of the race course and a third near the Jubilee Hall, on the road to the pagoda, and perhaps a fourth at the Signal Pagoda Road entrance. Starting from the southwest corner near the compound of the headquarters of the 18th Battalion I.D.F. the boundary of the new town crossed the maidan towards the Jubilee Hall near the main gate, and con-

tinued to a point near the junction of Simpson Road and Signal Pagoda Road where it turned northward keeping below Signal Pagoda on the eastern slope and led up to the eastern side of the Shwe Dagon enclosure. The pagoda was the citadel, and stood in the north east corner of the town. The northern boundary ran from the pagoda across the golf course (where remains of the bund are still to be seen) and a short distance beyond Prome Road, where it turned south for a short distance and then turned eastwards across the southern end of the golfcourse to a point roughly corresponding to the line of Budd Road. From this point the western boundary roughly ran down the line of Budd Road, enclosing the Emdawya Pagoda near Bishop's Court and so reached the south western corner. There was a ditch outside the bund except, I think, on the eastern side. At this time Godwin Road was made, and was then called Lanmadaw and ran on its present line to the western side of the pagoda. The main road up to the southern side of the pagoda was paved with brick. The King built himself a palace near where the Cantonment Church now stands. As we have seen little progress had been made with the new town in 1846: probably the work was not carried on vigorously during the later years of Tharawadi. He died in 1846. According to Spearman when the King directed the removal of the town to its new site 'the royal order was to a certain extent obeyed; the principal buildings and government offices were placed in the new town, and were there when the British force landed and captured Rangoon in April 1852.' It is clear however that in 1846 the old town by the river was still the main centre of the population.

Before the war broke out in 1852 all the people in Rangoon were removed to the new town and all the buildings in the place were destroyed. In Lieutenant Ford's map of 1852 the site of the old town is marked with the note "old town in ruins."

VII.

The story of the town has now been traced up to the war of 1852, when the Second Burmese

war was fought and Pegu became part of the British Empire. From that date, works were put in hand which have almost entirely obliterated the old town or towns. Within six months of its capture, steps were taken for laying out a new town with regular streets, for raising the general level, and for keeping out the river. The level of the whole town east of Godwin Road has been raised in some places several feet, material being brought from the higher ground inland. The work of reclamation is still going on. Government administered the town till 1874 when it was handed over to municipal administration. Fraser, an officer of the Engineers laid out the town on a plan which has been much admired. He had a great opportunity of course in view of the destruction of the old town. After the war, plots of land were apportioned by Government on the understanding that they would be vacated when the plans for a new town were decided on. Hence there arose a large number of unsubstantial huts on the site of the town. One capitalist obtained a large piece of ground and built wooden barracks, with rooms which he rented out on enormous rates. Large numbers of people wanted accommodation, for after the success of the British in 1852, people of all sorts from Madras and Calcutta and elsewhere poured into the town. The temporary erections were swept away as the building of the town progressed. The new town of Tharawadi was reserved for the cantonment, and after 1852 was known as the stockade. As everyone knows, it was not many years before Rangoon grew beyond the limits of Fraser's plan, even beyond the limits he allowed for extension westwards. The town then began to expand without any comprehensive plan to ensure its growth on right lines, and it is only within very recent years that steps have been taken, with knowledge of the past and imagination of the future, to prevent its degenerating into an ugly and ill planned town round an admirable nucleus, and to guide its development so that it may be not only a mighty but also a nobly planned city, worthy of the praise of Fitch—"It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world."

W. G. FRASER.

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THE ERA OF DECAY.

[At the beginning of the Era of Decay in this Auspicious World-Cycle the following rules were enacted by rulers of men:—

1. Not to take others' life.
2. Not to steal others' belongings.
3. To abstain from adultery.
4. Not to speak falsehood.
5. To abstain from intoxicating drinks.

Under the regime of these monarchs while the rules were in force men lived very long. Perfect as they were in strength, beauty and intellect they were inflicted by no disease other than infirmity due to old age. They were wealthy and innocent. In short, throughout the length and breadth of the King's domains peace and prosperity reigned supreme.

In course of time, however, during the reign of Antimapurisa, King of Mithila, capital of the kingdom of Videha in India, it happened that the sovereign ceased to conform to the manners, customs and institutions of righteous monarchs and began to rule in his own way. The people on their part began to harbour immoral desires and became perverted in nature. Some would steal others' belongings, and when captured and sent to the King for trial they would attribute their crime to their indigence. Then the King would dismiss them with handsome rewards admonishing them to live honestly and to abstain from committing such crime. This policy of the King merely encouraged unprincipled men to commit theft, which became so common that the King being unable to stop it by his act of clemency passed at last the death sentence on them. In this manner the sin of taking others' lives appeared and weapons such as swords, spears and what not were in vogue. Consequently men's life was shortened from 80,000 to 40,000 years. At the same time their health, strength, beauty and intellect were greatly impaired.

At this epoch thieves and robbers when captured and sent before the King would speak falsehood and deny their guilt to escape from death. The sin of speaking falsehood was com-

mitted by men and life was further shortened to twenty-thousand years. This was followed by a generation when men who spoke slanderous words could live only ten thousand years. Being overwhelmed with evils they lacked in beauty. Handsome persons were rare, and men being fascinated by such wives of others as were beautiful began to commit adultery. Human life was reduced to five thousand years; and still further to two thousand, one thousand, and five-hundred respectively, as men used ribaldry and frivolous talk, cherished covetousness and greed, and professed heretical views. Children following the examples set by their parents began to harbour immoral passions. Actuated by vicious desires they resorted to unlawful means to satisfy them. Consequently they could live two hundred and fifty years only—which in the next generation, were reduced to a hundred as men ceased to respect their parents. Thus life becomes shorter and shorter as men are more perverted in nature, till men would barely live ten years.

At this stage men begin to repent and avoid the Ten Evils. Consequently they live longer and longer, their life rising by leaps and bounds from generation to generation to an innumerable number of years.

However, the evolution of human nature is such that in due course corruption follows, and as generation follows generations the span of human life is gradually curtailed. At an age when men can live a hundred thousand years, the city of Benares will be the great city by the name of Ketumati ruled by a mighty emperor Sankha in whose time will appear Metteyya, our future Buddha to preach the law for the salvation of mankind.

The underlying cause, therefore, of decay of life, strength and beauty is the self-conceit of men which has led them to abandon old institutions and initiate their own; and the only remedy is a tenacious adherence to the principles of our fore-fathers—which alone will be conducive to the realisation of lofty ideals. B. K.]

အာယုဟာယနပြောခွန်း၊*

ယခုအခါကမ္ဘာတွင်၊ ဦးစွာအစ။ အာယုဟာယနခေတ်ကာလ၌တိုင်းနိုင်ငံကိုစိုးစံအုပ်ချုပ်မင်းလုပ်တော်မူကြသောစကရာဇ်အပေါင်းတို့သည်။ တိုင်းနေပြည်သူ။ ဗိုလ်လူ အများတို့အား။ ကြက်မတောင်ရှည်၊ သာကြည်ပိုက်ခြား၊ တရားဥပဒေ။ ပြဋ္ဌာန်းသတ်မှတ်တော်မူကြသည်ကား။ ။ သူတပါး၏ အသက်ကို မသတ်အပ်၊ မသတ်ထိုက်၊ မသတ်စေရ။ စောင့်ရှောက်ထိန်းသိမ်း၍ထားသောသူတပါး၏ပစ္စည်းဥစ္စာကိုမခိုးမယူအပ်။ မခိုးမယူထိုက်။ မခိုးမယူစေရ။ ကိလေသာကာမ မိစ္ဆာစာရကိုလွန်ကျူး၍။ သူတရား၏သားမယား၌ ဘောက်ပြားမှားယွင်းခြင်းကိုမပြုအပ်၊ မပြုထိုက်မပြုစေရ။ မဟုတ်မမှန်ဘောက်ပြန် ချွတ်လှသော အဘူတကထာ မာယာစကားကို မဆိုအပ်၊ မဆိုထိုက်။ မဆိုစေရ။ မဇ္ဈပါဏသေအရက်ကိုလည်း မသောက်အပ်၊ မသောက်ထိုက်။ မသောက်စေရ။ လျောက်ပတ်သင့်လျော်၍၊ လူသူတော်အများတို့ စားသောက်သုံးစွဲဖြစ်သော အစာအဟာရကို သာလျှင် စားသောက်သုံးစွဲကြစေဟူသော အမိန့်ဥပဒေ ၅ ချက်ကို သား၊ အဆက်ဆက်သောဘုရင်မင်းတရားတို့၊ ပြဋ္ဌာန်းပိုင်းခြားလျက်။ တိုင်းကားနိုင်ငံကို၊ ပိုင်စံသိမ်းချုပ်၊ စိုးအုပ်တော်မူကြသောကြောင့်။ အာယုဝဋ္ဌအသက်ရှည်၍ အရပ်အဆင်းလှပတင့်တယ်ခြင်း။ အိုမင်းကုန်းကွ ဧရာဗုဒ္ဓလဒုက္ခဝေဒနာမှတစ်ပါး။ အခြားဝေဒနာရော၊ မရှိ။ ပကတိ၊ နှုန်းမာရ်ခမ်းသာခြင်း။ ဘာဏ်ပညာထက်သန်၍ အားအန်ဗလကြီးမားခြင်း။ မိုးသေးထားပြုမိမိမိတန္တကင်းလျက်။ နိုင်ငံတော်လေးမျက်နှာပင်။ သာယာဝပြောကြလေသည်။ ။ ယခုအခါ ယနယ်မြေအတွင်း။ ဝေဒဗေတတိုင်း။ မိမိလာပြည့်ရှင်အန္တိ မုရိသဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်လက်ထက်တော်မူကျရောက်မှ။ ဓမ္မရေသောမင်းကောင်းမင်းမြတ်တို့၏ထုံးတမ်းသကား။ ပဝေကိုယဓမ္မသို့မလိုက်မကျင့်၊ မိမိအကြိတ်မိမိသဘောဖြင့်။ အလိုအလျောက်အတ္တနောမတိအုပ်ချုပ်မိသောကြောင့်တိုင်းနိုင်ငံသူ၊ ဗိုလ်လူအပေါင်းတို့သည်။ မကောင်းသောအကြံကိုကြံစည်၍။ မတော်မသင့်။ အကုသိုလ်ကိုကွက်။ သူတပါး၏ဥစ္စာဘဏ္ဍာကိုခိုးဝှက်စားသောက်လေက။ ဥစ္စာနေပစ္စည်းရှင်တို့က။ ဆဲဆွဲလက်ငင်ကျွမ်းမင်းယူလျက်။ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်ထံ ဆက်သောအခါ။ သူတပါးဥစ္စာကို အတယ်ကြောင့် ခိုးယူပါသနည်းဟုစစ်မေးသော်။ အသက်မွေးရန်စပါးဆန်မလုံလောက်သောကြောင့်ခိုးယူမိပါသည်တင်လျောက်လေရာ။ သူတပါး၏ပစ္စည်းဘဏ္ဍာကိုမခိုးမယူလင့်။ ဤဥစ္စာကိုငါပေးအံ့ သားမယားနှင့် ခမ်းသာစွာ အသယ်မွေးလေဟု၊ ဘေးမဲ့ လွတ်လိုက်လေလျှင်။ ထိုနည်း ထပ်တူ။ တဦးသော သူကိုလည်းခိုးယူစမ်းမိပြန်က။ တစ်စုံစားသောက်ရန်ဥစ္စာပေးလျက်၊ ဘေးမှလွတ်ပြန်သောအခါ။ တိုင်းပြည်ရှိရွာလေးမျက်နှာက။ ဥစ္စာဘဏ္ဍာကိုခိုးဝှက်ယူငင်သောသူတို့အား။ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်က မစမြောက်စား၍ စီးပွားဥစ္စာ များစွာပင် ဆုတော်ပေးသည်ဟု၊ အနီးအဝေး သတင်းစကားဖြစ်ပွားကြေညာလျက်။ အမြို့မြို့အရွာရွာ။ ခိုးဝှက်ယူသက်မှုအဓိန္ဒာန်ကိုပြုကျင့်ကျူးလွန်ကြလေရာ။ ဥစ္စာဘဏ္ဍာဖြင့်မထောက်မမ

ဘဲ။ အန္တိ မုရိသဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်သည်။ ခိုးသူတို့အားသတ်ဖြတ်ခြင်းပါဏာတိပါတက်ကို၊ မိမိပြဋ္ဌာန်းတော်မူရ၍။ လူတို့အသက် (၈၀၀၀) တမ်းကစ၍။ အဓိန္ဒာန်ပါဏာတိပါတရစရိုက်နှစ်ပါး။ ထားလက်နက်ထာဝရပယောဂတို့သည်။ လောက၌အထင်အရှား။ အနှံ့အပြား။ ဖြစ်ပွားပေါ်ပေါက်လာလေသည်။ ။ ဤကဲ့သို့ခိုးဝှက်ခြင်းအဓိန္ဒာန်နက်။ ထားလက်နက်ဖြင့်သူ အသက်ကိုသတ်ခြင်း ပါဏာတိပါတ။ ဖြစ်ပွားပေါ်ထွက်ခြင်းကိုစွဲကြောင့်။ အသက် (၈၀၀၀) တမ်းရှည်ဖြင့်စွာ နေကြရသောမိဘနှစ်ပါးမှ။ ပေါက်ဘွားသောသားသမီးတို့သည်။ မကောင်းမှုစရိုက် အစိုက်ဖုံးလွှမ်း၍။ အသက် (၄၀၀၀) တမ်းသို့ဆုတ်ယုတ်ခြင်းဖြစ်လာသဖြင့်။ အရပ်အဆင်းအင်္ဂါလက္ခဏာလည်းမလှပ။ ခွန်အားမလုံးရပ်သဏ္ဌာန်လည်း လျော့ပါး။ အနာရောဂါဘေးဘယလည်းများပြားကြလေသည်။ ။ လူတို့သက်တမ်း (၄၀၀၀) သမယ။ ဤခေတ်သို့ အကုတင်။ ပြည်သူတို့ကမိုးသေးထားပြတို့အား။ ချုပ်နှောင်ဖမ်းဆီး၍ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်ထံဆက်ကြသောအခါ။ အသက်ဘေးမှလွတ်ကြောင်းကြိတ်သံလျက်။ မမှန်မကန်သော မုသဝါဒကားဖြင့်။ မိုးသားထားပြုမဟုတ်လေဟန်။ ငြင်းဆန်ကွယ်ဝှက်၍။ လူတို့အသက် (၄၀၀၀) တမ်းကာလမှ။ မုသဝါဒစရိုက်သည်လူတို့အန္တိအပြား။ ထင်ရှားပေါ်ပေါက်လာလေသည်။ ။ ဤသို့မတော်မမှန်မဟုတ်မလျား။ အကုသိုလ်စရိုက် မုသောကြောင့်။ အနှစ် (၄၀၀၀) အသက်ရှည်ကြသောတစ်နှစ်ပါးမှ။ မွေးမြင်ပေါက်ဘွားသော၊ သမီးသားအပေါင်းတို့သည်။ အသက် (၂၀၀၀) တမ်းသို့ ဆုတ်ယုတ်လျော့သက်၍။ ထိုသူတို့မင်းတို့ လက်ထက်သို့တိုက်ရောက်ကာလ။ ပိသုဏဝါစာစကားဖြင့်။ ဤသူကားထားပြဉ်သူကား မိုးသားဟု၊ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်ထံသို့သွားပြီးလျှင်ချော့ပြစ်ကုန်းတိုက်ကြသောကြောင့်။ အသက် (၂၀၀၀) တမ်းခေတ်ကာလ၌။ ပိသုဏဝါစာ စရိုက်။ ထင်ရှား ပေါ်ပေါက် လာလေသည်။ ။ အသက် (၂၀၀၀) တမ်းမှ နေရသော။ မိဘ နှစ်ပါး တို့မှ။ မွေးမြင်ပေါက်ဘွား။ ထိုသူတို့၏ သမီးသားတို့သည်။ အကုသိုလ်နှောင့်ရှက် ။ အသက် (၁၀၀၀) တမ်းသို့ဆုတ်ယုတ်ခိုင့်ကျပြီးလျှင်။ အရပ်အဆင်းလှပသူအလွန်နည်းပါး။ မလှပသူများပြားသောကြောင့်။ ထိုသူတို့အားတရားပျက်ကွက်။ ရမ္မက်တဏှာကိုလေသာပူပြင်း၍။ အဆင်းရပ်ဝါလက္ခဏာနှင့်ပြည့်စုံသောသူတပါး၏သားမယားကို။ ကျူးလွန်ပြစ်မှား ကြသောကြောင့်။ အသက် (၁၀၀၀) တမ်း ကာလမှ။ မိစ္ဆာစာရစရိုက်သည်။ လောက၌အနှံ့အပြား။ ထင်ရှားပေါ်ပေါက်လာပြန်လေသည်။ ။ ကာမေသုမိစ္ဆာ၊ ဓုစရိုက်ကြံမှုကြောင့်။ ထိုကာလထိုအခါ။ နှစ်မြာသောမိဘတို့ပိုင်ထုပ်မွေးဘွားသောသားသမီးတစုတို့သည်။ အာယုသက်ဆစ်အနှစ် (၅၀၀) တမ်းသို့ဆုတ်ယုတ်လျော့ကျပြီးလျှင်။ ရုန်းရင်းညစ်ညမ်းကြမ်းတမ်းသောဧရုဓဝါစာ။ အနှစ်သာရမပါအကာသက်သက်။ အနက်အမိပ္ပယ်ခြံကင်းလျက်။ ပိန်ဖျင်းသောသမ္ပုလပဒုစရိုက်နှစ်ပါးသည်။ ထင်ရှားပေါ်

* Read at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Jubilee Hall, 24th January, 1919.

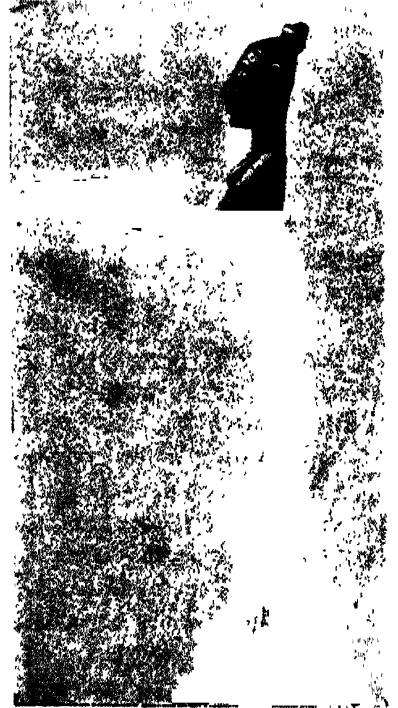
ထွက်အသက် (၅ဝဝ) တမ်းမှာပင်။ သော့သော့သွန်းသွန်း၊ မြေးယုတ်ဖုံးလှင်းလာလေသည်။ ၊ စိကံဒရိုဂ်။ အခိုင်တရာ။ ထိုနှစ်ပါးတို့ကြောင့် လူတို့သက်ဆစ်။ အချိုး ကားအနွပ် (၂၅ဝ) အချိုးမှာ (၂ဝဝ) သို့တိုင်တွင်။ တပြိုင်နက်တချိန်တည်း ဆုတ်ယုတ်နိုင်ကျပြီး၏။ သူတထူးဥစ္စာကိုမိမိတာရှည်ဖြစ်လိုသောအာသာ။ ရှေ့ရှိကြစည်ခြင်းအဘိဇ္ဈာ။ သူ့စည်းစိမ် သူ့စီးပွါးကို၊ ဖျက်ပြားချွတ်ယွင်းလေသောမျာပါးတို့သည်။ (၂၅ဝ) (၂ဝဝ) သောအသက်တမ်းကာလ၌။ လောဘ ရှေ့သွား။ ထွန်းကား ပေါ်ပေါက် လာ သောကြောင့်။ လူတို့အသက်အပိုင်းအခြားသည်။ (၁ဝဝ) ထီဆုတ်ယုတ်လျော့ပါးလေက။ အမှန်ကိုအမှား။ အမှားကိုအမှန်။ ဘောက်ပြန်ချွတ်ယွင်း။ တင်းလင်းစွဲမြဲတတ်သော။ မိစ္ဆာဒိဋ္ဌဟူသော ဒုစရိုက်တရားသည်။ စည်ကားဖြ့်လန်း (၁ဝဝ) တမ်းမှာပင်။ အထင်အရှားဖြစ်ပွါးပေါ်ပေါက်လာလေသည်။ မိစ္ဆာဒိဋ္ဌိ။ ကပ်ငြိမှုလင်းသောကြောင့်။ (၁ဝဝ) တမ်းမှ (၅ဝ) ထီဆုတ်ယုတ်နည်းပါးလျက်။ အပ်သွားရာ ချဲ့ညပ်သည် ဆိုသောဥပမာစကားကဲ့သို့။ ရှေ့ဆောင်ရွားလား။ မိတာနှစ်ပါးတို့၏အတုံ့ဆိုလိုက်၍။ ဒုစရိုက် (၁ဝ) ပါးမျှမကဘဲ။ မသင့်လျော်သောအရာ၌တပ်မက်ခြင်းအမွေရာက။ လွန်ကဲစွာပုပ်နီခြင်းဝိသမလောဘ။ ဘောမတ္တဖြစ်ကြလျက်။ နှစ်သက်မြတ်နိုးခြင်းမိစ္ဆာဓမ္မပရေတ။ သက္ကာယကကို ဖုံးလွှမ်းပြီးလျှင်။ အသက်တမ်း (၁ဝဝ) မှ။ (၂၅ဝ) (၂ဝဝ) ဆုတ်နှစ်လျော့ကျပြီး၏။ မိတာနှစ်ပါးသက်ကြီးသူဒိတို့အား။ မရိမသေမခံ့မညား မလေးမစား။ နိုင်ထက်သောကား။ ကျူးလွန် ပြစ်မှားကြ၍။ ဤသူတို့မှ ပေါက်ဘွားသော။ နောက်သမီးနောက်သားတို့မှာ။ အနှစ် (၁ဝဝ) မျှ။ အသက် ၆ဝဝ ရှည်မြင့်ကြလျက်။ တစတစအယုတ်တရား။ စည်ကားပွါးများထွန်းကားတိုးတက်သဖြင့်။ အန္တရာယ်ရောက။ အနာမျိုးအတန်တန်။ ဘေးရန်အသီးသီးဘိမ်းသောင်းကျန်း။ ညှဉ်းပန်းနှောင့်ယှက်၊ နှိပ်စက်ရုံမျှမက။ တဦးနှင့်တဦးမခန့်မမင်။ မကြင်မနာမေတ္တာပျက်ကွက်၍။ အထူးထူးသောလက်နက်တို့ဖြင့်။ တိုက်ဖျက်သတ်ညှဉ်း။ လူတို့သက်ဆစ်။ (၁ဝ) တမ်းသို့တိုင်အောင်ဆုတ်ယုတ်ပြီးမှ။ ထိတ်လန့်ခြင်းသတိသံဝေဂ။ တဖန်ရကြသောကြောင့် အာယုသက်ဆစ်။ အနှစ် (၈ဝဝဝ) တမ်းကာလက အစပေါ်ထွက်သော။ သူတပါး၏ ဥစ္စာကို လုယူခိုးဝှက်ခြင်း။ သူတပါးအသက်ကိုသတ်ဖြတ်ခြင်းဟူသော အကုသိုလ် (၁ဝ) ပါး။ ဒုစရိုက်တရားတို့ကို။ အစဉ်အတိုင်းပယ်ချောက်။ စောင့်ရှောက်ကွင့်မျက်သောကြောင့်။ လူတို့၏အသက်အပိုင်းအခြားသည်။ လွန်ကဲတိုးတက်ပြန့်ပွားလျက်။ အဆက်ဆက်သောသမီးသားတို့၏။ အသက်အာယုလ ပွါးများခြင်းဝ ို့နသည်။ လက္ခတ်ရင်တီး။ မြှောက်ချီး အံ့ ဩ ဘွယ်။ ၂ဝ-၄ဝ-၈ဝ-၁၆ဝ-၃၂ဝ-၆၄ဝ မှ။ ၂ဝဝဝ-၄ဝဝဝ-၈ဝဝဝ မှ။ ၂ဝဝဝ-၄ဝဝဝ-၈ဝဝဝ-၁၆ဝဝဝ။ ဆင့်လောင်းတိုးတက်။ အသက် အသင်္ချေ။ တည်နေထိုင်ပါးကြပြီးမှ။ ကာလတောင်

တာ။ မြင့်ရှည်ခွဲသော်။ လူသတ္တဝါတို့အမှုအကုသိုလ်၊ မသင့်မတရား။ ရှေးနည်းအလား။ ဘောက်ပြားယွင်းသွေကြဲပြန်သောကြောင့်။ အသင်္ချေယျာ အသက်တမ်းမှ။ တစတစ လျော့ပျက်နောက်ဆုတ်၊ ယုတ်ကာယုတ်ကာ။ ဟာယနုခေတ်။ တကြိမ်ဖြစ်ပြန်၍။ လူတို့သက်ဆက်။ အနှစ် (၇၀၀၀) တမ်းသို့ တခါတရံ။ တိုင်ရောက်ပြန်သောကာလ။ အဝန်းယူဇနာ ၉၀၀ ကျယ်ပြန့်သော အဓိယနယ်နယ်အတွင်း။ ဟိန္ဒူ၊ ပုန်းဇာားတို့၏ ဘာသာ။ ဗမာစာရတ်ခေါ်သော ဗာရာဏသီမြို့ကြီးသည်။ ကေတုမုနိရာဇဌာနီနေပြည်တော်ကြီးဖြစ်၍။ ဘုန်းတန်းကြီးမားသော။ သင်္ခအမည်တော်ရှိသောဧကရာဇ်ခေါင်ဖျား။ မင်းတရားကြီးအင်ချင်စိုးစံတော်မူလျက်။ ထိုဘုရင်မင်းမြတ် လက်ထက်တွင်။ ဂေါတမဘုရားရှင်ကဲ့သို့။ ဗြဟ္မာ လူနတ် ပရိသတ်တို့အား။ နိဗ္ဗာန်ရောက်ကြောင်းတရား။ ဟောကြားဆုံးမထိုင်၊ အပေးတော်မူအံ့သော ဌ၊ မိမိကြွေယူ အမည်တော်ရှိသောဘုရားမြတ်စွာသည်။ သစ္စာမရှိပိုင်တော်မူလတ္တံ့ ဖြစ်ချေသည်။

ဤသို့အသက်အဆင်း လုံးရံသဏ္ဌာန်၊ ဘောက်ပြန်ပျက်ပြား။
တိုးပွားဆုတ်ယုတ်ခြင်း၏ အရင်းမူလ ဖြစ်ကြရသည်ကား။ အဓမ္မမ
တော်မတရားထွန်းကားပေါ်ထွက်ပြီးလျှင်၊ မည်သည့်လူမျိုး၊ မည်
သည့်ဘာသာ၊မည်သည့်တိုင်းကားနိုင်ငံမဆို၊မိမိတို့အမျိုးအနွယ်အ
စဉ်အဆက်။ အထက်ကွယ်လွန်ပြီးသောဘီဘိုးဘွားတို့။ အပိုင်းအ
ခြားဥပဒေသသို့ မလိုက်မနားငါ့သာတတ်သည်။ ငါ့သာမြတ်သည်။
ငါ့သာသိသည်။ အတ္တနောမတိ။ မိမိထင်မြင်ရာ။ မောဟာ ဂတိအ
တွက်ကြောင့်။ အသက်အဆင်းဆုတ်ယုတ်ပြီးခါ။ အနာရောဂါများ
ပြားလျက်။ ဂေဟူးလွန်မပြတ်မှားထိုက်သော။ ရှေးလူဟောင်းတို့၏ပ
ဝေကီယဓမ္မပြဋ္ဌာန်းချက်ကို။ ပယ်ဖျက်ကျော်နင်းခြင်းကြောင့်ဖြစ်ကြ
လေသည်။

ပေရာဇာနည်အမင်း၊ ရာဇဝင်မှဟောင်းများတွင်။ ယခင်အထက်
စိုးစံတော်မူသော ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်နှင့်။ အတတ်အလမ်းမှာ။ ပညာအ
ခြောက်အမြင့်။ အဆင်အခြင် မတူတန်သော ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်၏ လက်
ထက်၌နိုင်ငံတိုင်းကာ။ ဖျက်ပြားကျဉ်းမြောင်း၍။ ပြည်သူအပေါင်း
တို့နှလုံးစိတ်ဝမ်း။ မချမ်းသာ။ ပညာရွှမ်းသည်။ ငြိမ်လေးဘူးသည်ကို
ထောက်သော်။ ချောင်းကိုပြစ်၍ မြစ်ကိုရှာလျှင် ရေသာများ၍င်းမ
တွေ့။ ထုံးဟောင်းကိုပြစ်၍ ထုံးသစ်ရှာလျှင်နေရာများ၍ကားမစေ့။ ဆို
သကဲ့သို့ချွတ်ချော်ဆုတ်နစ်မြင်းမဖြစ်စေ။ ပေရာဇာနည်ဘုရင်။
မိခင်ဘခင်တို့၏ အဆုံးအမ ဩဝါဒ ပြဋ္ဌာန်းချက်ကို။ အစဉ်တစိုက်
လိုက်နာကျင့်သုံးကာ။ မချစ်သော်လည်းမမုန်း။ မမြတ်သော်လည်းမ
ရှုံ့။ စကားပုံတုံးနှင့်တပြေ။ လောကမွေအရေး ရည်ရွယ်ရာရောက်။
ထင်တိုင်းပေ ကံ၌ပါးမြောက်အောင်မြင်ကြမည်ဖြစ်တော့သည်။ ။

ဆရာတို့။



BRASS FIGURE-LAMP FOUND AT OLD WESALI, ARAKAN.

Of all the forms of gifts to the Gods (*deva dānam*) there is perhaps none which can equalise in merit-winning capacity that which is offered in the form of lamps or *dīpam*, from the Sanskrit *dīpa* "to light." Everywhere they form the accessories of temple-worship; but the particular type of lamps, conceived in the form of human statues, generally female, supporting in both hands the cup which holds the oil for burning the wick, are characteristically South Indian, and are commonly to be met with in all Visweswara temples of that particular part of the peninsula. Except in the temple of Annapurna at Benares where the only example of this type is to be found, there is none to be seen in the whole of Northern India. In Ceylon too, though its close proximity has given it a large share of other South Indian types, no specimen of the figure lamp has ever yet been discovered.

From the earliest times the gift of figure-lamps to temples seemed to have been looked upon with particular favour by the people of South India; for they firmly believed that in the symbolic expression of the burning devotion of the donors represented in the lamps, untold virtues were likely to be acquired for themselves both in this life and in the hereafter. Thus when such gifts were made they were usually accompanied by the offer of cows, buffaloes, sheep or goats from the milk of which the necessary clarified butter is extracted for the perpetual use of the lamps in the temples. One peculiarity in the construction of these statue-lamps is that they should always be placed upon pedestals. No merit is to be attached to those that are without. For it is expressly laid down in the Sacred Texts that though Mother Earth has been patient under different forms of sufferings she will not allow any legs to kick her nor put up with the heat of lamps.

The antiquity of this type of lamp is undoubted. In the literature of south India which deals with the remote times of the first and second

centuries, frequent mentions are made of it. And indeed from this source alone it can also be gathered with some degree of certainty that the early Greeks and Romans were more or less responsible for the introduction of this type into South India, where especially at Madras and Kaveripatnam they had extensively settled down for purposes of trade. These people brought their wares from the west, and among them the figure-lamps also came. The Indian craftsmen seeing them for the first time were probably attracted by the novelty of the human *motif* employed in the design of the lamps. Next they imitated, and to suit their particular purpose they merely substituted their own forms of drapery and other ornamentation peculiar to the accepted canons of their own art.

The specimen found in Arakan (vide illustrations) measures 9 inches in height including the pedestal. It represents a woman in the act of holding out in front of her a rather elongated pear-shaped receptacle intended to hold the oil, which by means of the wick is meant to be burnt before the images. Her features are sharp and pointed. The ears are large and the nose is long, prominent and well-defined. The hair is coiled on the crown of the head, slightly pushed back. She wears a plain necklace and an amulet on each upper arm fastened by a broad band. There is a bangle round each wrist and a similar one round the middle of each forearm. Except for these few ornaments the body is absolutely bare. A girdle encircles the waist and another lower down over the hips fastens the close-fitting drapery which falls in folds below the knees. One end of the cloth is apparently brought round from the back between the thighs and after being slipped over the girdle it is allowed to fall in front in graceful folds. It is impossible to say whether this specimen is purely South Indian or of a mixed type. The peculiar method of wearing the hair in a topknot and the

arrangement of the drapery are unlike anything met with in the collections of India. Indeed the general impression suggests that the statuette is more inclined towards either Egyptian or Assyrian than towards Indian both in design and execution. Whether it was actually made in Arakan or simply conveyed by the merchants of Southern India we have no definite means of ascertaining at present. There is a line of inscriptions (in Arakanese characters) round the upper part of the pedestal. But this shall be noticed later.

In regard to the final destruction of Wesali, the Arakanese histories are not in general agreement. Some authorities state that it took place in the second century A. D. while others are inclined to the belief that at about the middle of the tenth century Wesali simply ceased to be the capital, and was given up in favour of the newly founded city of Sanbawot. But the life of the old city still continued till it was finally destroyed in the latter half of the eleventh century. So, though there is nothing definite to go by in determining the age of this figure-lamp, if any reliance can be placed in the data afforded by Arakanese histories, it may confidently be assumed that it must belong to the eleventh century or earlier. It is a great pity that no competent authority has ever yet thought it fit to properly survey the site of this famous old city to whose harbour, in days long gone by, more than a thousand vessels are said to have annually put in laden with merchandise of all description extracted from the great emporiums of the Eastern world. One has simply to understand its past history.

its former greatness, to enable him to form a pretty shrewd idea of the store of priceless art treasures lying buried beneath the soil.

As has already been mentioned above a line of inscription round the upper part of the pedestal records the gift, evidently made by a royal personage. It reads thus:—အယနာ ဓါဓိဋ္ဌဇာတ်. This is more or less a facsimile of the original which in modern Burmese may be rendered အယနာဓိဋ္ဌဇာတ် “the gift of Ayana.” The final syllable ဓာတ် unmistakably suggests the donor's rank. The inscription is of particular interest especially when considered in relation to the statuette with which it is associated. For to whatever age the latter may belong, it is difficult to get away from the inference that the Arakanese (Burmese) literature must have also been current at the time.

Some 30 years ago the late Dr. Forchammer visited Arakan, and in an admirable report on its antiquities stated with some degree of conviction that the Arakanese (Burmese) alphabet could not have been in use in the country much before the beginning of the 16th century. As a matter of fact the learned doctor saw much of Myohoung and other places; but for some reason or other he missed Wesali altogether. So the inscription under consideration accords a convincing proof of the unreliability of the doctor's deductions; for, to say the least, it must be several centuries older than the period at which the present alphabet is authoritatively reported to have been introduced into Arakan.

SAN SHWE BU.

THE SHWEGUGYI PAGODA INSCRIPTION, PAGAN, 1141, A.D.

The inscription here transliterated and translated is the one found at Shwegugyi Pagoda, Pagan, and printed in Burmese characters on pages 159—164 of the Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava 1892. As we have had no opportunity of examining the actual stone or the estampages we do not guarantee the accuracy of the text. But we believe there are not any important errors in the printed text. U Tun Nyein gives too free a rendering in his translation of the Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava.

The Inscription is in Pali verse of great poetical merit. It is dated 503 B. E. corresponding

to 1141 A. D. and is set up by the famous Pagan King Alaungsithu, who, according to the latest revision by the Burma Archaeological Department, reigned from 1112—1187 A. D. It is satisfactory to know that Pagan Scholars of that date could compose such good Pali. Some verses of the prayer remind us of the canonical *Metta sutta* or, the *discourse on Love*. We have not attempted to confine the spirit of the beautiful prayer within textual notes and references. We are indebted to Mr. G. H. Luce for his kindness in putting our translation into blank verse.

—Editor.

PALI TEXT.

Srī namo buddhāya :

1. Yo kāmapaṅkagahaṇaṃ taritum nisamma
Nālaṃ tilokam akhilaṃ varadhamma-
bhāṇum
Tassesanāya bhuvi māpayi suddhibuddhi
Buddhaṃ name tamasaṃ saha dhamma
saṅghaṃ.
2. Ayaṃ hi bhaddako kappo pañcabuddha-
virājito
Uppannā tattha cattāro sambuddhā di-
paduttamā.
3. Tesu Gotamabuddhassa Sakyaputtassa ñā-
ṇino
Guṇaṃ pakāsayissāmi saṅkhepena suṇā-
tha me.
4. Bhavesu ca anekesu lokanātho mahāyaso
Pūritvā pāramī sabbā cariyāyo ca sabbathā
5. Tato pañcapariccāge sattānaṃ hitakāraṇā
Pariccajitvā so vīro anantakarūṇālayo;
6. Vessantarattabhāvasmim dhito sattahite
rato
Pāramīnaṃ dasannaṃ tu kūṭaṃ gaṇhitva
nāyako.
7. Tato cavitvā Tusite pūre uppajji cakkhu-
mā

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to the Buddha, whose pure mind
Made for the earth a Sun—his noble Law,
That all three worlds may follow him and reach
Salvation, who were powerless else to cross
The jungle and slough of sensuality.
To the sole Lord I bow, His Law, His Church.
Auspicious cycle of our world, adorned
By Buddhas five! Four Buddhas have arisen,
Perfect, of all two-footed things the best;
Of these, in brief, the Sakyas' son inspired
Gotama Buddha will I praise. Attend!

Through many lives our world's majestic Lord
Summed all Perfections and Observances;
The Home of endless pity then achieved
His self-denials five for all our weal;
Born as Vessantara he sought delight
In doing good to men and aye excelled
In all the Ten Perfections; passing thence

Rūpādi dasathānehi aññe deve atikkami.

8. Cakkavālasahashehi dasah' āgamma sabbaso
Devehi yācito santo Buddhabhāvāya sālavō.
9. Vilokanāni pañc'eva viloketvā guṇālayo
Tato cavitvā Tusitā uppajji Sākiye kule.
10. Ekūnatimsavassāni gharāvāse jutindharo
Vasitvāna tato dhīro pabbajjāyābhikkhami.
11. Pabbajjitvāna so vīro icchanto bodhim
uttamaṃ
Padhānaṃ padahetvāna katvā dukkara-
kāriyaṃ.
12. Ajapālarukkhāmūle nisiditvā Tathāgato
Tattha pāyāsam aggayha nerañjaram upā-
gato.
13. Nerañjarāya tīramhi pāyāsam ada so jino
Paṭiyattavaramaggena bodhimaṇḍam upā-
gami.
14. Āsabanṭhānapallaṅkaṃ acalaṃ dāḷham
akampitaṃ.
Cāturo aṅge adhiṭṭhāya nisīdi purisuttamo.
15. Nissajja pallaṅkavare narāsabho
Dumindamūle dipadānam uttamo
Na chambhati vigatabhayo va kesarī
Disvāna mārāṃ saha senavāhanaṃ.
16. Mārakkavātāṃ bhinditvā uttāsetvā sa
senakaṃ
Jayappatto mahāvīro santacitto samāhito
17. Pubbenivāsaññaṃ ca dibbacakkhuñ ca
cakkhumā
Sammāsanto mahāñāni tayo yāme atik-
kami.
18. Tattha pacchimayāmasmiṃ paccayākāram
uttamaṃ
Anulomapaṭilomam manasākāsi sīrindharo
19. Sabbaññūtaṃ ñāṇavaraṃ sambujjhivā
mahāmuni
Buddho ti dhammabuddhattā samaññā pa-
ṭhamaṃ ahu.
20. Bujjhivā sabbadhammānaṃ udānaṃ kat-
vā pabhaṅkaro
Tatth 'eva pallaṅkavare sattāhaṃ vitinā-
mayi.
21. Samitasabbasantāpo katakicco anāsavo
Udaggo sumano haṭṭho vicinteti bahurū-
hitāṃ.

The Eye-endowed was born in Tusita,
That city where in beauty and the Ten
Additions he surpassed the other gods,
Who from the myriad universes came
Entreating, till he longed for Buddhahood.

The Paragon his observations five
Marked, and departing Tusita was born
In Sakiyan line. For thirty years save one
In home he dwelt, the Lord of glory; thence
He went a monk, resolved. In his desire
For highest wisdom he put forth his strength
In hard ascetic practices; he sate,
Tathagata, beneath the Goatherd tree
And taking pulse went toward Nerañjara;
Upon its banks the Conqueror ate pulse
And by the high prepared path he passed
Toward wisdom's centre; there the factors four
Of truth establishing he sate enthroned,
Captain and bull of men on the bull-seat,
Unshaking, firm, immovable; he sate
Beneath the king of trees, the lord of men,
Nor trembled, fearless as a lion maned,
'Fore Mara and his hosts; whose engines fell
He brake, affrighting them; victorious, calm
And rapt in contemplation all that night's
Three watches he, the keen-eyed hero, scanned
The lore of former births and sights occult;
Then comprehended, in the latest watch,
Backward and forward all the causal chain
(O glorious Sage!), and knew omniscience,
Divinest knowledge, Buddhahood. (Thereby
First rose the name of Buddha). There enthroned
Seven days he tarried voicing prophecy
Inspired, the Light-giver, all duties done,
All fever cooled, and free from poison-drugs,
In rapture jubilant, meditating weal.

22. Tibhuvanādiccapavaradhammarājā ti vis-
suto
Rājā āsi mahāpañño saddhammasavane
rato.
23. Rajjam dhammena kārento so samena
narādhipo
Buddhuppādakhaṇo nāma lokasmin at-
dullabho.
24. Manussesūpapatti ca saddhammasavanam
pi ca
Cintayitvāna evan tu yoniso varabuddhi-
mā.
25. Uddisetvāna Buddhassa Gotamassa mahe-
sino
Manoramam gandhakuṭim patitthāpesi
'mam subham
26. Cetiyeḥi anekehi devarūpehi cāpitaṁ
Saṁhānavatam uccena paṭhavyā ugga-
tam viya
27. Tāyanto lokanāthassa varapaññassa sat-
thuno
Pañcanimmalacakkhussa bimbam vimha-
yam āvahan
28. Siriyā sobhamānam ca dassanīyam mano-
ramam
Sajjvam Buddhaseṭṭham va kārāpesi guṇā-
layo
29. Kārāpetvā likhāpetvā Piṭakattayam utta-
mam
Ticivarehi 'nekehi acchādetvāna bhikkhavo
30. Bhojāpetvā sahatthehi vipasanno guhā-
maye
Buddhabhāvāya āsatto panidhānam udi-
rayi:—
31. Yathā aham mahāsatto pūritvā dasapā-
rami
Pāpuṇitvāna sambodhim satte moci bān-
dhanā
32. Anāgate tathāham pi pūrinto dasapārami
Pāpuṇitvāna sambodhim satte moci bān-
dhanā
33. Pattasabbaññutañño dhammagambhī-
ratam jino
Nisāmetvāna desetum nirussāham upāgato
34. Cakkavāḷasahashehi dasah 'āgamma yācito
Brahmāmarehi nekehi sādarehi guṇākaro
35. Timsayojanikam maggam gamtvā nātula-
vikkamo

There was a king most wise, the lord of men,
Who loved the hearing of good Law; his name
Tibhuvanadiccapavaradhammaraja.
This just and righteous ruler of the land
Bethought him: "Rarely, rarely in this world
Are Buddhas born: and to be born a man
Is hard; and hard to hear the Buddha's Law."
So truly wise with best intelligence
He ordered: "Make a pleasing lovely room,
A fragrant chamber for the mighty sage
Gotama Buddha. On a platform high
Exalt it, and adorn with *cetiya*s
And images of spirits." This great king
Abode of virtue, ordered to be made
(Most like the noble Buddha while he lived)
An image glorious-wonderful and fair
Of the world's Lord, the Teacher, whose five eyes
Might never wink,—so purely wise was he.
Thereafter the three peerless Pitakas
He copied; clad the monks with many a set
Of triple robes, and with his royal hands,
What time the *gu* was dedicated, fain
He fed them, cheerfully; then cried aloud
In strong desire for Buddhahood this prayer:—

"As this great Being hath fulfilled the Ten
Perfections and attained omniscience,
Releasing all from bondage; so may I
Fulfil the Ten Perfections and attain
Omniscience and loose the bonds of all.

This Conqueror, having plumbed the deeps of
Law
And reached omniscience, durst not publish it
Till from the myriad universes came
Suppliant brahmas and immortals, sore
Entreating him; who hearkened—Virtue's mine!
Indued with valour beyond weight!—and came.

- Patvesipatanam ramman dijasanghanise-
vitam.
36. Pañcavaggiyatherānam dhammacakkappa-
vattanam
Desayitvāna pāpesi brahmāmaragaṇam
saha.
37. Aññakoṇḍaññatherena nibbānapadam utta-
man
Tathevāham pi deseyyam dhammacakka-
pavattanam
38. Yamakapāṭihīriyaññāne thatvā Tathāgato
Akāsi buddhavisayam iddhiṃ neka-
vidham
hi so.
39. Satthu kāyā samabbhūtā nilā pītā ca lohita
Odātā saha mañcetthā sapabhassaranā-
makā
40. Ādhāvanti vidhāvanti vipphuranti param-
parā
Jotayanti disā sabbā chabbaññā raṃsiyo
brahā
41. Buddhā mayam ti maññante titthiye neka-
laddhike
Saggamokkhatthā p'ete rittamuṭṭhi va
tucchake
42. Pāpente caturāpāye gāhetvā laddhim at-
tano
Nibbāne natthike satte vañcetvāna ane-
kathā
43. Disvā dayāya sattesu samussāhitamānaso
Cakkavālehi nekehi ānetvā merupabbate
44. Iddhayā puna te sabbe tthapetvā paṭipāṭiyā
Māpetvā matthake tesam seṭṭham ratana-
caṅkaman
45. Caṅkamanto tahiṃ nātho tosayanto mahā-
janam
Pāṭihīram nidassesi dasseyya 'ham pi tam
tathā
46. Pāṭihīram nidassetvā gamtvāna tidasā-
layan
Pāricchattakamūlamhi paṇḍukampalanā-
make
47. Jalanto buddharasīhi nisīditvā silātale
Pāyanto amataṃ pānam devabrahmagāṇe
bahū
48. Dhammam desayi devānam sakkhiṃ kat-
vāna mātaram
Tathevāham pi deseyyam tam dhammam
atidullabham
49. Sinerumuddhani Buddhō tthito tattha
mahāyaso
Lokavivarāṇam nāma pāṭiheram akārayi

A space of thirty *yojanas*, by road
To sweet Isipatana, the resort
Of all the twice-born; there to Elders Five
He taught the turning of the wheel of Law,
And brahmas and immortals, all that host,
With the elder Aññakoṇḍañña he caused
To reach Nirvana, matchless path.—So I
Would teach the turning of the wheel of Law.

The working of twin miracles he knew
And dealt in divers magic meet for Lords;
For from the Master's body forth there came
Blue-green and yellow and red and white and
brown
And dazzling rays, six coloured rays that ran
Straight, thwart, by fits, or flashed all ways at
once.

Certain schismatic heretics who deemed
'We are the Buddhas,' who had left the path
Of liberty to heaven, and for their schism
Obnoxious stood to the four hells—vain souls,
Vain as this empty handful!—cheating men
Always, and called Nirvana nothingness—
He saw and pitying brought them from all worlds
To Mt. Mēru, and ranging in one row
By magic power upon their heads he built
A jewelled path where to and fro he walked
Delighting all, and shewed his miracle.—
Such miracles may I have power to shew.

Thereafter to the seat of Thirty Three
Repairing, radiant Buddha, on the rock
Called Pandukampala he sate him down
Hard by the foot of Paricchattaka,
And gave ambrosial liquor to the hosts
Of many spirits and brahmas; these he taught
Within his mother's audience the Law.—
So would I teach that Law inscrutable.

There on the summit of Sineru stood
In pomp the Buddha and by power divine

50. Tathevāhaṃ tattha ʔhito pāṭiheraṃ maha-
bbhūtaṃ
Lokavivaraṇaṃ nāma kareyyaṃ taṃ anā-
gate
51. Dhammaṃ desiya devānaṃ tāvatimsā
mahītaṃ
Otaritvā pi sattānaṃ dhammaṃ desiya
nekathā
52. Bakādiḱe ca brahmāno yakkhe cālāva-
kādiḱe
Deve sakkādayo ceva sucilomādi rakkhase.
53. Jāṇussoṇādiḱe neke brahmaṇe cāpi kak-
khaḱe
Cūḱodārādiḱe nāge Dhanapālādiḱe gaje.
54. Buddhā mayāṃ ti maññaṇte aneke titthiḱe
pi ca
Damesi 'nuttare dhamme bhaveyyaṃ tā-
diso ahaṃ
55. Asādhāraṇāṇehi chahi yutto Tathāgato
Paṇcāḱikkāni sādhesi bhaveyyaṃ tādiso
ahaṃ
56. Dharaṇi viya silena himavā va samādhinā
Ākāso viya paññaṇa asaṅgo anilo yathā.
57. Esa khīṇāsavo Buddhho anagho tiṇṇasaṃ-
sayo
Sabbakammakkhayaṃ patto vimutto pa-
dhi saṅkhaṇe.
58. Danto sayāṃ dametā ca sametā nibbuto isi
Nibbāpetā ca āsatto assāsetā mahājānaṃ.
59. Āsāyo buddhimantānaṃ puññaḱammo
sukkesiṇaṃ
Anāgāro mahāvīro bhaveyyaṃ tādiso
ahaṃ
60. Durāsado duppasaho acalo uggato brahā
Anantaṇṇo asamasamo sabbāṃ tamavi-
nodano,
61. Anubyañjanaṣampanno battimsavaralak-
khaṇo
Byāmapabbhāparikkhitto ketumālābhilaṇ-
kato.
62. Upeto buddhadhammehi aṭṭharasahi nā-
yako
Catusaccadaso nātho buddhaṇṇehi cud-
dasa.
63. Rāgo doso ca moḱo ca viṣā sabbe samū-
hatā
Akatūpamo mahāvīro bhaveyyaṃ tādiso
ahaṃ
64. Sukhumacchikena jālena udakaṃ yo parik-
khiḱe
Ye kecī udake pāṇā antojāligatā siyuraṃ

Flung ope the world.—There standing, so would I
Do marvels and fling open wide the world.

Descending earthward after spirits taught,
He taught the creatures of our earth the Law
In divers ways; by matchless Law he tamed
Cranes, brahmas, *alavaka yakkhas*, sprites,
Sakka, and white-haired *rakkhasa*, and brutes,
Bitch-knee, and other rugged brahmins, snakes,
Culodara and all, the elephant
Hight Dhanapala, and many heretics
Who thought 'We are the Buddhas.'—So would I.

Thus the Tathagata who bare the yoke
Of six uncommon knowledges discharged
His functions five.—So also fain would I.

In virtue sure as earth, in fixity
As Himava, in wisdom as the heaven,
Unfettered as the wind, our Lord is purged
Of poison-drugs and sinless; far beyond
All doubt emerging, all his karma done,
By death of all his elements set free.
He tameth others, for himself is tamed;
He calmeth others, for himself is calm;
Comforteth all unweariedly. The wise
Rest on him as a prop, and they who seek
Happiness find their benefit in him.
Hero without a home!—Would I were he!

Hard to approach, hard to excel, the Lord
Immoveable and towering, infinite
In wisdom, sole, dispeller of the dark;
His lesser marks and two and thirty signs
Decked with a halo, with a glory girt
One fathom deep; our general indued
With eighteen virtues of a Buddha, lord
Of all his fourteen knowledges, the seer
Of the four truths;—He hath uprooted all
The poisons, lust and hate and misconceit.
Hero incomparable!—Would I were he!

As when a fisherman with subtil net
Encompasseth a water, all things found
Within that water needs must enter in;

65. Tath'eva pāpakamantā ye keci puthu
titthiyā
Titthigahaṇapakkhannā paramāsenā mohi-
tā
66. Suddhena buddhañāṇena anāvaraṇadas-
sinā
Antojāligatā ete ñāṇam tassānatikkamurū
67. Yena ñāṇena pattāsi kevalam bodhim
uttamāṇ
Tena ñāṇena so nātho maddati paratitthiye
68. Yath' aṇḍajā ca saṁsedā opapātajalāpujā
Kākādi pakkhino sabbe antalikkhapade-
sago
69. Ye keci pāṇabhūt'atthi saññino vā asaññino
Sabbe te tassa ñāṇamhi anto honti samo-
gadhā.
70. Mohandhakārapakkhanno ayam loko sa-
devako
Tassa ñāṇamhi jotante andhakārā vidham-
sitā
71. Yathodayanto ādicco vinodeti tamāṇ sadā
Tath' eva so Buddhasetho viddhamseti
tamāṇ sadā
72. Yath' eva Buddho varadammasārathi
Satthā ahu devamanussapūjito
Tath'eva'haṇ devamanussapūjito
Buddho bhavyeyyaṇ varadammasārathi
73. Dānena iminā mayhaṇ yam setthaṇ
pasutaṇ mayā
Puññaṇ anupamaṇ loke sabbasattahitā-
vahaṇ
74. Puññaṇena tena vipulen' idha vā hurāṇ vā
Na devabrahmasuramāravibhūtiyo vā
Sabbā pi siddhinararājāvibhūtiyo vā
Pathem; n'eva jinasāvabhūmiyo vā
75. Saṁsārasotaṇ chinditvā setuṇ katvāna
santanurū
Santāretvā janāṇ sabbam pāpeyyurū
puram uttamaṇ
76. Tinno'han tāraye vūlhaṇ danto ca damaye
sahaṇ
Assattho sāsaye bhirurū suttaṇ Buddho
pabodhaye
77. Ādittasamaye santo bandhaṇ mutto pamo-
caye
Nibbuto samaye dosaṇ saddhammeḥi
purakkhato
78. Attāṇi mūlasaṁbhūtā dhammā akusalā
tayo

So many heretics, ill-doers, who leapt
Into the shoal of heresy beguiled
By specious handling, were encompassed round
With the pure Buddha's vision and clean eyes
And might not pass beyond. That vision sure
Whereby he reached the height of wisdom, hem-
med
Opposing heretics; all living things
Egg-born or vapour-born or aqueous, ghosts,
Crows, and all winged fowl which cross the sky,
All things both conscious and unconscious passed
Within that net, within that wisdom plunged.
The world of spirits and our world had leapt
To night and error; but that wisdom shone
And night is scattered. As the rising sun
Dispelleth darkness ever, so doth he,
Our best, the Buddha, Teacher, Charioteer,
Tamer of men, by men and spirits adored.—
Would I were such a Buddha, Charioteer,
Tamer of men, by men and spirits adored.

By this my gift, whatever boon I seek,
It is the best of boons, to profit all;
By this abundant merit I desire
Here nor hereafter no angelic pomp
Of Brahmas, Suras, Maras; nor the state
And splendours of a monarch; nay, not even
To be the pupil of the Conqueror.
But I would build a causeway sheer athwart
The river of Samsara, and all folk
Would speed across thereby until they reach
The Blessed City. I myself would cross
And drag the drowning over. Ay, myself
Tamed, I would tame the wilful; comforted,
Comfort the timid; wakened, wake the asleep;
Cool, cool the burning; freed, set free the bound.
Tranquil and led by the good doctrines I
Would hatred calm. The three immoral states,

- Lobho doso ca moho ca jāta khiyantu me
sadā.
79. Ahimsanena uppanno bhogo me bohi thā-
varo
Māhu sādharmaṇo aggicorādīnaṃ bhava
bhava
80. Rūpe sadde rase gandhe phoṭṭhabbe ca
manorame
Apagacchatu me kāmacchando kusalasam-
bhavo.
81. Lokapālā ca ye dhammā vuttā ādicca
bandhunā
Hiri-ottappasamkhātā mā te chaddentu
maṃ sadā
82. Yathā bhoge cājivāna nikkhamiṃsu na-
ruttamā
Akitti-ādayo sabbe paṇḍitā atthadassino.
83. Tath' evāhaṃ bhava sabbam cājivā bhoga-
sampadam
Sāsane upagaccheyyaṃ sikkhittayapari-
ggahe.
84. Yaṃ sikkhāpadam paññattam hitakāmena
satthunā
Khuddānukhuddakam sabbam pūreyyam
tam anāgate.
85. Yathāpi cando vimalo gaccham ākāsadhā-
tuyā
Sabbe tāraṇe loke ābhāya atisobhati.
86. Tath' evāhaṃ arahato satthuno sāsane rato
Sīlādiguṇasamyutto sobheyyam sāva-
kantare.
87. Suttābhidhammavinayaṃ dhāreyyam sat-
thuno matam
Atthabyañjanasampannam navaṅgasatthu-
sāsanam
88. Attattham ca parattham ca sādheyyam
jinasāsane
Akattabbam ti yaṃ vuttam mā kareyyam
mahesinā
89. Kataññukatavedī ca bhavediyyam sabbadā
aham
Pāpamittehi samasaggo mā hotu satatam
mamā.
90. Disvāna jananādihi dukkhitam sanarāma-
ram
Lokam sañjāta-ussāho tāreyyam bhavasā-
garā.
91. Iminā katapuññena Mettayyam loka-
nāyakam
Battimsalakkaṇūpetam ketumālāvira-
jitam

Greed, hate, delusion, rooted all in self,
O may they die, whenever born in me!
Won not by oppression may my wealth remain
Nor yield to fire nor robbers, life by life.
Longings of sense for all delicious things,
Sounds, sights, and touches, odours, relishes,
Pregnant of immorality, begone!
May sense of shame, fear of reproach (declared
By the Sun's kinsman Guardians of the world)
Cover me alway! As the best of men
Forsaking worldly wealth and worthless fame
Fled, for he saw their meaning—so would I
All worldly wealth forsaking draw me near
Religion and the threefold course ensue.

I would fulfil hereafter, great and small,
Those rules the Teacher gave for our behoof.
Borne through the element the spotless moon
Outdazzles all the constellated stars:
So I delighting in the Master's lore,
The saint's religion, virtuously yoked,
Would shine among disciples. I would know
Sutta, and Abhidhamma, Vinaya,
The Master's mind, his ninefold doctrine fraught
With words and meaning. By the Conqueror's
Law

I would do good to others and myself.
What the Great Sage forbids I would not do.
May I be alway conscious and aware
Of kindness done me. Union of ill friends
Be far from me. Beholding man's distress
I would put forth mine energies and save
Men, spirits, worlds, from seas of endless change.

By merit of this act I would behold
Mettayya, captain of the world, endued
With two and thirty emblems, where he walks

92. Sobhitam indacāpehi merurājam va
caṅkamarā
Dharmadesanāya mocentam satte sam-
sārabandhanā
93. Disvā sutvāna saddhammam asaṅgha
lokanāyakaṁ
Sakkaccaṁ pūjayitvāna paccayehi catūhi
taṁ.
94. Upeto aṭṭhadhammehi byākato tena sa-
tthunā
Majjhe devamanussānaṁ buddhatthāya
bhavyeṃ haṁ
95. Guṇehi 'nekehi yathā tathāgato
Virocati devamanussapūjito
Tath' eva' haṁ devamanussapūjito
Guṇehi 'nekehi virocayeyyaṁ.
96. Samāsārabandhanā satte catuvisatisaṅkhaye
Mocento tiṭṭhāpetvāna buddhakkiccaṁ ase-
sato.
97. Dhammakhandhasahassāni caturāsīti sab-
baso
Desitvāna hitatthāya sattānaṁ ca anāgate.
98. Aggikkhandho va lokasmiṁ jaletvāna sa-
sāvako
Sabbasaṅkhatadhammānaṁ pakāsento ani-
ccataṁ
99. Niccasaññaṁ ca nāsento bālānaṁ avijā-
natam
Ajaṇaṁ amaraṁ khemaṁ nibbānapūraṁ
uttamaṁ
100. Pāpuṇittha tathāhaṁ pi buddhakkiccaṁ
samāpiya
Pāpuṇeyyaṁ puraṁ taṁ va accantasukha-
dāyakaṁ ti.
- Enhanced on a rainbow pathway fair
Like Mèru King of mountains, and sets free
Samsara's captives by his holy words.
There might I hear good Law, and bending low
Offer the four things needful to the Lord
And all his monks, till clad in virtues eight,
Informed by such a Teacher, I become
A Buddha in the eyes of spirits and men.
- Tathagata by men and spirits adored
Shines bright in virtues manifold; so I
Would shine and be by men and spirits adored.
- The twenty four infinities he saved
From bondage of Samsara, compassed all
A Buddha's duties, mercifully taught
The fourscore and four thousand points of Law
For good of all hereafter, blazed abroad
With his disciples like a ball of fire,
Set forth the transience of conditioned things,
Wrecking the notion of dull fools who deemed
'All things are stable,' and at last attained
The city of Nirvana, safe retreat
Where is not age nor death.—O might I thus
Compass a Buddha's duties and attain
That city lavish of abounding bliss!"

This is the stone inscription of the king
Siritibhuvanadiccapavaradhammaraja
Brave, thoughtful, keen, and prudent, who ensues
The elements of wisdom, the Three Gems
Adores, and seeks Nirvana. He began
On Sunday the fourth waxing of Kason
In the five hundred and third year to build
At an auspicious moment. That same year
On Thursday eleventh waning of Nadaw
'Twas done, with effigies of guardian spirits.*

* The Pali text of the conclusion had been missed out from our original transcription and could not be inserted here for want of time.

NOTES AND REVIEWS.

LACQUER WARE CALLED "YUN."

Mr. A. P. Morris' interesting lecture on lacquer ware industry of Burma is reproduced at pages 1—13 of the Journal of the Burma Research Society for April 1919.

A persual of it will convince one that the lecturer has made an extensive enquiry to ascertain the derivation and meaning of the words "YUN" (ယုန်), "YUN-IT" (ယုန်အိတ်), the origin of the Pagan ware called "YUN," and the period during which it was first introduced in Pagan. In conclusion he says that the suggestions given by the Pagan lacquer workers of the Shan States agree with the general opinion from Siam that the word "YUN" is merely the Shan name of the Laos, and indicates that the craft had its origin among those people. He is, however, unable to ascertain the derivation of the word "IT." I quite agree with him that the "YUN" work of Pagan had its origin in a Shan State called "YUN," but with due respect to him, I cannot agree with him that the word "YUN" is merely the Shan name of the Laos; for there is a distinct race of the Shan called "YUN," though some of them may now be found in Laos, and the word "YUN" is derived from Pali word "ယောန" or "ယာန" (Yona or Yavana) with the final "န" having been killed. The vowel "ဩ" and the syllable "အ" are interchangeable according to the Rule of the Pali Grammar "ဩအထာယ."

The ancient countries of Shans situate to the East of Burma were given Pali names which were borrowed from the names of the ancient countries situate in and about India.

The Siamese country is called ယိုဒှာ (Yodya) by the Burmans and ယောဒှာ (Dyodya) by the Mons or Talaiings. These names are nothing but the words corrupted from Pali ယောဃာ (A-

yudaya) which means unconquerable country. The Modern Oudh in India was known as Ayodhya in ancient times.

The name of the country now known as Cambodia is also a corrupted Pali word "ကမ္ဘောဇ" (Kamboza).

That part of the country which is to the North of Siam was in ancient times called ယောန (Yona) or ယောနာ (Yonaka) in Pali. This name is borrowed from that of the country of Baktrian Greeks in which King Milinda (Menander of the Greeks) once reigned.

Yona or Yonaka is one of those nine countries to which Buddhist Missionaries were sent out from Pataliputra to spread Buddhist religion during the reign of King Asoka. That is the reason why some Burmans who do not know the Geography of India and the adjoining countries and their Histories are still under the misapprehension that King Milinda (မိလိန္ဒ) was a Yun Shan and the famous book called Milinda Panhnya (မိလိန္ဒပဏှာ) was produced in the Shan country.

I cannot find any old records which define the boundaries of the ancient Yun Country, but I think that that ancient country comprised the modern Yunan and Chiengmai (Burmese Zinme ဇိမ်းမိတ်) for the following reasons:—

(a) The word "Yunan" is also derived probably from the Pali word "Yona," as the Pali vowels ဦ and ဩ (U and O) are interchangeable, and the Burmese History called Hmannan Maha Razawin identifies the ancient Yona Country to be Yunan.

(b) In a book named Shwe-bon-Nidan (ရွှေဘုံနိဗ္ဗာန်) the King of Zinme is called Yun King.

The book says that when Shwe-si-gon pagoda had been built at Pin-Ya (ပိန်ယာ) by King Pin-ya-

Tazi-Shin (တေးသီရှင်), four Kings of foreign countries, namely the Yun King (ယွန်းမင်း) of Zinme, the Gywam King (ဂွမ်းမင်း) who ruled the Ayodhya Country (Siam), the King of Arakan, and the Linzin King who ruled the Lawa Country (Laos), visited Pin-Ya, and then these four Kings and King Pin-Ya-Tazi-Shin celebrated the pagoda festival together.

It is said further that the four distinguished visitors then built one Pagoda each named respectively Nandagiri (နန္ဒာဂီရိ) Sandagiri (စန္ဒာဂီရိ) Ratanagiri (ရတနာဂီရိ) and Sandagiri-muni (စန္ဒာဂီရိမုနိ) at Pin-Ya before they returned to their respective countries. The author of the book then quoted as his authority a portion of the ancient poem written on the subject as follows:

“ရှေ့ပွန်းမည်သည်။ ဂွမ်းပြည်ဦးကိုင်။ ရခိုင်လင်းစင်း။ နိုင်နန်းသား။ ယင်းယဉ်မှာ။ ဌာပနာသည်။ မန္တဝါရီ။ မုနိမီးချာ။ ဘုန်းတောက်ပြာသည်။ စန္ဒာဂီရိ။ လှည့်ဝကြာ။ ထိန်ထိန်ဝါသည်။ ရတနာဂီရိ။ ခေါင်ထိသော့။ သိထွေလာသည်။ စန္ဒာဂီရိ။ မုနိရုပ်တူ။”

From this it is clear that the Lawa country and the Yun country are quite separate, and that being so, the inhabitants of Lawa cannot be called Yuns, and consequently it cannot be correct to say that the word “YUN” is merely the Shan name of the Laos.

The modern Zinme (Chienhmai) appears to have been known by different names in different periods; for it was also called ဟရိဘုဒ္ဓ (Haribonza) in Shwebon-Nidan. It is also called သုဗ္ဗဘူမိ (Suvanna Bumi) in the History of King Shinbyu Shin of Hanthawaddy.

2. Regarding the derivation of the Burmese word “အိ” I should say that it is derived from the Yun Shan word “Ep” (အက်ပ်). I do not know Yun Shan personally, but I have ascertained this by making enquiry from the Shans who admit themselves to be Yun Shans and others who know the language.

3. Now that the true derivation of the words “ယွန်း” and “အိ” has been ascertained, the meaning of the Burmese words “ယွန်းအိ” and “ကွန်းအိ” becomes by themselves clear. The former means the cylindrical box of ornamental lacquer work that was originated in the Yun Country, and that the latter means betel box.

3. Now comes the question as to when the lacquer industry called “YUN” was first introduced in Pagan. According to the information

given to Mr. Morris by U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M., S.D.O. of Pagan, the industry was brought from the Yun State to Thaton and thence reached Pagan in 1058 A.D. I think he means to say that King Anorata introduced the industry in Pagan after his conquest of Thaton.

I have reasons to doubt that the Yun industry reached Pagan so early.

Thaton is not far away from Chiangmai (ancient Yona) and there is an inland trade route between the two countries. It is therefore quite possible that the articles of Yun work were exported from the Yun State to Thaton for sale even in very early days; but there is no record to show that the artists who were skilled in the Yun work were ever brought from the Yun State to Thaton.

Thaton was a country of Mons or Talaing.

It appears the Mons knew how to make a betel box of lacquer work long ago; for they have its name in their own language. They called betel box ခုဒ္ဒါ-ဇု (Pronounced Khadah-Jabalu).

If the betel box had been an imported article, the Mons also should have borrowed its name from the language of the foreigners who made it.

The Mon betel box, however, appears to be of a plain lacquer work, and not of an ornamental work like Yun work.

The Talaings never conquered the Yun State and so they could not have been able to bring the Yun workers from their country to Thaton. That being the case King Anorata could not have been able to take away Yun workers from Thaton to Pagan in the 11th century A.D. The Burmese and Talaing Histories do not say that King Anorata took away any Yun workers from Thaton. Even the names “ယွန်းအိ” and “ကွန်းအိ” are not to be found in the books on the Burmese History. From this it is presumable that betel box was first used by the people of Burma proper not long ago.

In the year 617 B.E. (1255 A.D.) Raza-Thin-Kyan a famous Burmese minister of Pagan used a wooden salver called “ပန်းကပ်” (Pankap) as his vessel for betel. Here the word “ပန်း” is Burmese and should not be mistaken for Hindustani word “Pan” which means betel. An ornamental word is called “ပန်း” in Burmese. The wooden salver is a vessel of ornamental design which is done by turning on a lathe. A turner is therefore

called “ပန်ပုတ်ထာမာ” (Pan-put-thama) in Burmese. The word “ပန်” in ပန်ပုတ်ထာမာ, etc., has the same meaning.

Later on during the reign of King Mingaung of Ava (1401-1492 A. D.) the wooden salver was still used as a receptacle for betel, and it was then called “ကွမ်ကျပ်” (Kwankyap) Afterwards the name Kwankyap “ကွမ်ကျပ်” was changed into “ကွမ်ကလပ်” Kwam Kalap. It may be noted that “ဝ” and “လ” are interchangeable.

A tiger is called “ကျား” (Kya) in Burmese and ကွ (Kla) in Talaing.

The History of King Shin-byu-Shin of Hanthawaddy shows that in 919 B. E. (1557 A. D.) Shin-byu-Shin invaded Zinme and conquered it and that the King of Zinme then became his vassal and had to send him annually as a tribute, elephants, ponies “ကွမ်ကျပ်” (Kwankyap) “ယွန်” (Yun-lu), etc.,—From this it is clear that Yun work was being manufactured at Zinme at the time.

In 926 B. E. (1564 A. D.) the king of Zinme rebelled against King Shin-byu-Shin of Hanthawaddy. The latter therefore had to march his army again to Zinme and put down the rebellion. At that time, Shin-byu-Shin took the King of Zinme and his ministers captive to Hanthawaddy

and at the same time he took away from Zinme many artists, including makers of lacquer ware called “သစ်ထာမာ” (Thitse-thama) and other classes of Shans numbering 40,000 to Hanthawaddy.

King Shin-byu-Shin was the only King of Burma who could completely conquer Chiengmai, Linzin, Laos, and Siam and brought the artists from these countries to Burma. That being the case, it seems clear that the Yun industry was first introduced in Burma only in 1564 A. D., and so the industry must have reached Pagan only at a later period.

Mr. Morris says that a tube lacquer work dated 1274 A. D. was discovered in the Mingala Pagoda at Pagan. When I visited Pagan last year U Tin kindly showed this to me in the museum there. It is a Kyûp (ကျွပ်) a circular case of teak, which has been painted with Thitsi and yellow Ochre. It is a plain work and not a Yun work. This kind of plain lacquer work of wood must have been known to the Burmans much earlier. Daunglan, Byat, Kalap, Kwet, Ok, etc., which are plain lacquer ware have been used by the Burmans from time immemorial. One cannot say when the Burmans began to know this industry.

KYAW DUN.

THE HISTORY OF OLD MYAUNGMYA.

The following account was taken down from the lips of an old resident of Myaungmya, called U Shwe It, by U Kyaw, the Subdivisional officer, at my instance. U Shwe It states that he memorized it from a palm-leaf document in possession of his master U Pe. This palm-leaf was destroyed in a fire fifteen years ago.

I have had the opportunity of checking the principal events of this account with a chronicle in the possession of Mr. Furnivall. The two largely agree and the present rendering may be regarded as an amplification. Besides the historical value of the story as representing the traditional history of old Myaungmya, it is worth preserving as a thoroughly good tale, coloured, complete and of a strong Burmese flavour.

“In about the year 745 B. E. the Talaing King, Rajadrit, son of Byin-nya U, ascended the throne of Pegu. Making a progress through his Kingdom, he came to Taik-kala, of which place he appointed governor Nga Thalon Ngé, a man of Pegu- Chaung-pya, and gave him the style, La-gun-Ein. Now on his progress he reached the mouth of the Daga Chaung with his Captain Pyat Sa and with Yan Aung, U Ba Gaung, Byin-nya Gyaw, Thamein Thatut and La-gun Ein, ministers. Depending upon these, he launched an attack by river against the Panthays of Bassein. Thrice he was worsted, but now the fourth time, taking council of La-gun Ein, he drove huge wooden pillars into the bed of the river and overthrew the Panthay Power. With that, he came up to Bassein and took possession of the City.

Continuing again his progress, he sailed to Myaungmya, which at that time the daughter of the King of the Panthays, Princess Ommadani, was building. King Rajadrit was pleased with the site of the town and gave moneys for the palace, the wall and the moat, so that the work was finished. Whereupon he desired to know of any who would undertake the government of the same, but no one of his ministers was content to remain at Myaungmya, so that he appointed Nga Lauk Pya, an old servant of his palace, to be governor and his brother, Nga Lauk Yon, minister. Whenafter he returned to Pegu.

Now Nga Lauk Pya and Nga Lauk Yon went year by year to pay tribute to the king, but after the third year, when they came no more, the king sent a royal messenger to ask why they failed. To him Nga Lauk Pya replied:

'In this world a king of land and sea is called Lawka-Thamudi Nat. But in the six heavens above the earth the Nats are content with those pleasures which they can attain by means of their power. For it is not customary for the Nats of Tawadeintha to pay tribute to those of Rama, nor again do those of Rama pay to the Nats of Tokthida. Wherefore on this earth thou and I being Lawka-thamudi Nats, why should we not abide by the laws of the Nats of heaven nor expect tribute one from the other?'

Now when the king heard these words, he was much enraged and commanded that Nga Lauk Pya, the ungrateful servant, be taken captive. But Yan Naung and U Ba Gaung, his ministers, said: 'Because Nga Lauk Pya is a Governor, it is not fitting to send any one of us. Let the King himself go against him.'

The king therefore marched with horse and foot to Kontha, which is over against Myaungmya, and from thence sent this message to Nga Lauk Pya:

'I have been forced to come hither, because Nga Lauk Pya has betrayed his trust. Will he yield or will he engage?'

To which Nga Lauk Pya replied: 'I will not yield. Yet though we must settle this by arms. I would not jeopardize the lives of my people. Come out therefore against me alone, for this matter lies between us only.'

The king then mounted his elephant and went out to meet Nga Lauk Pya; and he sitting his

elephant, Hauk-gyi, given him of old by the king, met Rajadrit at the gate called Thitpok. But from its youth the king's elephant had feared Hauk-gyi, and when they were side by side, it lost heart, and Hauk-gyi pressed it against the gate. Then Nga Lauk Pya thought to draw his sword and cut down the king, but the sword remained fast in the scabbard and would not come out; wherefore he struck him on the forehead with his riding prong and drew blood. With great difficulty the king disengaged his elephant and withdrew.

Byinnya Gyaw and Thamein Thatut, his ministers, then pressed to be permitted to take his place, saying that Nga Lauk Pya, an ungrateful servant, was no fit adversary for the king. But he refused, thanking them, and said:

'It is of no moment; I shall capture the fellow alive in this encounter. My elephant has been afraid of Hauk-gyi from youth. Take him away therefore and bring in Shit-kaing.' So they brought in Shit-kaing and the king through the keeper gave his royal order to the elephant and mounting upon it, again set out against Nga Lauk Pya. But Shit-kaing had no fear of Hauk-gyi and charged with great fury. As they passed in full career, the king caught Nga Lauk Pya by the hair and brought him away alive, as he had said. So he came back to his ministers and delivered Nga Lauk Pya to them, and the army returned to Kontha.

Then the king called Nga Lauk Pya and said: 'Why did this slave rebel against his master?'

But Nga Lauk Pya made no answer.

Then the king said:

'Thou art an old servant, but untrustworthy, I will spare thee but thou shalt serve before me at Pegu.'

But Nga Lauk Pya, knowing that the king would not spare him, said: 'Kill me now!'

The king refused and took him to Pegu. And before his departure, Rajadrit destroyed the whole city of Myaungmya by fire, for it was a rebellious city, and he gave orders thrice that no one should build it again. And for that sin of rebellion he cropped the ears and tail of Hauk-gyi and drove him away to the hills that never again could he be a royal elephant.

When king Rajadrit entered his capital he put Nga Lauk Pya to death. M. S. COLLIS.

ALAUNGSITHU *versus* NARAPATISITHU

I must thank the Editor for his kindly review of my contributions to the Report of the Archaeological Survey for 1919, in the number of this Journal for April 1920. On one point, however, he does not see eye to eye with me. I say in the Report (beginning of p. 22), that "inscriptions never call Alaungsithu by this name." This sentence, as here written, and torn from its context, can quite naturally be construed as Maung Tin himself, after isolating it, construes it, that is, that in no inscriptions whatever, is the name Alaungsithu to be found. But if the same sentence is read, as it ought to be, in connection with the few lines which follow it, it becomes, I think, quite clear that it means Alaungsithu is not called by this name in the inscriptions engraved during his lifetime. This is quite a different matter; and the fact remains that this king is unknown by this name in his inscriptions, which does not, *ipso facto*, mean that such is the case in inscriptions engraved *after* him. Having read the above quoted sentence and construed it apart from its context, Maung Tin was naturally surprised at the statement, the more so as he thought he had come across an inscription bearing a date which falls within the reign of that king and also the name "Alaungsithu." This inscription, as the Editor tells us, is found on page 37 of the volume of Original Inscriptions. But here again, Maung Tin has misread; the inscription was not engraved in Sakkarāj 527=1165 A. D., but in Sakkarāj 686=1324 A. D., that is, 159 years later, as may be seen from the last date in the inscription. It cannot be classed, therefore, among the documents of king Alaungsithu, and does not belong properly to Alaungsithu; ⁽¹⁾ another important point will also show this: the language. To anyone somewhat acquainted with

the language of the inscriptions and its gradual development from the XIth. century upwards, it will be readily evident that the language of the document cited by Maung Tin does not belong to the phase of the language current in Alaungsithu's reign; neither does the orthography. Shortly, this document is the recast made in A.D. 1324 or more probably after 1342, ⁽²⁾ of an original one dated A.D. 1165; and it is not a rigorously exact copy, since the language is not what we should expect in a document of that date. That, as we have it now, it is only a recast, is clear also from the way in which the king is mentioned; it is most improbable that, during the king's lifetime, he should be described shortly and drily as "Alaungsithu" in an official document; it would have been a gross error in courtly etiquette and one fraught with danger to the perpetrator. I was perfectly aware of the existence of this document, as well as of a good number of others of the same character referring to the same king, when I wrote, in the Annual Report, the passage criticized by Maung Tin, for I had already been working for some time at the List of Inscriptions now going through the press.

Inscriptions such as the one just discussed, that is, recasts of old documents, are numerous; they are particularly plentiful in the "Inscriptions copied by King Bodawpaya;" there are not a few in the "Original Inscriptions."⁽²⁾ In many cases these and the other volumes—but in a much lesser degree the volume of Inscriptions found at Pagan, Panya and Ava—must be consulted with care, discrimination, and some criticism, under the penalty of falling into very regrettable mistakes and misleading statements.⁽³⁾ Some of these recasts look, on the face of them, as if they were original documents; these recasts

(1). But it is even later than this; for there is mention made of Sin-byū-Ngā-zī-shin, of Panya, who ascended the throne about 1342 A. D. The inscription is not whole; the lower part is missing. It is a collection, as we now have it, of seven documents ranging from 1150 A. D. to 1324 A. D. These are not verbatim and exact copies, because the original documents have been recast, though the text was closely adhered to; this is shewn by the language, the spelling, the paleography; and, in the case cited, the very way in which the name "Alaungsithu" is used.

(2). They were called "Original" because they contain a percentage of the original documents which were copied in Bodawpaya's reign, the copies being placed in the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay. Those not thus copied, although they are often only recasts, are original in so much as they were not copied by Bodawpaya; their date is sometimes pretty early.

(3). Some explanations on the subject is given in the preface to the List of Inscriptions now in the press. Cf. also Annual Report for 1915, paragraph 68; and paragraph 29, of the Annual Report for 1920 (in the press).

are mostly faithful to the original; the misfortune is that often the dates have been misread.⁽⁴⁾ A good example will make this clear. Let us take the inscription on page 16 of the Original Inscriptions. The document here is dated (line 3) Sakkarāj 468=A. D. 1106; from the first line, it is clear that it belongs to Alaungsithu, since he is called there by his title of "Shwegu-Dāyagā"⁽⁴⁾. Now, to a person somewhat acquainted with Burmese history, it is manifest that this date of 1106 is impossible. Alaungsithu built the Shwegugyi temple after he had ascended the throne, and he succeeded Kyanzithā as king only in 1112; still, we might be in doubt did we not know the exact date of the foundation of the Shwegugyi; but according to the inscription still *in situ* in this temple, the Shwegugyi was completed in Sakkarāj 503=A. D. 1141.⁽⁵⁾ It is from this date only that Alaungsithu was designated as "Shwegugyi-Dāyagā" (=The Founder of Shwegugyi). The date of the inscription under discussion, A. D. 1106, is therefore absolutely wrong. What are we then to deduce? Simply this: that the document is a recast in which the original date has been misread, as is often the case. This example will show how easy it would be, for a person not on his guard or insufficiently versed in Burmese history, to impugn, on the strength of an inscription, a statement in some work or other, which he could not reconcile with this document.

I quite agree with Maung Tin that the Thwinthin Mahāsithu was a good scholar, and full of acumen. He is quite right (the Thwinthin) when he says in his history that Alaungsithu was called in inscriptions by the several names quoted by Maung Tin; they do not exhaust the list, for I could give one or two others. But these names appear mostly in inscriptions written after Alaungsithu's death. This does not seem to have struck the Thwinthin; hence his statement, based on the fact that he did not think of ascertaining whether the inscription containing the name

"Alaungsithu" were originals or recasts. My own statement that the name "Alaungsithu" is not found in this king's *original* inscriptions remains the same. We know in this office all the inscriptions which were known to the Thwinthin, and a good number more which were found during the last three or four decades.⁽⁶⁾ As for the inscriptions that were lost in the time of the Thwinthin, when they were being collected, he could not possibly have seen them, because they were wilfully *lost* during transit, and never reached Amarapura, as is explained on page 1 of my preface to the Original Inscriptions.

As for the last paragraph in Maung Tin's review, I will merely say that the inscription referred to will appear in a future number of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*. Meanwhile, I would point out to the fact that, although the Ari received a check during the reign of Anorat'a, this does not at all mean that they were swept off the face of the country; it does not mean either that the blow was such as to reduce them to almost complete impotence or insignificance. A religion which, from the testimony of the chronicles themselves, held supreme sway in the land for several centuries and whose ministers were counted by tens of thousands, must have, necessarily, had a strong and lasting influence on the people's mind, and it could not be brushed aside with, as we say now, a stroke of the pen. The new religion from Thaton became the state religion, which does not mean that it displaced altogether the Ari; it took several centuries to do that. Burmese documents themselves bear testimony to this; for instance we know that they were still numerous in the XIVth century, when they are still referred to as Ari;⁽⁷⁾ then, after this, this appellation seems to be no more used; but the Ari still go on strong for well over two centuries under other names, and their gradually dwindling numbers are referred to as Ari-

(4). So called because he built the Shwegu temple at Pagan.

(5). Exactly, 25th November 1141. It was begun on 25th April, 1141.

(6). He knew the inscriptions now collected at the Arakan Pagoda and at Amarapura; the fragments to which Maung Tin alludes are still at Amarapura. Besides, he must have been cognized of a good number at Sagaing, Shwebo, Pagan, etc. But from the time Forchhammer

became the first Government Archaeologist up to present time, a large number of new inscriptions, amounting to several hundreds, have been found all over Upper Burma. A large number of these have already been published and there is enough material in this office to form another very large volume.

(7). *Mhan-nan* I, 422 (old Edition); *Sāsana-nāvamsa-sadan*, pp. 94, 98 and *Sāsana-lankāra*, pp. 127, 132.

gyi-do-anwè (အရှင်ကြီးတို့အနွယ်). It appears reasonable to suppose that, had they had no followers and no support, they could not have endured so long. No doubt, under the influence of the pure and clean form of Buddhism introduced by Anorat'a, their tenets must have sensible altered, and some must have been abandoned altogether, as for instance the *jus primae noctis*. But that—if we read between the lines of the chronicles—they were, for two or three centuries after Anorat'a, still far from being crushed down, cannot be ignored. We must remember that what is written in the chronicles about the Ari, was written long after the events, at a time when Pali Buddhism was paramount, and the very idea of the degraded Northern sect of the Ari was loathsome; and it was not written without a cer-

tain amount of sectarian acerbity and without passing much under silence.

A capital point in reading history, is to avoid reading it into too tight compartments; such as, for instance, dividing sharply and rigidly Northern and Southern Buddhism, and picturing their adherents uniformly and constantly in a state of theological war and bitter, irreducible hatred and enmity. That such was not the case, that members of the two schools often and in many localities lived peacefully side by side and even studied one another's books, we know on the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims and of the Tibetan Tāra-nātha. And evidence, epigraphical, sculptural, etc. is far from lacking, to shew that something similar existed also in Burma.

CHAS. DUROISSELLE.

VAJIRABUDDHI AND THE PAGAN-RAZAWIN.

On page 156 of this Journal for December 1919, the Editor, in connection with the derivation of the word "Ari," mentions a history of Pagan written in Pāli which, he says, "is attributed to Vajirabuddhi (circa 15th century) and which is in close agreement with the Burmese Great Chronicle of Maung Kala." As the manuscript itself bears no indication of the author's name nor of the date of composition, this information is interesting as well as, from the literary point of view, important. However, it loses much of its value owing to the fact that the Editor does not give us any reference. We should be glad to know the source from which this information was obtained, because, if this history⁽¹⁾ was really written in the 15th century, it is an important document; up to now, we were sure of only one history having been written in the 15th century, that of Shin Thilavuntha.⁽²⁾ There are three histories written in Pāli. The best known is that written by Shin Godhāvāra and called the "Pagan Mahārājavan-pāth;"⁽³⁾ another, referred to as Rājavan-pāth

is mentioned at page 206 of the Kavalakkhaṇādīpanī as having been written by Shin Ādicca. These two are comparatively late compositions. The third, also referred to as Rājavan-pāth in the Samantacakkhūḍipānī, p. 356, is the Pagan Chronicle in Pāli cited by the Editor; it is there mentioned to have been written by Shin Vajira. In looking over my notes I found that this was the only reference I had concerning this history in Pāli and its author Shin Vajira.⁽⁴⁾ There may be others; good fortune did not favour me in tracing any. This work of Vajira seems to be rather scarce; it is not in the "List of Manuscripts in the Bernard Free Library," and a somewhat extensive search has failed to trace a copy in a good number of monasteries. The copy in my office was made years ago from a copy in the possession of U Tin, Sub-divisional Officer at Pagan—and I think Maung Tin's copy was made from the same manuscript. I wrote to the learned Sub-divisional Officer on the subject of its authorship, and he referred me back to my own reference in the Samantacakkhūḍipānī; he also

(1). The title is Pokkath Rājavan-pāth.

(2). The title is Rājavan-Kyaw.

(3). See မြတ်နိုးသောစာတမ်း, p. 223; Samantacakkhūḍipānī I, 356, and Kavalakkhaṇādīpanī, p. 206.

(4). The Samntacakkhu, ဝိပဿနာ, has, ရှင်ဓမ္မရာဇာဓိရာဇာ

knows of no other. The author of the *Samantacakkhu* was a splendid scholar, as is evident to anyone pursuing his work, and a careful one and critical. His ascribing the authorship of this history to Vajira is not in accord with the Editor's assertion that its author was one Vajirabuddhi. The two names are not interchangeable; both are pretty frequent monkish names; moreover, the *Samantacakkhu* gives no

date. All this shews the importance, from the standpoint of the history of literature in Burma, of Maung Tin's statement, which differs from the generally accepted view on the subject based on the *Samantacakkhudipani*; and the desirability of his making known to workers in the field the source of his information.

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

NOTE:—We obtained the *Paukkan* history from the same source, namely, U Tin of Pagan, who also supplied us with the information that the author's name was Vajirabuddhi and the date fifteenth century. We hold that the name Vajirabuddhi is essentially the same as Vajrapuggala, where Vajira is the proper name, especially as U Tin has cited the *Samantacakkhudipani*, cited by Mr. Duroiselle. We were and are still not certain of the date. Hence the word *attributed* in our note. When we have completed our comparative study of Burmese Chronicles, we may be in a position to assign the proper date.

—Editor.

DERIVATION OF "ARI."

We are glad that our criticism of Mr. Duroiselle's derivation of the word Ari has elicited the valuable contribution to the origin of the final ဌ (see the preceding number). We quite agree that there is a philological tendency for a Pali *y* (a), *iy* (a) or *eyy* (a) to be represented by that letter. We congratulate Mr. Duroiselle on his list of words which establishes this tendency in the Burmese language. But we have reason to believe that "Ari" or to use the Burmese form အရိ does not come under that tendency at all and remains unaffected by Mr. Duroiselle's remarks. And we still maintain that it is derived from *arāñña* and not from *Ariya*. We never quarrelled with the final ဌ as a symbol for the sounds *ī*, *é*, and *è*. We admit that we were not as careful as Mr. Duroiselle in the use of the term "double *ññ*", which we regarded as irrelevant. For whether we use a single *ñ* or a double *ññ*, we all know that we refer to အရိ whose derivation is in question.

Mr. Duroiselle will not deny that the derivation of words is governed by their literary history. Now we have never discovered a passage in Burmese literature where *ariya* has been curtailed into "ari". It preserves its full form. Here are some examples from the *Old*

Historical Ballads, May Oung's edition: အရိယာပုဂ္ဂိုလ် (p. 127), အရိယာကို (p. 143), အရိယာနှင့် (p. 176), အရိယာသတ္တန် (p. 214), အရိယာဝယ် (p. 278). These Old Historical Ballads are among the best gems of Burmese poetry and their date ranges from the middle of the 14th century to the middle of the 17th century. (Pitakatthamaing, p. 215). Their evidence therefore is very strong indeed. The examples quoted above show conclusively that in the best gems of Burmese poetry the word *ariya* is used in its full form. Two of the examples အရိယာပုဂ္ဂိုလ် (*Pali* *ariyapuggala*) and အရိယာသတ္တန် (*Pali* *ariyasanthāna*) are decisive. For the poet has employed a five-syllabled foot and would rather break the metre (which requires four syllables in a foot) than clip *ariya* in any way. It would be so natural for the poet to say အရိယာပုဂ္ဂိုလ် and အရိယာသတ္တန် (if "ari"—*ariya*) and thus preserve the purity of his work of art! As a matter of fact the poet has curtailed *puggala* into ပုဂ္ဂိုလ် (*pron.* *poggo*), and *santhāna* into သတ္တန် (*santhan*) and keeps *ariya* intact. We thus see that in the oldest and best poetry the word *ariya* has not been curtailed into "ari" even in places where the exigencies of the metre would demand such curtailment. The word *ariya* in such expressions as အရိယာသင် and not အရိသင် occurs

in some of the Inscriptions (*e. g.* p. 807 of Inscriptions copied from the Stones collected by King Bodawpaya, Vol. II, 1897).

Let us now study the history of "Ari" in Burmese poetry. Here are some examples:

(a) ငါနှင့်တူ၍၊ ဘယ်သူတို့တည်း။ ရှိမည်နည်းဟု။ အရည်းမှနေ၍၊ ရသေ့အလျောက်။ *Twinthin's Janakapyo.* 'In the manner of hermits, Ari monks thinking, can there be people like me?'

(b) တောင်ရက်ကြည်း။ မိုးခိုမည်းသို့။ အရည်းပိပိ။ ဆည်းကပ်သို့သည် *ibid.* 'Thorough Ari resort to mountain groves, places dim, dusky and dark'.

(c) တယောက်ထီးတည်း။ မှတ်သည်းသည်းလျက်။ အရည်ဘာသာ။ တစ်ရာမရှိ—*Thilawuntha's Paramidarwaganpyo.* 'In the nature of Ari, passionless, alone, suffering hunger'.

(d) တကိုယ်ရည်းခြင်။ အရည်းပိပိ။ ဇာန်သီကို—*Manli's Magghadevapyo.* 'The thorough Ari, lonely dweller on mystic trance.'

(e) ရှေးခါသော်လည်း။ သူတော်နည်းခြင်။ အရည်းပိလှ။ စွန့်ဘူးစွန့်ဟု *Rathtathara's Koganpyo.* 'Renounced the world formerly as a thorough Ari in the manner of a holy man.'

The sense of the above passages (we could quote more) connects 'ari' with a "forest-dweller" and not with *ariya*, the Buddhist Arahant. We shall be glad if any one will point out any passage in Burmese literature where a different interpretation of "Ari" is given. We shall then see if the evidence of such passages is strong enough to overthrow the evidence we have shown. The conclusion is forced upon us that the literary history of *ariya* and "Ari" proves Mr. Duroiselle's derivation of Ari from *ariya* to be untenable. Mr. Duroiselle is unjust to us in the last sentence but one in the second column of p. 28 of the Journal, last number, where he says "but what he does not tell us is that this is the only place in which *arañña* (အရည်) is found &c.' In our first note p. 156 of Vol. IX, part III, we have already told Mr. Duroiselle that "in other places the same chronicle calls them by the Burmese term" (အရည်). Does not the copyst's carelessness in dropping the *virama* show how easily the Pali *arañña* (အရည်) can become အရည်?

—Editor.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee held at Rangoon College on Tuesday, March 16th, 1920, at 8-30 a. m.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E., *President*
(*in the Chair*)

U Po Byu
J. J. Nolan, Esqr.
J. T. Best, Esq.
A. Khalak, Esqr.
U Shwe Zan Aung
U Hpay
Prof. K. M. Ward
Prof. Maung Tin
Prof. G. H. Luce.

BUSINESS.

1. The Minutes of the last Committee Meeting held on February 26th, 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. The following were re-elected Members of the Sub-Committee:—Messrs. M. Hunter, (President), J. T. Best, (Vice-President) and U May Oung. Prof. W. G. Fraser was also elected. Prof. Maung Tin, (Honorary Editor) and Mr. Luce, (Honorary Secretary and Treasurer) are Members ex-officio under Rule 23.

3. At the instance of the President, seconded by Mr. Best, it was resolved to hold future ordinary meetings at 6-30 instead of 5-30 p. m.

4. It was resolved to offer a prize or prizes to the value of Rs. 100/- to Burmese scholars for valuable contributions in Burmese on the history or literature of Burma, such articles becoming the property of the Society and being afterwards translated into English and published in the Journal.

A Special Sub-Committee consisting of U Po Byu, U May Oung, U Hpay, U Shwe Zan Aung, Prof. Maung Tin and Mr. Luce was appointed to arrange the details and also to deal with the proposal of U Po Byu that copies of future

articles in Burmese included in the Journal be distributed gratis among prominent Burmese Scholars.

5. With reference to the disparity between the numbers of Journals published and Journals sold, it was resolved that the Editor and Secretary invite the American Baptist Mission Press

(i) to print, at reduced cost, 300 copies instead of 500 for each Number;

(ii) to sell at a certain commission, copies of the Journal in their shop.

6. The Secretary pointed out that whereas the Society sends its publications free to the following bodies:—

(1) Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(2) Philippine Library.

(3) L'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi.

(4) Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland it receives nothing from them in return.

Resolved that the Secretary make representations to the above societies, and if they continue to deny us their publications to deny them ours.

Resolved also that a complete series of copies of the Journal be sent henceforward to the Director-General of Archaeology, India, and a request made for one volume (1910-11) of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, India which is missing in the Society's Library.

Minutes of the Sub-Committee Meeting held at 9, Lancaster Road, at 8-30 a.m., Sunday, June 13th, 1920.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

The Hon'ble U May Oung
Prof. G. H. Luce
Prof. W. G. Fraser.
Prof. Maung Tin.

BUSINESS.

Election of members.—

- (a) Mr. Conyers Baker—Proposed by U May Oung, seconded by Prof. Fraser. Elected.
- (b) Prof. Ainley—Proposed by Professor Maung Tin, seconded by U May Oung. Elected.
- (c) Maung On Pe—Proposed by Professor Maung Tin, seconded by Prof. Fraser.

Resolved: To propose Maung On Pe at the next Committee meeting.

Election of Office-bearers:—

- (a) A Vice-President in the place of Mr. J. T. Best.
—*Resolved:* To bring up at the next Committee meeting.
- (b) A member of Sub-Committee in the place of Mr. J. T. Best.
—*Resolved:* To invite the Committee to appoint Mr. J. S. Furnivall.
- (c) An Acting President during the absence of Mr. Hunter.

—*Resolved:* Unnecessary.

3. Future meetings:

Resolved: (a) That the next ordinary meeting be held at 6-30 p.m. on Friday, July 16th, 1920, when Mr. Fraser will read his paper on Old Rangoon.

(b) That a Committee Meeting be called before that date, early in July.

(c) That recommendation be made at the next Committee Meeting that the Society cease to provide refreshments at future meetings.

4. *Resolved:* To recommend to the Committee that in future, in view of their services to Society, Mr. J. T. Best and Bhikkhu Silacara receive issues of the Journal free.

G. H. LUCE,
Honorary Secretary.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE APRIL, 1920, Vol. X, Part I.

**Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, — No. 2 —
Varieties of the Vishnu Image, by B. B. Bidyabinod [1920].**

**A Guide to the Observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain and
Benares, by G. R. Kaye, [1920].**

**Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, — No. 4 —
The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari, by Prof.
D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A.**

Indian Antiquary, January, February, March, 1920.

**Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, — No. 5 —
Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition, by Ramaprasad Chanda.**

**Journal of the East India Association, April, 1920. (Vol. XI,
No. 2.)**

Annals of the Bandarkar Institute, Vol. I, Part I—1918-19.

You are requested to pass on this form to a friend who is not already a member.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Patron:

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BURMA.

THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY was founded in 1910. Its objects are the study and encouragement of Art, Science, History and Literature in relation of Burma, and the promotion of intercourse between members of different communities with a common interest in such subjects. Meetings are held periodically at University College, Rangoon, at which papers are read. The principal work of the Society is the publication of a Journal, which appears thrice a year and is supplied free of charge to members. Articles by well-known scholars such as Messrs. C. O. Blagden, C. Duroiselle and R. Halliday have appeared in the Journal, but the Editor is chiefly dependent for contributions on Burmese and English members of the Society stationed in various parts of Burma. The articles are mostly on Burmese history, archaeology, literature, art, language, philosophy, religion and folklore. They are of interest not only to scholars but also to general readers who are attracted by Burma and its people. The Editor welcomes contributions from members who have made a study of any special subject or locality. Illustrated articles and articles in Burmese are always welcome. Apart from its Journal, the Society is also publishing Burmese literary and historical works and translations, and in this branch of its activity enjoys the assistance of the best Burmese scholars. It possesses a growing library for the use of members.

The Society is dependent for its funds entirely upon the subscriptions of members. The subscription is Rs 15 yearly, payable in advance, or a single sum of Rs. 150.

The Society invites applications for membership. Anyone who desires to join, may ask a member to propose him, or may write to the HONORARY SECRETARY, BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY (Bernard Free Library), RANGOON. The attached form may be used.

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(FOUNDED 1910)

*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in
relation to Burma and neighbouring Countries.*

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Volume XIII, Part II.

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Note on some authorities for the History of Burma.

By J. A. STEWART.

The revival of interest in the History of Burma is shown by the appearance within the past twelvemonth of—

Konbaung zet Mahayazawindawgyi—Mg. Pe Tin, No. 11 Alawi (C) Road, Mandalay.

Thuthawdita Mahayazawingyi—Thudammawadi Saponhneittaik, Rangoon.

Mun Yazawin—Myammapyi Saponhneittaik, Alokthamya Athin Saponhneittaik, Rangoon.

To deal with these from last to first in the Homeric order; the Mun Yazawin is a little Volume of 110 pages said to be printed from an old manuscript in the Mingun Pitakat Taik, Sagaing. It contains a very brief sketch of the early History of Thaton and Pegu, and a fuller but still brief account of the dynasty which included the great Kings Razadirit and Dammazedi. Later history is not touched upon. The book appears to be based on one of a very numerous class of manuscripts, all giving much the same account of Thaton and Pegu under their national rulers, and differing from each other in emphasis rather than in fact. The early pages of Razadirit Ayedawbon, the first part of the Shwemawaw Thamaing and an unpublished Thatonhnwe Mun Yazawin are instances of the class of manuscripts referred to. U Shwe Naw's Mun Yazawin is said to be based on old Talaing records obtained by Sir Arthur Phayre from Siam and used by him in writing his history of Burma. The Ramanya Taing Thon Yat Dattaw Thamaing purports to be the translation made for King Tharawaddy from Talaing manuscripts obtained in Martaban. Both these books are in origin independent of the purely secular histories. We may be certain there are still many manuscripts in Talaing and in Burmese giving further variants of both secular and religious history. Publication of any of them is a work of merit, especially as Rangoon had seemed to be losing interest in its own genuine national traditions. It is doubtful if the Dattaw Thamaing would be distributed now a days among the guests at a Shinbyu-ceremony as was done by U Ta Po of Sitke Mg. Taw Le Street a dozen years ago; and it is doubtful if Rangoon or Moulmein could now produce helpers such as Major Phayre found in Sitkè U Taw Le, Akunwun U Pyaw, Myook U Shwe Kya, Sitkè Mg. Naw or Akunwun U Ta Dut. This unpretentious little Mun Yazawin is welcome, as a sign of reviving interest, and as all the Yazawins and Ayebons above mentioned are practically unprocurable, its appearance is opportune.

The Thuthawdita Yazawin, of which I have only seen 2 volumes although I believe others have since been published, is a reprint, in modernised spelling with some insignificant alterations, of the official history compiled in the time of King Bagyidaw and commonly known as the Hmannan Yazawin, and subsequent volumes will probably be based on the first edition of the Konbaungzet Yazawin.

The Konbaung zet is a reprint, with probably a few corrections, of the original publication by the Mandalay Times Press, 1905. So far Parts 1 and 2 have appeared, and Part 3 still remains to be published. The manuscript on which it was based, is, down to the year 1183 B.E. (1821 A.D.), the official history of Burma prepared under the orders of King Bagyidaw in 1191 B.E. and following years. From 1183 to 1229 the compilation was continued under the orders of King Mindon. From 1229 onwards the editor, U Tin, had to depend on records preserved by the Burmese officials, and on tradition.

It is important to note the conditions under which the official history was composed. A committee of learned priests, brahmins and ministers met in the palace, and after collation of the most reliable records they could procure produced what they considered to be an authentic narrative of events; except that they were compelled, as the phrase is, by the terms of reference, to glaze over incidents which might have been unpleasant in the ears of the King. They omitted some of the wilder legends. They used Talaing, Arakanese and other records and included in their history, not only an account of the dynasties which reigned in Pagan, Ava, Amarapura, Toungoo and other capitals of Burma proper, but also a succinct narrative of the Talaing and Arakanese Kingdoms.

The Hmannan and its continuation the Konbaungzet therefore purport to be a complete history of all the provinces falling within what is now known as Burma. It is not a mere chronicle or unedited annals, and thus differs from the Yazadiri Ayedawbon or the various Mun Yazawins above mentioned, whose narratives profess to represent only the Talaing point of view. It is convenient as being the most complete history of Burma available.

As to its authority there can only be one opinion. It is a history of Burma written from the aspect of Ava. Just as the great Alison rewrote the history of Europe with the object of showing that providence was on the side of the Tories, so the compilers of the Hmannan Yazawin seem to have treated the Arakanese and Talaing chronicles somewhat cavalierly, and to have admitted only so much of them as conduced to the honour and glory of that part of the province in which they were more immediately interested.

In a short essay such as this I cannot stay to develop every point. It is often of course difficult to say whether the Pegu or Ava version is preferable. At this date there is no means of testing the Talaing

allegation that Shans were always placed in the Burman front line.* There is no settling a discrepancy between the Hmannan and the Paklat history and deciding whether chillies were given by the Ava envoy to Razadirit or by Razadirit to the envoy, very important as such a decision would be to the historian of that pungent delicacy. I must however discuss rather fully a passage in the Hmannan which is obviously based on the Razadirit Ayedon. In the fighting around Prome a Talaing named Upakong performed prodigies of valour and was invited by Minyekyawzwa to come to the Burman camp and display his prowess. The Talaing general gave permission, and the Ayedawbon describes how on the appointed day Upakong dressed himself with great care and looking every inch a soldier mounted horse and rode to meet Minyekyawzwa; who received him on the bank of the river opposite his camp and accompanied him across. The Hmannan account omits to state that Upakong was met on the near bank of the river by Minyekyawzwa and makes no mention of his soldierly appearance. His reception in fact becomes merely an act of princely patronage instead of a well deserved tribute from one brave man to another. And the romance goes completely out of the story.†

These discrepancies may seem trivial, but indicate a certain failure of generosity, and show the narrow spirit of Ava nationalism which the compilers of the Hmannan history felt themselves bound to maintain.

Now, many of those who use the Hmannan are able to check a statement by reference to other authorities, but many more are not.

The Thuthawdita history, as has been said, is practically a reprint of the Hmannan, but is provided with a preface which contains the following statement: that the authors have compared a number of histories, have reconciled discrepancies and cleared up obscurities, and have produced a history of Burma which may be relied on as authoritative. This preface is signed by three gentlemen well known in the world of Burmese scholarship, and many have probably ordered the book on the strength of it or of advertisements containing similar claims. As has been shown, the extent of the editorial labour is negligible. Beyond correction of spelling and rearrangement of paragraphs, not always for the better, the editors, in volumes 1 and 2 at any rate, have done very little indeed. But the danger is not so much that people may give the editors more credit than they deserve, as that the purchaser may believe he is buying an accurate and trustworthy history of Burma. As has been pointed out, the Hmannan Yazawin itself is one sided, and the new history is of course equally so.

Pegu and the coastal regions of Burma were known to foreigners during the 15th, 16th, and 17th. centuries A.D. In Phayre's history

* Yazadirit Ayedawbon page 182 [A similar allegation was made by the Chinese in 1770; see *Shan Yu Chi*, ch. 6, page 9 -*Ed.*]

† Hmannan & Y. - in Volume 2 Page 20 and Yazadirit page 219.

there is a chapter on early European intercourse with Burma in which the impressions of travellers of different nationalities are recorded. It must be remembered that most of these travellers had visited ports in the Persian Gulf and in India before coming to Burma, and were not likely to be unduly impressed by the mere externals of oriental royalty. Lewes Vertomannus visited Tenasserim about the year 1503-1504 in the reign of Binya Ram, of whom he says, "The King useth not such pomps and magnificence as doth the King of Calicut, but is of such humanity and affability that a child may come to his presence and speak with him."

Caesar Fredericke arrived in Pegu in 1567, during the reign of Bureng Naung. He describes how the king "sitteth every day in person to hear the suits of his subjects, up aloft in a great hall, on a tribunal seat with his barons round about," and how the petitioners sit on the ground "with their supplications in their hands which are made of long leaves of a tree, and a present or gift according to the weightiness of their matter. If the King think it good to do them that favour or justice they demand, then he commandeth to take the presents out of their hands; but if he think their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking their gifts or presents." "If any Christian dieth in the kingdom of Pegu, the king and his officers rest heirs of a third of his goods, and there hath never been any deceit or fraud used in this matter. I have known many rich men that have dwelled in Pegu, and in their age have desired to go in to their own country to die there, and have departed with all their goods and substance without let or trouble." In 1514, Giovanni da Empoli, "Passed before Martaman, the people also heathens...; men expert in everything, and first rate merchants; great masters of accounts and in fact the greatest in the world. They keep their accounts in books like us." These references, which could be supplemented from other books of travel, do not amount to much, but are sufficient to show that the people and the rulers of Pegu made a good impression on foreign visitors, that trade with other countries flourished, and that the Government did something to guarantee security of property.

I have read most of the available books of travel in a vain effort to find similar accounts of Ava kings or people. European traders did not travel far inland in the middle ages, but by the middle of the 18th. century when the Shwebo dynasty had been established, there was nothing to prevent travellers penetrating up the Irrawaddy, and they did in fact so penetrate. I refrain from quoting their accounts. The truth is that the first half dozen Kings of the Alaungpaya line had been much occupied otherwise, and had not had time to acquire the graces and dignity of Kingship, much less to master the principles of statecraft. This is the only charitable explanation of the petulant behaviour of the Kings, the degrading punishments they inflicted on their highest officials, and the indifference they often displayed to the welfare of their subjects.

Unluckily, by the time they had begun to acquire political wisdom, they had lost some of the ruder virtues of their fore-fathers.

The early kings were continually engaged in aggressive wars and they cultivated in the people a taste for distant expeditions. "Our merchants like to go to war," said a Burman minister in the end of the 18th century, "our armies are half composed of men who join war and traffic together, carrying a pack of goods as well as their arms with them."* The state of discipline in any army so composed could not have been high and it is known that no attempt was made to control looting. The Shwebo dynasty flourished only so long as it found neighbours willing to be "trafficked" with by invading Burman armies.

I have pointed out elsewhere that whereas in the middle of the 18th century A.D. the Siamese capital was moved from Ayuthia to Bangkok, in Burma Alaungpaya and his successors, with the choice of the whole country open to them, deliberately decided to retain the capital in the old neighbourhood of the Myitngè estuary and definitely cut themselves off from the sea. The court was soon left behind by the more important part of the kingdom in knowledge and enlightenment. It remained an isolated little community, with its own stock of ideas, having nothing in common with the outside world, unable to understand the elements of political economy, and opposing all suggested innovations by the old plea of adherence to ancient custom. The country was not well governed, and it is notable that no reorganisation of any department of Government was effected by kings of this dynasty. One would expect to find that at least army organisation had received attention from one or other of the more aggressive kings, and it does appear that the Manipuri horse and some other guards regiments were formed, but even the standing army was ill-equipped and ill-disciplined, and when the levies had to be mobilized, the system of obtaining funds by calling up an unnecessarily large number of men and allowing anyone who wished to purchase exemption, was regularly adopted. Prisoners of war from Siam, Chiangmai, Arakan, Pegu and the Shan States were formed into units and compelled to fight for their conquerors. The result was that the forces suffered heavily from desertion while on distant expeditions, and that the fighting spirit of the armies as a whole gradually deteriorated.

I have often thought that the happiest period and place in the history of Burma was Pegu in the 15th and 16th centuries under its own national kings, and regretted that the Mon dominion could not have been extended and maintained over the whole of Burma. It is a vain regret, and neither Razadarit nor any of the other kings of his dynasty came within measurable distance of such an attainment. The dynasty founded by Tabin-Shwehti had a better chance, and was more in sympathy with both the Talaing and Burman parts of the province than any previous or

* Cox, Page 393.

succeeding dynasty. But a succession of efficient kings was not forthcoming. Each was weaker than his predecessor. They were unable to protect the country against foreign invasion, and finally succumbed to the Talaings in 1751 A. D.

I mention these regrets by way of suggesting that everything did not work for the best in the course of Burmese history. In the Hmannan Yazawin the implication is that, up to a point, everything did happen for the best, and the authors or compilers are therefore insufficiently sympathetic towards other kingdoms and other races. The modern Burman is of exceedingly mixed descent. It is hardly possible to point to a single district even in Upper Burma whose inhabitants can claim to be of pure Burman race. It seems to me therefore wrong and unnatural that Burma of the present day should take the word of Ava for its history. Great Kings, who may be regarded if you like as heroes, are to be found in all dynasties: the Shan Hso-hkan-hpa, the Arakanese Minkhamaung, and the great figures of Pegu, Toungoo and Ava; and should all appeal to a modern and catholic taste in heroes. The feat of Byinyadala in conquering Upper Burma is certainly astounding, but not more so than Aungzeya's expulsion of the Talaings and conquest of their country. The Shan Thihathu, who from a small beginning in Pinle and Myinsaing made himself master of the Upper Irrawaddy valley and appears to have freed it from the Chinese yoke, is a figure worthy of admiration. Warero of Martaban, again a Shan, but founder of the great line of kings which ended with Takarotpi, is one of the Talaing heroes of whom all the histories have much to say. He was clearly a great personage and his name was known throughout Burma in his own day. Many other worthies could be mentioned. Their exploits are referred to in most cases in the Hmannan, but it is only by reading the minor chronicles that one can arrive at a full appreciation of them.

And there should be sympathy with misfortune as well as success. The tragedies of Burmese history however are as a rule too poignant to make pleasant reading. I may mention Manuha, King of Thaton, deposed by Anorata and carried captive to Pagan; and Kyawzwa, the last King of Pagan, who was captured and executed by the three Shan brothers. There is not a reference to him in the wonderful song of triumph, the Myinsaing Shield song, which glories over the flight of the invading Chinese army, no man if he found his horse waiting to look for his riding cane. But this barbaric paean cannot be appreciated unless one remember the tragic figure in the back ground.

So far we have spoken only or mainly of kings, and it is the fault of all the histories and chronicles that they say little of the state of the people and the country. Yet scattered references can be found, and if one extend one's reading to inscriptions, Sittans, Thamaings, and songs and ballads which have somehow survived, it is possible to picture to oneself the condition under which the people lived, the duties which were required of them by the state, and the system of local Government by which

they were controlled. Bad Kings were far more numerous than good Kings, and weak Kings exceeded the number of strong Kings. Practically the only Public Works undertaken by the Government were Irrigation works, and these received only intermittent attention. It is marvellous that in the irrigated areas of Upper Burma, which were regularly visited by invading armies and where the people had to hide their grain by burying it underground, the canals and head works should have been maintained in working order. This was not entirely due to the spasmodic efforts of the Government. It is said that king Mindon complained of the backwardness of Kyaukse District in respect of education and of the ignorance of the priests, and took steps to improve matters by sending out religious instructors from Mandalay. But to any one who has followed the fortunes of the district through centuries of a struggle with nature and the horrors of frequent invasions, the marvel is that any education or religion or population at all, should have survived in it. The real heroes of Burmese history are the people themselves. Through centuries of unrest while the country was being harried by invaders or wrested by one king from another, they somehow contrived to preserve the essentials of civilization. Much, no doubt, they owed to their religion and to the priesthood, but the purity of a religion or its ministry was never preserved in any country without the active co-operation of the people. The standard of literacy is high, and old travellers were always surprised to find that a boatman or labourer could read and write at a time when such accomplishments were exceedingly rare among the lower classes in western countries. The priesthood could never have enforced, and never attempted to enforce, attendance of boys at their schools, and the high standard of literacy can only have been due to the aspirations of the people. It is marvellous that these aspirations should have persisted throughout a very chequered history. Even more marvellous is the preservation of that moral and mental balance which may be described as a sense of proportion or a sense of humour. It is found in slightly different forms throughout Burma. Talaing humour is of distinctly different flavour from humour as found in the Burman part of the country, and I have no doubt that other races have their own types. Art and appreciation of the beautiful have never died. Physical vigour and manliness have always been respected. There are qualities, however, which the people have not developed. Probably one of the most unsatisfactory features of Burma at the present day is disinclination to service in the army and unwillingness to submit to military discipline. It used to be believed that Burmans were a nation of warriors, but this was never so, and the minister who was questioned on the subject by Cox, explained that only "particular classes went to war, some by prescriptive occupation continued such from father to son, but in general, only the poor; all those who paid a direct revenue to the King being exempted on certain conditions." It must be admitted that the military spirit, which is to a great extent the spirit of discipline, has still to be fostered, but there are many British Officers who served with Burman units during the Great War, who can testify that Burmans can be made into good soldiers and can be

educated to enjoy, at least in retrospect, the hardships and the comradeship of war. Again the civic virtues have not reached a high stage of development, and no constitutional progress whatever was made from the days of Anorata onwards. Yet one political institution has been preserved of which any country might be proud—the Myothugyi and village Headman, an autocrat in name but dependent for his authority on the moral support of his villagers. Probably few countries have such a convenient system of village government.

The object of this article however is not military or political propaganda. It is merely a plea for a broad view of the history of the country, by one who has read that history as widely as his time permitted, and who has failed to find any one book which is fair to all the diverse races and their perfectly legitimate aspirations. I confess to finding the history of Burma an interesting study and have never troubled to define to myself its importance. I see, as has been said, a reviving interest in this subject, and it seems that the present is an opportune moment to plead that if history is to be studied at all, some attempt should be made by the student to arrive at the truth. It is unfortunate that there is no book in existence which can be accepted as a standard history, but until some satisfactory redaction is accomplished, it is necessary to read as widely as possible, to check one chronicle by another, to test Burman accounts by Chinese, Shan or Talaing, and to remember that much valuable information can be derived from the diaries of merchants and envoys who visited the country. It is often a difficult task to select the most probable story, but it is perhaps this difficulty which gives interest to the study at its present stage, and will continue to be the chief source of interest for many years to come. To accept any one book as a standard is to make the subject dull, and this article if dull in itself may pass as a protest against dullness.

J. A. STEWART.

STORY OF THE MIGRATIONS.

By MAJOR C. M. ENRIQUEZ, I.A.

3/20th Burma Rifles (Kachins).

The early history of Burma is the story of immigrations of the races now occupying it. The memory of those movements is lost and forgotten, but echoes survive in legends; and language-affinities have been discovered which, as our knowledge advances, link various peoples into definite groups. From such material only, and by examining the present distribution of the races, is it possible to reconstruct the story of these extraordinary movements. The legends that remain are fragmentary, but there survives the Burmese tradition of the Pyu, Kamrar and Sak from whom they are derived. The Taungthas speak of a residence on Mount Popa: the Taman remember wanderings in China and on the shores of the Indawgyi Lake. The Kachins recollect a former home on the flat hill of *Mājoi Shingra Bum*: while the Maru speak of *Ngaw-laung Pam*, Lashi of *Mao-muk Lawm*, and Atsi of *Ulung Bum*. Those restless wanderers, the Lisu, speak of the birth-place of their race as the 'Moon Rocks' of *Rgha-hanpa*. The whole fabric is guess work, but the stage now reached has the appearance of strong probability, and goes far towards explaining the occurrence of the various races, whose distribution at first appears incomprehensible. Nevertheless, the argument is mainly philological—and that cannot be regarded as conclusive, seeing as we do, races around us who change their speech and identity without apparent effort. For many years, Tibet was considered the home of the Burmese and allied races; but this theory has now given place to the opinion that the migrations of all originated in Western China, in some undefined region between the sources of the Yangtsi and Hoang Ho Rivers.¹ The ancestors of the present Mongolian population of Burma proceeded thence in three distinct and separate waves of allied races—races which are linked by language, and whose present distribution apparently hap-hazard, is, in the light of our theory, more or less intelligible. The waves of immigration in their order were as follows:—

First, *Mon Khmer*. The Mon-Khmer races include Talaing, Wa La, Tai Loi, Palaung, Palé, Riang, En and Annamite.

Second, *Tibeto-Burman*. They are classified under three heads:—

A. *Burmese*. These include Burmese, Kadu, Maru, Lashi, Atsi, Nung, Intha, Danu, Taungyo, Taman, Yaw Mro, Chaungtha, and Arakanese.

B. *Chin-Kachin*. These include Chin, Kachin, Gauri, Singpho, and Duleng.

¹, Census Report, 1911, Vol. IX Part I. Page 252.

C. *Lolo*. These include Lolo, Lisu or Yawyin, Lahu with Muso and Kwi, Moso, Miao, Kaw and Ako.

Third, *Tai-Chinese*. The Tai-Chinese races include Shans, Siamese and the various kinds of Karens.

The *Mon-Khmer* invasion was the first great irruption from Central Asia into the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Its main line of advance was south, down the Mekong Valley into Cambodia and Siam whence, by a lateral westward movement, it reached Burma and spread thinly over it.² Subsequently, it was forced back upon itself by later Burmese invasions, and its members (Wa, Palaung, Palé, Riang, En and Talaing) are found now in isolated pockets all down the south-east frontiers of Burma.

The *Tibeto-Burman* invasion left the Yangist and Hoang Ho basins in a westerly direction breaking into several branches of which one reached Tibet, and another turned south and overran Burma in three main streams—Chin-Kachin, Burmese, and Lolo. The Chin stream, taking the line of the Chindwin, distributed itself along the mountains down the whole length of Burma on its western side.

The Kachins followed in their wake much later, and entering Upper Burma, turned south-east as described later. The Lolo stream took the Mekong and Salween routes, and is found principally in China. It has entered only the extreme eastern edge of what is now Burma, being represented down the north-east frontier by scattered communities of Lisu (Yawyin), Lahu (Muhso), Kwi, Kaw and Ako. The major part of the Tibeto-Burman wave, however, took the central or Irrawaddy route during the early part of our era, and developed at a later date (about the 9th century A.D.) into the Burmese. At first they were simply nomad tribes, like Pyu, Kamran and Sak, who had no cohesion, and no doubt closely resembled the Chins and Kachins of today. In their southward movement down the N'Mai Hka Valley they left derelict settlements in their wake, such as Nung (Kuitze), Maru, Lashi, Atsi, Hpon and Kadu, through whom it may be possible one day to ascertain more clearly the story of their advance. Major Davies has pointed out the connection that exists in the speech of these races "sufficiently close to warrant the belief that they spoke one language at no very distant period." If these names are underlined in order from north to south on the map between latitudes 28° and 24°, the legendary route of these early Burmese races seems to materialise, and one is irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that they followed the great Valley of the N'Mai. In Burma they may have encountered Shans, but if so these were mere eddies of a later wave which was to over-run Upper Burma in their rear. They certainly encountered the Mon-Khmer who had over-extended, and who retired south until at Prome they, in the persons of Talaings, were sufficiently concentrated to offer successful resistance. The Pyu founded a capital at Prome at the begin-

ning of our era. The struggle ebbed and flowed along the Prome line until at last the Pyu, and others, were thrown back north.

These are the first incidents that even legend has preserved. Driven north, the Pyu founded a new capital at Pagan, consolidated, amalgamated with other tribes, and subsequently vanished, emerging again (phoenix wise) to new life as Burmans.

The later history of Burma is simply the logical developement of these primeval events. Up to the eighteenth century the Burmese and Talaing (modern incarnations of the old Tibeto-Burmans and Mon-Khmers) swayed to and fro across the length of Burma in bloody wars; while in the north a similar struggle was in progress between Burmans and Shans (Tibeto-Burmans and Tai-Chinese). That is the history of Burma in a nut-shell, and it has its origin away back in the mists of time. The old animosities survive. The Burmese now number about 8 millions. The group includes Arakanese, Tavoyans, and comparatively insignificant, and dwindling races such as the Intha, Taungyo and Danu of the Southern Shan States, the Kadu of Katha, the Taman of Chindwin, the Yaw of Pakokku, the Mro and Chaungtha of Arakan, and the Yabein of Pegu.

The *Tai-Chinese* wave, the last of the primeval movements, proceeded, so far as the Shans are concerned, from the regions of Tali Fu where existed the Shan State of Nan Chao. This wave (of which one branch overran Siam) passed right across Upper Burma into Assam and Eastern Bengal: and when it ebbed, left isolated Shan communities high and dry in Hkamti, Chindwin, Myitkyina, and Bhamo, as well as in Lower Burma.

The Chinese origin of the Karens is now accepted.* The Census Report of 1911** states that the Karens probably "came from the cradle of nearly all Indo-Chinese races—the highlands of Western China. They preceded the main migration of Shans. Peacefully, quietly, unobtrusively they moved, avoiding all contact with the tribes they passed." Entering Burma at a point near Karen-ni in the Southern Shan States, they "followed the line of least resistance, preferring the hardships and obstacles of hills, jungles and uninhabited regions to the dangers of conflict with fellow beings. Their movements have left no impression on the histories of other races." This same aloofness is characteristic of the Karens to-day. They have no history, and have never produced distinguished leaders. With Karens are included: Taungthu, Karen-ni (Red Karens), Karen-nel (Black Karens), Karen-byu (White Karens), Zayein, Sinsin, Bre, Mano, Yimbaw, Padaung and others.

*Archaeological Survey : March 1917 Paras 51 and 52.

**Census Report, 1911 Vol. IX part I. Page 254.

Migrations are not necessarily a sudden exodus of a people. They may constitute quickly succeeding and irresistible waves, followed or preceded by centuries of slow shifting of individuals and families impelled by economic causes of which they are but dimly conscious. They move like water over dust—creeping here, running to fill a hollow there, or rushing for a little down an easy incline.

Nor are these movements by any means finished yet. The Kachins were no doubt arrested half way, perhaps by the Shan wave across their path, and they only poured into Burma two or three centuries ago. They moved finally in a south-easterly direction across Upper Burma, driving out the Palaungs till the British Annexation. The movement, in spite of every discouragement, is still in motion towards the Northern Shan States. Other migrations are also in full progress. Chinese are entering Burma from two directions. Shan Tayoks from Yunnan are settling in Myothit (Bhamo). A distinct Miao immigration is in progress. A noticeable inflow of Yawyins (Lisu) occurred in Mogok in 1907, and into Ahkyang (Putao) in 1920: and the Karens are also in motion. Within our times, northern Chin tribes have vanished, or disappeared and re-entered our territories elsewhere: while in the south they are crossing the Irrawaddy to occupy the Pegu Yomas. Under British rule these movements have to be peaceable: but wherever there is space, they are in progress. Thus we see the Marus and Kachins struggling to establish themselves in the Northern Shan States. The story of these recent movements is often traceable. The villagers remember that their grandfathers lived in the north: and when at last the community is urged by some strange instinct, it moves into the south. Thus the Karens, who are obsessed with this spirit of restlessness, have forced their way far down the peninsula, even to Tavoy and Mergui.

These migrations are habitually southwards. Something is urging the people to the south—unless local conditions, or the unpopularity of governments, cause them to deviate. For instance, the ancient Sak may have turned round in their tracks and reappeared again as Kadus in Upper Chindwin. Other cases are known where a southward moving tribe has suddenly turned north. A generation ago the Kuki Chins left the Chin Hills, settled in Manipur, and since 1877 have re-entered Burma again in the Somra Hill Tracts at a point considerably to the north of their original settlement. These, however, are exceptional cases. As a whole these people seem to yearn to the south. The Kachins, having reached Burma only two or three centuries ago, retain at least a vague tradition of their migration. Their legend preserves the memory of a place called *Majoi Shingra Bum* (Naturally Flat Mountain). This was the birth-place of the race, and must be sought amongst the highlands of Mongolia, or on the border-land of Eastern Tibet and Western Ssu-chuan. From there they started their primeval migration which was arrested half way for many generations—probably by a barrier of Shans across their path. I am inclined to think that that half way halt of the Kachins

occurred in the "Triangle" of the N'Mai and Mali Hka rivers, or that the "Triangle" was at any rate the southern part of the area then occupied by them.

In support of this theory we have the fact that Kachins in the "Triangle" claim a residence there of over 40 generations, while those of Sadon claim only 9, of Hukong 7, the Gauris 7, the Kodaung Kachins 4 or 5, and those of Kutkai 3 or less. In these latter areas the names of villages like Palawng Katawng, Tun Hkung etc., and the ruins of pagodas, suggest the recent residence of Buddhist Palaungs. Kachin tombs, by their number, support the Kachin assertion of recent arrival; and in the Gauri country, the elaborate system of terraced fields is no doubt of Palaung origin. It would seem, then, that the "Triangle" is the country from which Kachin areas now to the south of it have been gradually stocked.

It is suggested by Mr. Lewis in his "*Tribes of Burma*" that the Tibeto-Burman Migration was split in its march by a barrier of mountains that exist west of the Salween in latitude 30°. To avoid these snowy ranges the Burman tribes took a route to the east of the barrier, leaving in their wake the Nung, Maru, Lashi, Hpon, and Kadu to mark for us their trail. The Chins came west of the barrier: and long after them the Kachins, who, finding the present Chin Hills already occupied, had to turn south-east across Upper Burma. This has brought them across Burma, away from the Chins, and in amongst the Burman tribes who had taken the eastern route. Hence the present association of Kachins with Marus and Lashis, with whom they have to some extent amalgamated. The similarity of language between the now separated Kachins and Chins is striking. If we are right in believing that the half-way halt of the Kachins for forty generations occurred in the "Triangle," the problem arises—How did they get there? The explanation may be found in the Kachin habit—still potent—of preferring to travel along mountain ridges rather than along river valleys. I believe that, as in the case of their Chin cousins, the great easy, inviting ridges directed their southward steps, as the great rivers did the steps of other races. Thus they passed by the Hkamti Plain, which may have been occupied already by Shans. The Duleng of Putao are no doubt a monument of their passage. On reaching the confines of Burma, the Kachin migration must have divided into two streams, one along the mountains towards Sumptra Bum where it again split moving (a) south along the Sumptra Bum ridges, and (b) south-west towards Daru Kyet where the Kachin inhabitants now claim a residence of 60 generations. The other stream must have moved down the ranges of the "Triangle," where they have been forced to remain 40 generations till the Shan barrier across their route weakened and fell to bits. Then, two or three centuries ago, they resumed their march into Burma.

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Major, I.A.

The Chronological Dates of the Kings of Burma who reigned at Thayekhittaya (ancient Prome), and at Pagan¹.

BY MAUNG HLA.

The purpose of the present paper is to tabulate the dates, in chronological order, of the kings of Burma who reigned at Thayekhittaya (ancient Prome) and at Pagan, from the very early times—as early as the 5th century B. C.—to the first quarter of the 14th. century A. D., with such remarks as are deemed necessary, in order to facilitate matters for those who are engaged in epigraphical and historical research. The dates are given as they are entered in, and tabulated in order of the date of composition of, the following four native chronicles:—

1. *Jātābon Yazawin** or “Chronological Tables based on Royal horoscopes”, compiled from 1672-1698 A. D., during the reigns of King Narawara and King Minyè Kyawun of Ava.
2. *Maung Kala Yazawin*,* known also as *Mahā Yazawingyi*, written by Maung Kala, son of banker Dewa of Singaing during the reign of King Hman-nan-shin of Ava (1714-1733 A. D.).
3. *Twinthin Yazawin* or *Mahā Yazawinthat*, by Minister Mahasithu of Myadaung village, Alon, who was generally known as Twinthin Wun (minister of Twinthin); date of compilation, 1733-1819 A. D.
4. *Hman-nan Yazawin* or “Chronicle of the Glass Palace”, compiled by a body of scholars, including learned monks and brahmins, at Ava in 1829, during the reign of King Bagyidaw.

Differences in the dates of kings are not infrequent. It will be seen that the three chronicles, viz. the *Maung Kala*, *Twinthin*, and *Hman-nan* agree in the dates of all the kings of Prome, the *Jātābon* agreeing with them in respect of the first four kings only. When we come to the dates of the kings of Pagan, we find that for the first nineteen kings, only the above three chronicles agree; while all the four agree in respect of the following fifteen kings, i.e. down to Pyinbya. From Pyinbya's successor, Tannek, down to Kyanyittha, the dates given in the *Twinthin* chronicle tally with those of the *Hman-nan*; while all the chronicles differ in the date of the 45th king, Alaungsithu. In the date of the 46th king, Narathu, the *Jātābon* and the *Hman-nan* agree; for the kings from the 47th, Minyin Naratheinkha, to the 54th ruler, Sawnit, both the *Hman-nan* and *Twinthin*

1. The tables attached to this article were prepared in the office of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, and are here printed by his kind permission—Ed.

* These works have not been printed and the Mss. are not readily available.

chronicles mention the same dates; and according to the *Hman-nan* and the *Maung Kula*, the last king, Sawmunnit, began to reign in the year 1325 A. D. and for a period of 43 years.

Such differences in dates are due mainly to the differences in the reckoning of years of the length of reign. In those cases where the date of *abhiseka* or consecration is taken as the date of ascension, length of reign cannot be arrived at approximately; and when there is a difference of a year or two, we are inclined to think that in the length of reign either both the year of accession and that of death have been included, or the ordinal numbers have been taken to stand for the cardinals, the actual reckoning in the latter case giving always one year less. But when the differences amount to more than two years, it is difficult to rectify them.

We shall see from the "Remarks", that Duttabaung, the third king of the first dynasty, founded Thayekhittaya or ancient Prome in 443 B. C.,* and that all the remaining kings of the same dynasty ruled at the same capital for more than five hundred years. With the destruction of Thayekhittaya in the first century of the Christian Era, there was a change of dynasty and of the capital. Thamokdayit, said to be a nephew of Thuppināya-nagasein, established a new dynasty (now called the Pagan dynasty) with the capital at Yon-hlūt-kyun which was also called Tampadipa. Five of his successors ruled at the same capital till the year 344 A. D.,* when Thēle-gyaung, the 7th king of this new Pagan dynasty, removed the capital to Lawkananda whose classical name was Sīripaccayā. Five kings reigned at this capital. The year 516 A. D.* saw the accession of Thaik-taing who removed the capital to Thamati (classical name, Tampavati), which remained the seat of government for the reigns of twenty two kings. The city of Pagan owed its existence to the 34th king, Pyinbya, who founded it on the site of present Pagan in the year 849 A. D.* At this capital reigned the last twenty-two kings. It may, however, be said that the Pagan monarchy practically came to an end in 1298 A. D.* when Kyawzwa, the 53rd king, was deposed by the three Shan brothers—Athinkaya, Yazathingyan, and Thihathu.

It may be mentioned that the Myazedi stone † at Pagan, dated 1112 A. D., set up by Prince Zeyyakhittaya, son of King Kyanyittha by Thambhula of the Gyaungbyu village, has fixed with a reliable degree of certainty the dates of accession of King Kyanyittha and his successor, Alaungsithu, and of the former's predecessors, Sawlu and Anawrata.‡ It may, therefore, be said that we touch firm ground only with Anawrata. For those kings who preceded Anawrata, we are, in the absence of epigraphical evidences, entirely thrown back on the dates as entered in the four

* These are the dates given in the *Hman-nan Yazawin*.

† *Vide* Chas. Duroiselle, "The Burmese Face of the Myazedi inscription at Pagan," *Epigraphia Birmanica* Vol. 1, part 1.

‡ The dates of these four kings, as fixed by the above inscription, correspond with those given in the *Jātābon*: *ibid* pp. 3-4, and Taw Sein Ko, "Burmese Sketches" Vol. 1, p. 66.

chronicles, unreliable as they are. These dates must, in the present state of our knowledge, be entirely tentative and they are left to be modified or upset by future discovery. They will, however, afford us some data that will tend to make future epigraphical and historical researches easier.

In this paper we must not omit a short reference to the introduction and use of Eras in Burma. There are three eras, viz. the Era of Religion, the Saka Era, and the Vulgar Era. They are of foreign origin, all being introduced from India.* The Era of Religion was inaugurated by Ajātasattu, king of Magadha, in 544 B. C., † the very first day after the full moon of Kason (May : June) which was the day of the Buddha's *parinirvāna*. This era began with the year 1 and was in use up to 80 A. D. when Thamondari, the 25th king of the Prome dynasty, eliminated 622 years from the Religious Era 624 (i. e., 544 + 80) and introduced a new era, beginning with the year 2. As the era began with the year 2, it must be reckoned to have started from 78 A. D. This era is generally known as the *Dodorasa* Era, *dodorasa* being mnemonic for 622; and this is, or corresponds to, the Saka Era so extensively used in India, Cambodia and Campa. The Vulgar Era, or the era which is now in use, was introduced by Popa Sawrahan, the 29th king of the Pagan dynasty, in 640 A. D., by eliminating 560 years from the Saka Era and beginning with the year 2. This era is known as the *Khachapañca* (i. e. 560) era : and is assumed to have commenced in 638 A. D., because it began with year 2.

The table subjoined shows the serial number of kings of each dynasty, names of kings, date of accession, length of reign in years, age at the date of accession, and remarks. Under the names of kings, the name of the king is given in Burmese, as it appears in present day historical writings; against it, its literal transliteration into English in accordance with the "Literal Transliteration of the Burmese Alphabet" ‡ by Chas. Duroiselle; and below the latter is the popular pronunciation given in general accordance with the transliteration scheme of the Burma Government§. The literal transliteration of the name may be of use to those who are unacquainted with Burmese and who wish to make further studies on this subject; and it may in some cases offer a clue to the etymology of the name. Under the "Date of accession", by the side of the Burmese year is given its equivalent year B. C. or A. D.

It is a pleasant duty to thank M. Chas. Duroiselle, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the advice and help he has given me in preparing these tables. It is not too much to say that this article owes its inception to him,

* Cunningham, "Book of Indian Eras," p. 71.

† According to Burmese chronology, the year of Buddha's death is placed in 544 B. C.

‡ Vide, ante vol. VI part II, p. 81.

§ "Tables for the transliteration of Burmese into English," Rangson, 1908.

Kings of Burma who reigned at Thayé-Khittaya; ancient Prome.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	Jatābon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthin Yazawin.				Hman-nan Yazawin.				REMARKS
		Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.					
		Year of Religion	B. C.			Year of Religion	B. C.			Year of Religion	B. C.			Year of Religion	B. C.			
1	မုတ္တမ္မ, Mahāsambhawa...	60	484	6	20	60	484	6	20	60	484	6	20	60	484	6	20	Mahāthanbwa arrived near Prome from Tagaung, married Bhedayi and became king.
2	ဥဇ္ဇေယျ, Cūlasambhawa...	66	478	35	26	66	478	35	26	66	478	35	26	66	478	35	26	
3	ဥဒ္ဓေယျ, Dvātapañ Duttabaung	101	443	70	35	101	443	70	35	101	443	70	35	101	443	70	35	Contemporary of Kālāsoka who held the second Buddhist Council at Vesālī; founded Śrīkṣhetra (ancient Prome) in 443 B.C. [Hman-nan, p. 174].
4	ဥဒ္ဓေယျ, Dvātatan Duttayan	171	373	45	43	171	373	22	50	171	373	22	45	171	373		59	
5	ဥဒ္ဓေယျ, Ranpoñ Yanbaung	216	328	45	45	193	351	53	40	193	351	50	37	193	351	50	40	Contemporary of Asoka, convener of the Third Buddhist Council. [Hman-nan, p. 181].
6	ဥဒ္ဓေယျ, Ranman Yanman	261	283	47	35	243	301	50	30	243	301	50	30	243	301	50	30	

7	၇၇၆	Rakkhan Yakkhan	308	236	28	46	293	251	31	40
8	၁၆၀၀၆၁	Khan'lon' Khanlaung	336	208	33	42	324	220	38	37
9	၀၀၆၁၆	Lakkhuin Lakkhang	369	175	30	43	362	182	34	39
10	၁၆၁၆	Sirikhin Thivikhan	390	145	28	40	396	148	28	40
11	၁၆၁၆	Siriraj Thirivit	427	117	19	42	424	120	9	51
12	၀၀၀၇	Natapa Ngadaba	446	98	51	15	433	111	51	15
13	၀၆၁၆	Papiran Papiyan	497	47	20	37	484	60	66	37
14	၁၆၁၆	Ranmukha Yanmukha	517	27	15	35	550	AD. 6	15	67
15	၁၆၁၆	Ranmukha Yantheikkha	532	12	3	35	565	21	3	65

He abolished the current era, but the abolition was not recognized.

In his 17th regnal year the *Tripitaka* was committed to writing at Ceylon during the reign of King Vattagamani [Hman-nan].

6th regnal year, King Milinda converted with *Thera* Nagasena at Sagala in Northern India. [Hman-nan].

All the chronicles except the *Jatavon* place the beginning of the Christian era in the 60th regnal year of Papiyan. (No. 13).

Kings of Burma who reigned at Thayé-Khitaya; ancient Prome.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS	Jatabon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin				Twinthin Yazawin.				Hman-nan Yazawin				REMARKS.
		Year of Accession	B. C.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession	Year of Accession	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession	Year of Accession	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession	Year of Accession	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession	
16	ရဲခွေဝံ, Rannungcalinda, Yammun-alenda	535	9	15	33	568	24	15	15	568	24	15	30	568	24	15	50	According to the Jatabon, the Christian era began in the 9th year of Yammun-alenda's reign.
17	ဘေခံ, Bherinda, Bherinda	550	6	13	27	583	39	12	24	583	39	12	42	583	39	12	63	
18	ခွေလ, Muñcala, Munala	563	19	15	28	595	51	5	28	595	51	5	37	595	51	5	58	
19	ပုဏ္ဏ, Punna, Ponna	578	34	3	25	600	56	3	15	600	56	3	25	600	56	3	43	
20	သုဓ, Sakha, Thakha	581	37	3	27	603	59	3	17	603	59	3	27	603	59	3	44	
21	တုဏ္ဏ, Gasi, Thathi	584	40	7	23	606	62	3	17	606	62	3	15	606	62	3	29	
22	ကုဏ္ဏ, Kannu, Kan-na	591	47	2	18	609	65	1	10	609		1	15	609	65	1	30	
23	ကုဏ္ဏ, Kautak, Kan-tet	593	49	2	15	610	66	3	18	610	66	3	15	610	66	3	32	
24	ဘိဉ္ဇ, Bhijja, Beikza	595	51	9	21	613	69	4	21	613	69	4	35	613	69	4	37	

Thamondari, in the last year of his reign, eliminated 622 years from the current era and introduced a new era which began with the year 2; but the Jatahon chronicle places the introduction of this new era in the last year of Thuppyinna-Nagas-ein's (No. 27) reign.

	604	60	5	20	617	73	7	17	617	73	7	16	617	73	7	24
26 သဝဏ္ဏရာဇ်, <i>Attira Attaya</i>	609	65	3	19	2	80	3	19	2	80	3	15	2	80	3	15
27 သုဗ္ဗရာဇ်, <i>Supaññana-garachinna Thuppyinna-Nagas-ein</i>	612	68	12	29	5	83	11	29	5	83	11	8	5	83	11	17

*It is written *Sakkarā* here, because it corresponds to the Saka era so extensively used in India, Cambodia and Campā, and in order to distinguish it from the existing era which is generally written *Sakkarā*.

11. Kings of Burma who reigned at Pagan.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	Jatābon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthin Yazawin. Hman-nan Yazawin				REMARKS.	
		Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.		
		Saka. raj.	A. D.			Saka. raj.	A. D.			Saka. raj.	A. D.				Saka. raj.	A. D.
		Saka. raj.	A. D.	Saka. raj.	A. D.	Saka. raj.	A. D.	Saka. raj.	A. D.	Saka. raj.	A. D.	Saka. raj.	A. D.		
1	သုဒ္ဓဓိရာဇ် Samuddharāj Thamokdayit	2	80	45	32	29	107	32	29	107	45	32	There is an inter-regnum of 13 years before this Pagan dynasty begins; but the dates as entered in the Jātābon admit of no interregnum. Thamokdayit founded the capital at Yon-but-kyun [Hman-nan].
2	ရသေ့ကြောင် Rase'kron Yathegyaung	...	...	47	125	15	55	74	52	91	74	152	15	91
3	ပြုစောဇိ Prūcothi Pyusaeti	...	...	62	140	82	35	89	167	35	89	167	75	35
4	တိမ်မင်းသတ် Thi'man'yañ Timinyin	...	...	144	222	27	45	164	242	50	164	242	57	50
5	ယဉ်မင်းရိက် Yañman'puik Yinminbat	171	249	85	20	221	299	50	221	299	25	50	Removed the capital to Siripaccayā (i.e. Lawkanan) in 344 A. D. [Hman-nan].
6	ရိက်သေ့သတ် Paik-the-le	...	...	256	334	37	40	246	324	40	246	324	20	41
7	သေ့သတ်ကြောင် Señiañ'kron The-le-gyaung	...	...	293	371	44	53	266	344	53	266	344	43	53
8	ကြောင်ချောင် Kron'd'rac Kyaungduyt	...	...	337	415	25	55	309	387	25	309	387	25	55
9	သတ်ထန် Sañ'than Thitan	362	440	37	30	334	412	35	334	412	27	35	His immediate predecessor, Mokkhaman, ၄၀၃၀၆ (not mentioned here) reigned only 3 months. [Hman-nan].
10	သုရဲ Sūrai Thuye	...	...	399	477	15	33	361	439	33	361	439	55	32
11	သုရဲသုရဲ Saramwanphya Tharamunbya	...	...	414	492	22	55	416	494	22	416	494	22	55

12	သိုက်ဝံး	Suiktuin <i>Thak-taing</i>	436	514	7	33	438	516	7	33	438	516	7	45	438	516	7	45	Founded Tam-pa-vati (i.e. Thamat) in 516 A.D. [Hman nan].
13	သေင်္တလည်	Señlañkr-onnay <i>The-le gyaung-nye</i>	443	521	9	22	445	523	9	20	445	523	9	35	445	523	9	35	
14	သေင်္တလည်	Señlañpaik <i>The-lipak</i>	452	530	5	20	454	532	15	20	454	532	15	20	454	532	15	20	
15	ခနဲလောင်	Khan ² loñ ³ <i>Khanlaung</i>	457	535	10	29	469	547	10	19	469	547	10	32	469	547	10	32	
16	ခနဲလတ်	Khan ³ lat <i>Khanlat</i>	467	545	12	21	479	557	12	21	479	557	12	39	479	557	12	39	
17	ထွန်တိုင်	Thwantuít <i>Tuntaik</i>	479	557	13	19	491	569	13	20	491	569	13	35	491	569	13	35	
18	ထွန်ပင်	Thwanpac <i>Tunbyit</i>	492	570	16	20	504	582	16	20	504	582	16	30	504	582	16	30	
19	ထွန်ချင်	Thwankhyac <i>Tunchit</i>	508	586	27	26	520	598	15	22	520	598	15	22	520	598	15	22	
20	ပုပ္ဖိးဇောရတန်	Puppās Corahan <i>Popa Sacrahan</i>	535	613	27	66	535	613	27	32	535	613	27	37	535	613	27	37	Also known as Sangharāja, eliminated 560 years, in the last year of his reign and introduced the existing era beginning with year 2.
21	ဓမ္မတုန်းသီး	Rhwe un ² sīs <i>Shae-onthi</i>	Sakka-rāj. 2	640	12	35	Sakka-rāj. 2	640	12	35	Sakka-rāj. 2	640	12	35	Sakka-rāj. 2	640	12	35	
22	ပိတုမ်	Pitsum <i>Petit-thon</i>	14	652	8	40	14	652	8	40	14	652	8	41	14	652	8	41	
23	ပိတုတောင်	Pittoñ ³ <i>Pettitaung</i>	22	660	50	22	22	660	50	22	22	660	50	22	22	660	50	22	
24	နေချီး	Nakhwe ³ <i>Ngakhue</i>	72	710	6	52	72	710	6	52	72	710	6	55	72	710	6	55	
25	မြင်းတေး	Mrañs kywe ³ <i>Myinkya²e</i>	78	716	10	21	78	716	10	21	78	716	10	21	78	716	10	21	

II. Kings of Burma who reigned at Pagan.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS	Jatābon Yazawin				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthin Yazawin				Hman-nan Yazawin				REMARKS.
		Date of Accession		Length of Reign	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Date of Accession.		Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	
		Sakka-raj.	A. D.			Sakka-raj.	A. D.			Sakka-raj.	A. D.			Sakka-raj.	A. D.			Sakka-raj.
26	ဝိဇိ Sinkha <i>Theinkha</i>	88	726	8	53	88	726	8	53	88	726	8	53	88	726	8	53	
27	သိန္နဝိဇိ Sin's cwan <i>Theinzun</i>	96	734	10	40	96	734	10	40	96	734	10	42	96	734	10	55	
28	ရွှေလောင်း Rhwelon's <i>Shwelaung</i>	106	744	9	20	106	744	9	20	106	744	9	35	106	744	9	35	
29	ရွှေတပ် Thwawntwans <i>Tandwin</i>	115	753	9	30	115	753	9	20	115	753	9	26	115	753	9	26	
30	ရွှေဘို Rhwembok <i>Shwe-mhauk</i>	124	762	23	19	124	762	23	19	124	762	23	19	124	762	23	20	
31	ရွှေလတ် Mwanlat <i>Manlat</i>	147	785	17	30	147	785	17	30	147	785	17	39	147	785	17	39	
32	စောလင်း Cokhannhac <i>Saekhin nhat</i>	164	802	27	30	164	802	27	30	164	802	27	36	164	802	27	36	
33	သုဇ္ဈန် Khalūs <i>Khetu</i>	191	829	17	23	191	829	17	27	191	829	17	35	191	829	17	35	
34	ပျဉ်းပျဉ်း Pyañpyas <i>Pyinbya</i>	208	846	30	30	208	846	12	30	208	846	32	45	208	846	32	45	Founded presents Pagan in 849 A.D. [Hman-nan, p. 225].
35	တနင်္ဂနွေ Tannak <i>Tan-net</i>	238	876	28	18	220	858	18	18	240	878	28	18	240	878	28	28	

		266	104	30	30	238	876	25	30	268	906	9	50	268	906	9	50	
36	ခေတ္တဗွေ: Calenakhwe's	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37	သီရိဝံသီ: Sate Ngahue	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
38	တောင်သူကြီး: Tonsukris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
39	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Kwamachon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
41	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
42	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
43	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
44	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
48	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
49	ကျွမ်းသော်ကြီး: Krons-phu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Died in the 4th year of Anawrata's reign. [Hman-nan].

Contemporary of King Dhātusena of Ceylon and of Vijayabahu who sent an embassy. [Hman-nan]

II. KINGS OF BURMA WHO REIGNED AT PAGAN.

II. Kings of Burma who reigned at Pagan.

No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	Jatabon Yazawin.				Maung Kala Yazawin.				Twinthin Yazawin.				Hman-nan Yazawin.				REMARKS.
		Sakka-rāj.	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Sakka-rāj.	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Sakka-rāj.	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	Sakka-rāj.	A. D.	Length of Reign.	Age at date of Accession.	
50	ကျော့ Kyaw-ga Kwa-ga	596	1234	15	20	581	1219	15	20	596	1234	16	41	596	1234	16	41	+Hman-nan gives 35, which is a mistake for 31. *There is an interregnum of 2 years before the accession of Kyawzwa. [Maung Kala].
51	ဥဇာ Ujana Uzana	611	1249	5	36	596	1234	6	33	612	1250	5	33	612	1250	5	33	
52	နရသီဟပတေ Narasihapatei Narathihapade	616	1254	33	16	602	1240	44	16	617	1255	31	16	617	1255	31†	16	
53	ကျော့ဇာ Kyaw-za Kyaw-za	649	1287	13	27	648*	1286	14	33	648	1286	12	28	648	1286	12	28	
54	ဇာနိ Zanai Sawnit	662	1300	31	16	665*	1303	22	16	660	1298	32	20	660	1298	27	16	*Kyawzwa was deposed by three Shan brothers in 662 Sakkarāj; but Sawnit was made king only in 665. [Maung Kala].
55	ဇာနိ Zanai Sawmannac Sawmannit	683	1331	37	15	687	1325	43	15	692	1330	38	21	687†	1325	43	15	+Hman-nan places the commencement of this reign in 689 Sakkarāj, but the date deduced from the length of the previous reign gives 687.

MAUNG HLA.

An Appeal for more light on Arakanese History.

BY J. STUART.

I should be very much obliged to any one who could refer me to any book treating of the above subject. In the account of Lord Amherst, in the "Rulers of India" series, I find the following passage. "The Burmese monarch of the day had sent an army through a defile of the mountain barrier, had conquered Arakan and extinguished the glories of that ancient kingdom. To make intelligible what would otherwise appear to be the preposterous claims advanced a quarter of a century later, it is necessary to remember that the authority of the Arakanese monarch, while it flourished, had extended as far as Dacca, so that a precedent could be cited for the pretensions of the Burmese lordship in Bengal." I confess that I had always considered the claims made by the Kings of the Alaungpaya dynasty to lordship over parts of India as absurd. So they were, of course, for when you have conquered the King of any country, you do not necessarily annex all his conquered provinces until you have conquered them also. Still, as the conquerors of Arakan, the claim of the Burmese monarchs had a show of reason. But, if Arakan in the eighteenth century had been a really flourishing and conquering kingdom, it is curious that it did not make a more energetic resistance to the invasion of its own country by the Burmese from the other side of the Yoma Hills. They seem to have made no resistance to speak of, but merely fled into British territory, thus putting the Anglo-Indian officials in an awkward dilemma. They had enough work on their hands over the stretch of country they already held, and had no wish to extend their responsibilities into Burma. On the one side they had the piteous plea of the fugitives: "We will never return to the Arakan country; if you choose to slaughter us here, we are willing to die; if you drive us away, we will go and dwell in the jungles of the great mountains." On the other hand the Burmese King was urging his claim thus: "If you keep in your country my slaves, the broad path of intercourse between the states will be blocked up."

The following extract from the book about Lord Amherst, relating to troubles which preceded the first Burmese War, may be interesting as throwing a fresh light on the events immediately preceding that war. "In the year 1811 the question had become a burning one, and for a time the rights and wrongs of the Mugs was a topic of interest to sentimental politicians even in England. This cacophonous name was given indiscriminately to all the Arakanese, though in strictness it applies only to one section of the population, said to be descended from Bengali mothers and Arakanese fathers. Amongst the suffering race appeared in 1811 one who for a time seemed destined to be the saviour of his country., Khyen-byan, whom the Anglo-Indians persisted in calling King-bering. was the son of the district officer who had betrayed Arakan to the Burmese

So unpopular was he on this account amongst his countrymen that their hatred followed the son to his exile in Chittagong. But he was soon to free himself from obloquy. Half brigand, half patriot, he collected a host with which he invaded Arakan, captured the chief town, and behaved with the usual licence of a Burmese victor. Again the Governor of Arakan held the English responsible, and again Calcutta statemanship professed its innocence..... The nationalist drama in which King-bering was the leading actor, had an ill ending. A Burmese army came and swept him and his followers back to Chittagong, from which harbour of refuge they resumed patriotic incursions. So, till 1815, the triangular warfare was maintained, poor King-bering and his men being hunted with equal zest by the Company's sepoys and the levies of the Viceroy of Arakan. Then the freebooter died, and his haunts knew him no more."

The remainder of the history of events on the Arakan border have often been described and it is needless to repeat them here. But it is, perhaps, not so generally recognised that it was not only in this part of the world that we were in contact with the territories claimed by the King of Burma. It would take too long to give the full history of his claims to Assam, but the following brief summary may help to some understanding of it. Assam had a very complicated constitution. Government was hereditary, not only in the person of the king, but also in that of the chief ministers, of whom there were three, the *barpu* *gohain*, the *bara* *gohain* and the *boora* *gohain*. In 1796 the *boora* *gohain* had acquired complete ascendancy and the Raja was a mere tool in his hands. In 1810 this Raja died and his brother, Chandra Kant, was raised to the throne by Permanand, the *boora* *gohain*. Chandra Kant, however, proved less docile than his predecessor, and encouraged a conspiracy against the *gohain*. The latter, however, discovered the plot; the Raja was obliged to disavow all participation in it, and the others were put to death with the most horrible cruelty. One official who had been in the plot managed to escape to Calcutta, where he applied on behalf of his master to the British Government. Meeting with but little encouragement there, he had recourse to the Burmese envoys there at the time, and returning with them to Ava, he got the help he wanted. Six thousand Burmans and eight thousand auxiliaries accompanied him to Assam, where the *boora* *gohain* died two days before their arrival. The Burmese were reimbursed their expenses, and dismissed with honour. The services of the individual who had secured Burmese help were unable to save him from court intrigues, and Chandra Kant put him treacherously to death, on which his friends and kindred fled to Burma. The Burmese promptly sent an army to Assam. This force entered the country early in 1818, and were opposed at Najeera with some spirit; but a panic seizing the Assamese Commander, he fell back to Jorhath. Upon the advance of the Burmese force to Gohati, Purandhar Singh and the *boora* *gohain* took refuge in British territory. Their surrender was demanded by Chandra Kant. It was not long, however, before Chandra Kant himself fell out with the Bur-

mese, his brother-in-law having been put to death by order of the Burmese general. He fled to Gohati and steadily refused to trust himself again in the power of the Burmese Commander. In resentment at his mistrust, a number of Assamese were put to death. Chandra Kant retaliated on the Burmese officers who had been sent to persuade him to return. The Burmese general sent a force against him which compelled him to evacuate Gohati, and retreat to the British frontier. There, however, he turned the tables on the Burmese and compelled them to retreat in their turn. Being joined by a number of Assamese, he again established authority over the western part of Assam, as far as the vicinity of Jorhath. This was about the latter end of the year 1821. In the beginning of the following year Burmese reinforcements, under the capable leadership of Bundula, arrived in Assam, and Chandra Kant had to fly again. He did not enter British territory, but Bundula, thinking he would do so, sent blustering threats of forcibly taking him out of British territory, should he be there. This threat was not taken very seriously by the British Government, but the force on the frontier was strengthened in case of accidents. The pretence of maintaining the lawful prince on the throne of Assam was soon abandoned by the Burmese, and an official of their own nation was put in charge of Assam as a conquered province. To the East India Company this meant that a powerful and ambitious neighbour had been substituted for a feeble and distracted state.

Being thus threatened from a new quarter, the Indian Government had to reconsider its own position. Some time before, they had been asked to take Kachar under their protection, and had been considering the reasons for and against doing so. They now decided that the balance of advantage lay on the side of protection. By this arrangement they were able to occupy the principal passes into the low lands of Sylhet, and thus effectively oppose the advances of Burmese troops from the district of Manipur, which they had occupied some time before. In the beginning of the eighteenth century Manipur had engaged in successful hostilities with Burma, but Alaungpaya avenged this by invading and devastating Manipur. In his distress the Raja of Manipur had recourse to Bengal, and in 1762 a treaty of alliance was concluded between him and Mr. Verelst, and six companies of sepoys were sent to his assistance. The advance of the division was retarded by heavy rains, causing so much sickness that it was recalled long before it had traversed Kachar. The last Raja, Jay Sing, died about 1799, leaving several sons, with the usual result of a scramble for the throne. Eventually the country was annexed to Burma. It is impossible in a short article to give a full account of all the points on which the East India Company's dominions and those of the king of Burma touched each other, but the foregoing brief extracts from the accounts of these side contacts will serve to show that it was not only on the Arakan coast that India was in contact with the King of Burma. The East India Company was most anxious to avoid a collision, but it was inevitable.

It would be most interesting if some Arakanese or Burmese scholar could ferret out some real history of Arakan, previous to the 15th century and after. We know practically nothing about it, apparently, during all the centuries preceding the fifteenth. Later it springs into notice as a conquering power, but, before the end of the eighteenth century, we find it conquered, almost without a struggle apparently, by the Burmese from the other side of the hills. In spite of community of race, of creed, of blood and of language, we find the people fleeing into British territory rather than submit to conquerors of their own race and creed. Moreover, when a few years later the Government of India had been compelled to wage war on Burma and to annex Arakan, that country was almost depopulated, and seemed so little worth having that it was seriously deliberated by the authorities in India whether the annexed provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim were worth retaining, and it was suggested that they should be handed back to Burma. Fortunately this was not done, and in a very few years it was apparent that, so far from being worthless, they needed only rational rule to become very rich. At the time of the annexation in 1826, Moulmein consisted of a few fishermen's huts only. Within a quarter of a century, that is in 1850, the value of the imports and exports at Moulmein amounted to nearly £600,000. The revenue of the province of Tenasserim was originally next to nothing, but by 1848—49 it had risen to £55,000. In Arakan the progress was still more remarkable. In 1828, that is two years after the annexation, the population was estimated at about 100,000. By the first of January 1850 it had risen to 344,914, of whom only 200 were Europeans. The revenue in 1850—51 amounted to £88,000, and more than covered expenses. The trade of Akyab was, in the same year, of the value of £360,000, of which £153,123 was the value of the rice exported. In the present day these results have, of course, been far surpassed, but at the time they seemed very remarkable, in the case of two provinces which it had seriously been proposed to abandon as not worth keeping. All this, however, is merely the natural consequence of rational rule instead of that depending on the whims of an autocratic king, who is generally quite ignorant of economic law, and consequently often does harm, even in the exceptional cases in which he thinks more of the welfare of his subjects than of his own aggrandisement. That, however, is quite beside the present issue. My main object in writing this has been to induce some competent Arakanese or Burmese scholar to try and elucidate the tangle of Arakanese history, and explain how it fell from a conquering power in the middle of the eighteenth century to the sorry plight in which we find it in the early nineteenth century.

J. STUART.

MY RAMBLES

among the ruins of the Golden City of Myauk-U.

BY SAN BAW U.

CHAPTER IV.

Persons who are devoid of powers of imagination cannot aspire to become historians. The Arakanese chroniclers who were not devoid of such powers relate three legends in connection with the origin of the city of Myauk-U. They are given below :—

Cūla Taing Sandrā was the last of the nine Sandrā monarchs of Vesali or Wethali dynasty who were the accredited owners of the magical flying Arindama* spear. He died in the year 319 B. E. (957 A.D.), having been caught in a cyclone and drowned near Cape Negarit (Negrais) on his return voyage from the country of Thin-twe : or to express it in the language of poets 'the Naga-King of the deep carried him away to his country, to be wedded to his daughter, who had fallen frantically in love with him'. With his death the influence of sovereign power waned in Arakan, and the event emboldened his natural enemies, the Pyus and the Shans. In the year 325 B. E. (964 A. D.) the King of Tharekhetrā, the hermit country (the present Prome), with his army of 90,000 Pyus invaded Arakan, followed later by another army of 900,000 Shans. The last Sandrā king left no issue but an unborn child. To get a successor to the throne, therefore, was a difficult problem.

The story goes that the king was at one time stricken with a malady called Ugrwet-nā, headache of an extremely severe form. The best physicians were of no avail. One Dhamma Vezeya, better known as Tamma-zaik-amat, his prime minister, a man skilled in the eighteen sciences, was consulted and said "May it please your Majesty, my life belongs to you. At your Majesty's will and pleasure I live or die. If this my one prayer is granted, I shall find out the root-cause of your Majesty's malady, and make it known to you. Let a cage of seven steel frames be provided, and from its innermost chamber the solution shall be made known." The King replied: "Be it so". The steel cage was provided, and from this place of security the prime minister announced, that in the last incarnation of the King he took the form of a pet dog of a very poor woman living in the outskirts of the city of Thin-twe (the present Tagaung). The dog was so attached to her that wherever she went, it used to follow her. Seeing the attachment the neighbours jeered at her; and in a moment of rage she hit the dog with a stick and killed it. The dog was buried at a suitable place; and later a banyan tree sprang up, entangling in its roots the dog's skull, and whenever its branches swayed from side to side in wind or storm the malady started to trouble the King. The only way to cure the illness was to remove the dog's

* See note at the end of the chapter.

skull from the fork of the tree's root. After giving an attentive hearing to the minister, the King decided to embark upon his journey to the country of Thin-twe. The journey was long and attended with many dangers. So before his departure the King left his last will entrusting his ring, called *Nawarat-letswe*, possessed of hidden powers, with his chief queen Mibayā Sanda Dewi, instructing her that whosoever could wear it or fit it onto his finger, the Crown should be given him. A proclamation therefore was made throughout the land calling candidates to try their luck. On the appointed day an immense crowd collected in front of the Palace, and every one tried to wear the ring, without success. Then Amra-too a *Mro* Chief tried it, next his brother Amra-goo, then Pepyu (son of Amra-goo) and then Dhamma Vezeya, the prime minister. They all succeeded in wearing it and were declared eligible candidates to the Crown. The kingdom was first offered to the prime minister, who declined the offer on the ground that he already had fallen into disfavour with the Chief Queen, who alleged that he was instrumental in bringing about the death of her husband. Of the three *Mros*, Amra-too being senior to the other two, the crown fell to him; and he with the Chief Queen therefore ascended the throne of Vesali. Amra-goo became the crown prince.

Now, sometime later, Amra-goo was discovered having secret relations with the Chief Queen, and this reached the ears of the King, who, enraged at his brother's behaviour, resolved to get rid of him. So, one day, the King pretended to have dreamt a dream the night previous. The dream said "You have become the ruler of so great a kingdom that your kingly pleasures have made you forget the duties of your family Nat-worship. Dire consequences will overtake you, if the family-Nat is still ignored." Feigning alarm at the dream, the King decided to perform the ceremony; a day was appointed and the King ordered Amra-goo to accompany him to the forest. A white buffalo and a bull were taken for sacrifice; also a pair of horns, which Amra-goo was made to carry and march in front of the King. The King, arming himself with a bow and poisoned arrows, called *Mhyā-lyet*, they both set out on their journey. Darkness set in and they still trudged along. Just before dawn broke, when they reached a certain creek, the King, bending his bow, took out a poisoned arrow from his waist, aimed and shot it. Amra-goo fell and rolled on the ground and died soon after. By the side of his brother's corpse the King waited for the dawn. When dawn broke, the King himself carried the body of his brother to another place, where it was concealed. The place where Amra-goo fell came to be called *Mhyā-tyet-chaung*, later *Nga-lyet-chaung*, and lastly was corrupted into *Nga-yet-chaung* which still is found to this day between Myoliaung and Wethali. The place where the King hid Amra-goo's body came to be known as *What-pôn*, which was later corrupted into *Wetpok*, where recently a hamlet stood, but only the site now remains marked with a few pagodas and village-tanks opposite the village of Htanma-raik. The King returned to the palace and explained that he accidentally killed his brother. Feigning to grieve over the misfortune, the King beat his

breast and forehead and cried bitterly, and the sad incident was finally closed. Pepyu then succeeded his father and became crown prince.

When the Pyu troops invaded Arakan, they encamped at Myauk-U, and the King sent out Pepyu to expel them. To overcome his foe Pepyu adopted a stratagem. He approached the Pyu King and telling him the circumstances under which his father met his fate at the hands of Amra-too, expressed a desire to avenge his death. The Pyu king, thinking that he had found an ally, took him over to his side. Pepyu, having now won the confidence of the Pyus, standing on the right bank of Einda-nadi river invoked the aid of the surrounding Nats, saying: "If I am endowed with the power and glory of a prince, may this place become filled with the gloom of darkness for a week, and a boat containing arms be delivered to me." In response to his vow the whole place suddenly became enveloped in darkness; and, hark! the distant sound of a boat rowing was heard. He listened. It drew nearer until a large boat manned by thirty rowers was in full view. Then, as though by magic, the boatmen disappeared leaving the boat afloat on the river. Pepyu, overjoyed at the sight, boarded the boat, took over the arms and concealed them. He then ferried the Pyu troops across the river to Wathe side of the city, where they were massacred. Every boat-load of the soldiers was put to the sword directly they landed, and their heads cut off by the men he had kept concealed. Of the 30,000 Pyus, 80,000 were thus put to death. When the rest of the army saw from the top of a neighbouring hill the fate that befel their comrades, they were seized with fear and took to their heels. Pepyu, having accomplished his task, returned to the palace only to find the King dead; and the ministers, the nobles and the entire populace, welcoming him with open arms, with one voice proclaimed him King.

With the Chief Queen Mibayā Sanda Dewi, Pepyu reigned in Wethali for one year. In accordance with the belief that the dynastic life of Wethali had come to an end, he removed his seat of Government to the place from where the Pyus were expelled by him. There, he founded a new city, which he named Mrauk-Oo and reigned there twelve more years. Next, in the year 338 B. E. (976 A. D.), a large army of Shans, numbering 900,000, invaded Arakan by Eingza-nadi (the present Lemro river), which was in those days a flourishing trade-route between China and Arakan. Pepyu, being overwhelmed by the Shan hosts, fled to Yochaung Thabeik-taung in Buthidaung subdivision; and there, with his whole Court, he resided permanently. The sole object of the Shan invaders was to plunder. They not only plundered people, but sacked the famous Mahamuni Pagoda on Theeri-gutta hill and carried away its riches which had accumulated there for centuries.

The above is one of the legends regarding the origin of the city of Mrauk-Oo as given in Mahā-Yāzawin. The meaning of the word Mrauk is "achievement," and Oo, first: that is, the place of Pepyu's first achievement. The same Yāzawin relates a much more ancient legend of its origin. After Buddha's Pari-nibbāna, now about 2,200 years ago,

when the great Asoka came over to Arakan on a pilgrimage to Mahāmuni, he landed at Bahula-taung hill (the present Baliboo-daung). At that time, on the Thiriwara hill, which was a sister hill to Bahula-taung on the north, there lived a monkey chief who ruled over a thousand monkeys, also a peacock chief who held away over a thousand peacocks. One day, the monkey chief fell ill and died, leaving his wife. It so happened that the wife of the peacock chief also died. In time the survivors came together and an intimacy grew up between them resulting in their union. The female monkey became pregnant and in due course brought forth two beautiful eggs—a rare phenomenon! Now the great Asoka's power was so extensive that his influence was felt even in the animal world. The peacock chief carried the eggs to the King and sought his advice. The King said that the eggs were begotten through his blood alone and that they should be hatched by him. The King also prophesied that a city would spring up at the place under the name of Myauk-U. The peacock chief therefore had a nest built on a tree at Wathe and had the eggs hatched, when lo! two beautiful Nat girls burst forth from them. The two parts of Myauk-U and Wathe were in those days presided over by two guardian Nats. They brought up these two Nat-girls and called them Ma Myauk-U and Ma Wathe. Later on, as though in fulfilment of Asoka's prophecy, a city sprang up at the place, which was named Myauk-U. The word Myauk means "monkey" and U, "egg"; that is to say, the egg or eggs of a monkey.

Another story, however, has it that when King Samon was laying the foundation of the city of Myauk-U, his town-planners found an egg in a nest from which a monkey jumped out on their approach, and the incident having caught the imagination of the King, the city was accordingly named Myauk-U. But one chronicle elsewhere explains that the city was named Mrauk-Oo, because it occupied the northern extremity of the older city of Laung-gyet. The word Mrauk means north, an Oo is edge or extremity. So that "Mrauk-Oo" means the northern extremity of a place or city. In accordance with the Law of Change the names of cities also change from time to time. During the time of Kakkusan Buddha the city of Myauk U was said to have been known by the name

*The Arindamā spear was a remarkable flying spear possessing supernatural powers. It was presented by Thagyāmin to Mahā Taing Sandrā, the first of the Sandrā monarchs. The word is the Pāli *Arindama* "foe vanquishing." The Mahā Yazawin describes it in the following words:—

"Handle of black amber: is 3 cubits long; head 8 ins. by 10 ins. It had the power of flying through space, as willed by the King who owned it. It could perform two kinds of aerial journey; one was, when a royal order or decree was to be sent to any vassal King; it was written on a *Parabaik*, which was then attached to the spear at a place between the handle and spearhead. The spear was then thrown into the air by the King himself. When it reached its destination, none could approach it but he to whom the decree was addressed. The addressee then picked it up and read the order. The other one was when the King sent the spear in anger to any of his rebellious vassal kings; it went directly to him and cut his head in twain."

The Sandrā Kings who successively owned it were:— Mahā Thuriya Sandrā, Thuriya Sandrā, Mawha Mai za Sandrā, Pawlaw Taing Sandrā, Kala Taing Sandrā, Thula Sai Theeri Taingza Sandrā, Theetha Sandrā and Cula Taing Sandrā. Strangely enough, the spear disappeared altogether with the last Sandrā King. The next King who owned a similar spear was Datha razah who reigned at the city of Parein from the year 516-527 B.E. He was the 10th King who owned the Arindamā spear, and hence his name "Datha-razah".

Ramma-pura, during Gonagôn Buddha's time *Ramma-thuwanna-pura*, during Kassapa's time *Rakkha-pura* (*Rakkha* means "Beloo" or "ogre," and *pura*, "city"). During that time the place was a howling wilderness inhabited only by *Beloos* or ogres. Lastly it has come to be known as Myauk-U or Mrauk-Oo in the time of Godama Buddha.

CHAPTER V.

Myohaung is the only hill-resort in Arakan for pilgrims and sight-seers, who need a change from their humdrum daily life to a new world full of ancient associations. It is interesting in many ways. To avoid disappointment visitors must specially note that the best time to visit the place is from the month of December to April. This is the time when the people of the locality clear the thick growth of scrub-jungles caused by heavy rain. On the day of his arrival the visitor feels that he has come face to face with nature. In the day time the sweet songs of birds, the creaking of monkeys: in the night, the howling of jackals, and the distant barking of deer, sometimes punctuated by the growling of tigers, ring in his ears, as he turns from side to side on his strange bed: The next morning finds him accompanying a party of pilgrims consisting of a few men, women and girls, armed with paper flags of different hues and packets of candles bought at a road-side bazaar-stall, meant for dedication at the shrines of Buddha. The party first witnesses a Nat-dance at the shrine of the goddess of Myauk-U by the road-side. It is a relic of the past, and has been made into an annual ceremony by the local people, who want protection from the goddess against plague and other diseases. Then having taken leave of the nat-dance, the party crosses Einda-Nadi over a second bridge and reaches Wathe, which was in days gone by the scene of life and hustle and the residence of the noted son of a wealthy *Zayat-laga* (rest-house builder). He was Tun Aung Gyaw, the lover of Ma Mo Ban We, the beauty of the oil-manufacturing Kyauk-raik-ke village. In fact, they are the hero and heroine of a well-known Arakanese poetic song entitled *Mohbanwe*. A few more minutes brings the party to Zina Manaung Pagoda on the top of a hill about 100 feet high, built by King Sanda Thudama Raza in the year 1028 B. E. (1666 A. D.) The pagoda made of stones is of modern type, 150 feet high, with a *hti* on it said to have been put up by Maung San Byaw, the last Burmese Myowun of Arakan. Double-bodied *poos* guard the pagoda at its base. Attached to its eastern side is a fronton marked on its roof by five receding semi-circular tiers, each slightly higher than the last, until the top one reaches the main structure. The arched entrance, leading by a narrow passage to a huge image of Buddha seated on a *palin* or throne, is beautifully sculptured. Here the party, respectfully inserting the paper flags into the few vases kept in front of the image, lights the candles in a row, and seated in an attitude of prayer, takes refuge in the Three Gems in solemn murmuring tone.

From this hill a glance eastward reveals in the valley below many noted and interesting places. At a league's distance is a stone *pay*^o

seated upon an exquisitely sculptured *palin* within an oblong stone building or *pa-hto*. It is fenced by partly ruined double stone-walls forming a quadrangle, said to have been built by King Min Khamaung about the year 983 B. E. (1621 A. D.). The title of this King was Waradama Rāzā (Ūson Shah, the title assumed by him as Lord of his Mahommedan subjects), as is apparent on the silver coins struck by him. He is popularly known as Min Khamaung, after the event of his birth under a Khamaung-tree (*pyinma*) at Khamaung-seik, when his grandfather, Min Palaung, and his Queen in their golden Paungdaw, were touring on Aingza Nadi river. Be it noted that he was the King who dealt the final blow to the Portuguese ambition for territory by successfully repelling their second invasion of Arakan, in a naval battle fought on Gacchapa Nadi in the year 977 B. E. (1615 A. D.) At some distance, on a raised platform, sits a lonely uncovered stone image of Buddha unlike the ordinary types found elsewhere in Arakan. It is said to have been built by a sect of Buddhism called "Ton-gaing". The symmetrical folds round the entire body and the waist band below the chest are its distinctive features. It is therefore a fit subject for study by the students of religions and of archaeology. It is locally known as Kya-Khraik Paya. A few hundred yards away to the north-east a brick pagoda without a *hti* frowns from the top of Shwedaung hill, 300 feet high, which was made use of by Pemyu in concealing tons of gold of which he despoiled the Pyu troops. The several flights of broad stone and brick stairways leading up to the pagoda testify the great labour and expense bestowed on it by its builder and the pilgrims who visit it. At the base of this hill on the north, at the corner of the valley, is a stone image of Buddha about 12 feet high, seated majestically on a large artistically sculptured stone *palin* inside a *pahto*, or square stone building, within a quadrangular double stone-wall now in ruins. It was built in the 16th century by King Min Bah, at whose instance a thousand Bhikkus were here ordained. It is however not beyond repair. Outside, a collection of beautifully sculptured large lumps of stone, the remains of a *palin* on which is still to be seen relics of indigenous art, lie in a heap—evidently the result of vandalism caused by treasure-hunters.

On the right towers the Lethā-daung, a range of hills on which stones and brick-work defences constructed by the Kings of Arakan, but now in ruins, are still to be met with. This is the place where the last struggle for supremacy took place in Arakan between the British and the Burmese. The British, who were accompanied by Mr. Robertson, supported by Indian and Arakanese troops, were the attackers. The first assault launched at the city-gate of Kwanze Paungwa, failed owing to the narrowness of the stone archway, which was stoutly defended by Burmese seasoned troops. The casualties on the British side were found to be 300 in killed alone, and the Commanding Officer had to order a temporary retirement. In a council of war held later, including some 20 Arakanese elders who possessed a thorough knowledge of the local conditions, it was decided that the Burmese should be taken in the rear at Lethā-daung hill. The

local story has it that Mrs Thwin, the goddess of Parein, secretly fell in love with Mr. Robertson who apparently was a handsome young man. Some one dreamt the previous night that the reason why the attack did not succeed, was that Mrs Thwin, on whom the fortune of the war entirely depended, was ignored :—*လိင်သံတံခွံ၊ မိမိမိမိ၊ မြသွင်ဟိယာ၊ မှီဝဲမဆက်၊ အဝေးတို့ဝင်သ၊ ဘဝိလ်းနှင့်*—so runs the rhyme. Some one advised that if a formal marriage between her and Mr. Robertson was solemnised, victory would be assured. On hearing the suggestion Mr. Robertson at once agreed, and the next day a wedding ceremony was publicly held between him and Miss Mrs Thwin. The second attack was then successfully launched at Lethā-daung hill. The only other city gate leading to the town was being blocked by the Burmese with earth at Mradaung. It still stands to this day, and one still finds parts of a large cannon apparently abandoned by the defenders. The attacking troops then scaling the heights of Lethā-daung in ever increasing numbers, carried the place by storm, though at heavy cost, and put the Burmese to flight.

Lethā-daung is not only important for this, but also the scene of an old world tale. One day, in the 16th century, while King Min Bah with his prime minister Mahā-Pyīñña-gyaw was supervising the construction of the defence-works on the hill from its summit, they happened to see vast crowds of people wending their way from the direction of Parein and Mahā-hti. The King openly expressed his anxiety to his prime minister, who, endowed with a mine of intelligence, had a ready answer. He said that he saw only $1\frac{1}{2}$ men in the whole realm ; that is, the King was equal to one man, and he to the other half. The rest were earthworms and ants. So the King's mind was eased.

SAN BAW U.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

By G. E. HARVEY.

Paras 1—6, Abstract of the English Divisional Report.

Brigadier-General T. W. Morrison, C. B. led into Arakan the South-Eastern Division accompanied by a flotilla under Commodore Hayes. The total force amounted to 9,913 effectives of whom some 7,000 were sepoys.

2. On 23rd March 1825 the flotilla attacked stockades at Kheong Peela, *alias* Chamballa, half way up the river to Mrohaung. The channel was barely a musket range across; hidden stockades, communicating with each other and commanded by five golden umbrella chiefs under the victor of Ramu, opened a heavy fire from several cannon and numerous jingals, and the flotilla withdrew having lost 4 killed and 31 wounded. Four vessels went aground till nearly dawn next day but were not molested as the Burmese had suffered severely.

3. On the 26th the land forces closed in on Mrohaung. The fighting was across creeks with steep banks covered with sharp stakes and crowned with deep entrenchments. After taking these, the troops found themselves in a bare plain facing a range of hills 350-400 feet high; these hills were well fortified, masonry being used in places. Only one pass through them led to the capital, and it was held by three thousand musketmen with some artillery, while the total strength of the defenders along the crest was some nine thousand men.

4. On the 29th a daybreak assault on the pass reached the crest, but the ascent was steep, in places perpendicular, and only a few men got their hands on the trench; they were under a brisk fire, large stones were rolled on them, small ones were discharged from bows, and they were hurled back to the bottom. The attack was called off at 1 p.m., with a loss of 51 killed and 136 wounded.

5. It was then established that the key of the Burmese position was their right. Here the height was greatest and it was crowned with a stockade, but the garrison were few, as the Burmese trusted to the precipitous ascent. On the 31st the British artillery played on the pass but while the Burmese crowded there the assault moved off after dark to the right and by 11-30 p.m. was in possession of the stockade without losing a man killed.

6. Having gained the right, the English proceeded to send up two 6 pounder guns on elephants; owing to the difficult ground it was nearly 7 a.m. on 1st April before one was mounted, but its fire quickly silenced a Burmese 6-pounder on the next height. The attack then moved forward

from the captured stockade, while the main body down in the plain advanced against the pass. There were no casualties as the Burmese did not wait, and thus Arakan was gained. Pursuit failed to intercept the flight of the Burmese to Ava, but they never reassembled; cavalry could not find any collected number, with the solitary exception of 300 men who were overtaken in a plain and all accounted for as killed, prisoners, or drowned in attempting to cross a stream.

Paras 7—14, Comment.

7. This campaign presents two differences from the others in the First Anglo-Burmese War. Firstly, the invaders were as numerous as the defenders, whereas in the main theatre, the Irrawaddy Delta, the defenders were greatly superior, sometimes outnumbering the invader's effectives by sixteen to one. Secondly, the defence lacked determination.

8. Burmese troops could seldom be brought to face the bayonet a second time but almost invariably fought well the first time. There had been no previous fighting in Arakan, and their failure to await the last rush on this occasion is surprising. Allowances must be made for such possibilities as panic, and for dismay at the loss of their right which had seemed impregnable. But the real cause for their breaking was probably a consciousness that the country was against them. Mr. San Baw U's article mentions them as being seasoned troops; the Burmese garrison at Mrohaung, first stationed in 1785, had never exceeded a few thousand; probably therefore the three thousand musketmen of the Divisional Report were the Burmese garrison and the remaining six thousand were local levies, e. g. largely Arakanese, and therefore a source of weakness as even those who were submissive enough to be pressed into a levy had no love for the Burmese.

9. No fewer than 50,000 Arakanese had fled into English territory to escape Burmese oppression, and Arakanese sympathy lay, if anywhere, with the invader; the regimental returns show that a Mug Levy Rifle Company of 553 men served with the invader.

10. Mr. San Baw U's article does not give the calibre of the large cannon still to be seen in the defenders' position. The Divisional Report shows that they left behind 29 iron and 12 brass guns, 10 jingals, 82 muskets, 385 loose shot, 280 lb. powder. The largest gun was a 7-pounder. Of the iron guns one, marked 1785, was serviceable, the rest were worthless.

11. The invader's total casualties throughout the campaign were *flotilla* 4 killed, 31 wounded; *land forces* 32 killed, 212 wounded. Of these latter no fewer than 31 killed, and 135 wounded were incurred in the abortive attack on the pass; the statement in Mr. San Baw U's article that in this attack the invader lost 300 in killed alone is not borne out by the regimental returns, but in Burmese accounts, even when they are contemporary, the variation of a decimal place or two is almost a convention.

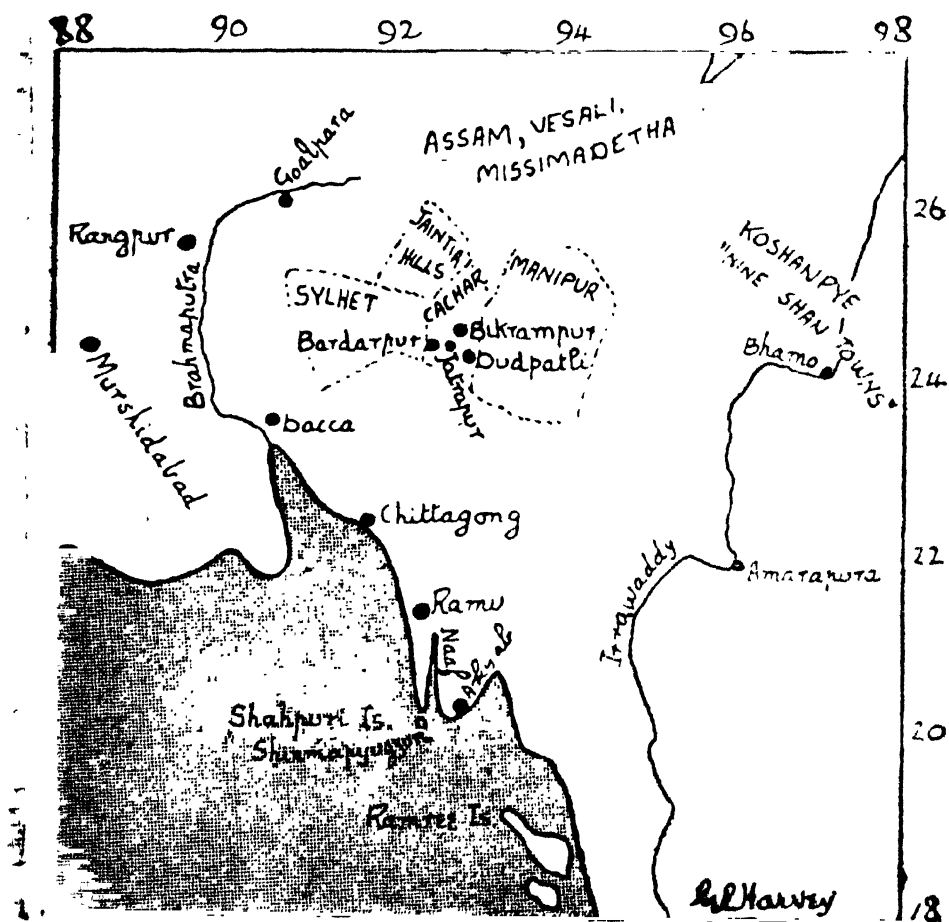
12. The Robertson mentioned in Mr. San Baw U's article was T. C. Robertson, Magistrate of Chittagong, who accompanied the forces as Political Agent. His fairy marriage is not mentioned in the files but is so firmly believed in that it must assuredly have taken place, if not in reality, at least in the imagination of some local Bill Adams.

13. Sandwip island (p. 104) was a trade centre commanding the mouths of the Ganges Delta, and its neighbourhood provided timber in abundance for shipbuilding. In 1609 some Portuguese pirates drove out the Afghan pirates who held it, made it a formidable stronghold, and repeatedly attacked Arakan until Minhkamaung (Husein Shah) drove them off with the help of Dutch ships and in 1617 occupied Sandwip. The Portuguese there were transported to Chittagong and served the king of Arakan, combining with his men as sea-wolves whose slave-raids were the terror of Lower Bengal for many generations. The Portuguese Government however continued to be formidable in the East until the Dutch expelled them from Malacca in 1641.

14 King Min Bah's anxiety at seeing so many people (p. 105) was due to the fear that a numerous population might prove rebellious. The tabu against taking a census is common among primitive races, a well known instance being *Exodus xxx 12, II Samuel xxiv 10, I Chronicles xxi 1* ; but the reason is usually different, see Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (1919) II 555.

G. E. HARVEY.

MAP TO "BURMESE & ENGLISH DESPATCHES."



BURMESE AND ENGLISH DESPATCHES
ON THE EVE OF
THE FIRST ANGLO-BURMESE WAR 1824-6.

Extracted from the India Office records

by

G. E. HARVEY.

[Read before the University College Historical Association, Rangoon, 14 September 1923, being the first paper read before the Association after its foundation.]

[In 1666 the Moghuls finally ejected the Arakanese from Chittagong. In 1760 the Moghuls ceded it to the English. Its southernmost boundary lay along the Naaf estuary, to the east of which lay Arakan. In 1785 the Burmese annexed Arakan but admitted English possession beyond the Naaf by repeatedly asking the magistrate of Chittagong to extradite Arakanese fugitives; in 1818 however they changed their tone.]

*Letter from the Rajah of Ramree, to the Governor General. Received
8 June 1818.*

I, Nameo Sura, Governor of (Yamawoody) Ramree, placing my head under the royal feet, resembling the golden lily, and bowing to the commands of the most illustrious sovereign of the universe, king of great and exalted virtue, lord of white elephants, called Saddan, strict observer of the divine laws, who fulfils the ten precepts, and performs all the good works commanded by the former virtuous kings, who assists and protects all living beings, whether near or remote, and possesses miraculous and invincible arms, &c. &c. address and inform the Governor General of Bengal, that our mighty monarch is distinguished throughout the vast world, for his unexampled piety and justice. He has a hundred sons, a thousand grand-sons, and one great grand son, whom he nourishes in his own arms, and who is inexpressibly esteemed and beloved, as a rarity of as great a magnitude as the white elephant is superior to ten other various species of rare elephants; the acquisition of this royal infant, is considered as an offering made to the king, by the angel of heaven himself. The power, good luck, and inestimable reputation of our great sovereign, is universally known and he is duly recognised by all sovereign kings. Those who come to him for the purpose of paying due homage and respect, are invariably taught the principles of religion, and the system of good government. Our master, in fact, protects all living beings.

From Keopugan Lengen Peyagee, and the nine cities of Shyan, situated to the eastward, king Woody [Utibwa = Emperor of China], sent three of his esteemed daughters, as offerings to the golden soles of the royal feet of our gracious sovereign, and thereby established a happy friendship between the two kingdoms, which intercourse has been attended with incalculable advantages.

Megema-daysa, King of Assam, (Wezaley) presented His Majesty with his beloved daughter, and signified subjection to the authority of our sovereign.

The Maharajah of Naga-sheindatain, in Munnepoora, promised to resign his throne to his brother Soorbayrajah, after a lapse of three years. The Maharajah not fulfilling his engagement, and otherwise having ill used his brother, he proceeded to the capital, and represented this breach of promise, and remonstrated against the injustice by placing his head under the golden soles of the royal feet of our sovereign, who issued orders to the superior authorities of the neighbouring city situated to the westward of Nagasheindatain, to send an army, under skilful generals, for the express purpose of placing Soorbayrajah on the throne, he having undergone the Royal Ceremonies, and being vested with the title of Maha-shein-rajah. In consideration of the great distinction and favor thus conferred on him, he likewise presented His Majesty with his esteemed daughter, and also signified himself a subject of the authority of our monarch.

Amatpooya Kounhay, minister of Checkadaya, King of (Megema-daysa,) Assam, having disturbed the peace of the country, and acted insubordinately, by not recognizing the authority of the King, his brother, or his son, the two latter proceeded to Umerapoor, and placed their heads under the royal feet, and represented the circumstance to our sovereign who has graciously pleased to order that Bamo Meowoon, Mogoun Meowoon, and Moing Meowoon, be despatched with forces, elephants, and horses to secure the throne to the real sovereign. In pursuance of the royal commands, they proceeded to the spot, and having ascertained the merits of the claim, settled the difference in a satisfactory and peaceable manner.

In Kameo, the laws of good government not being strictly observed, discontent and mutiny incessantly prevailed. This being also represented to our sovereign, an army was sent to storm the city, which was captured, but no property was suffered to be plundered. Upon investigation, Chandu-ganda-shein proved to be the real sovereign, and entitled by blood to the inheritance. He was accordingly placed on the throne with all the dignities consistent with his rank.

Those who do not minutely and scrupulously observe the laws of good government, and exercise oppression and injustice, incur the marked displeasure of our sovereign; who, in similar cases, invariably sends armies, under generals, to capture their provinces, but not to plunder them, and subsequently restore them to the monarch entitled to its inheritance.

Our sovereign is an admirer of justice, and a strict observer of the laws and usages, as they existed in ancient times, and strongly disapproves everything unjust and unreasonable. Ramoo, Chittagong, Moorshedabad, and Dacca are countries which do not belong to the English, they are provinces, distant from the Arracanese capital, but were originally subject to the government of Arracan, and now belong to our sovereign. Neither the English Company nor their nation observe the ancient laws strictly, they ought not to have levied revenues, tributes, &c. from these provinces, nor have disposed of such funds at their discretion. The Governor-General, representing the English Company, should surrender these dominions, and pay the collections realized therefrom to our sovereign. If this is refused, I shall represent it to His Majesty. Generals with powerful forces will be dispatched, both by sea and land, and I shall myself come for the purpose of storming, capturing, and destroying the whole of the English possessions, which I shall afterwards offer to my sovereign; but I send this letter, in the first place, to make the demand from the Governor-General.

From the Governor General of India to His Excellency the Viceroy of Pegu, &c. &c. &c.; dated 22 June 1818.

A letter having been addressed to me by the Rajah of Ramree, containing a demand for the cession of certain provinces belonging to the British Government, I deem it incumbent on me, in consideration of the friendship subsisting between His Burmese Majesty & the British Government, to transmit to you a copy of that extraordinary document.

If that letter be written by order of the King of Ava, I must lament that persons utterly incompetent to form a just notion of the state of the British power in India, have ventured to practise on the judgment of so dignified a sovereign. Any hopes those individuals may have held out to His Majesty, that the British Government would be embarrassed by contests in other quarters, are altogether vain, & this Government must be indifferent to attack, further than as it would regard with concern the waste of lives in an unmeaning quarrel.

My respect for His Majesty, however, induces me rather to adopt the belief, that the Rajah of Ramree has for some unworthy purpose of his own, assumed the tone of insolence & menace exhibited in his letter without authority from the King, & that a procedure so calculated to produce dissension between two friendly states, will experience His Majesty's just displeasure.

If I could suppose that letter to have been dictated by the King of Ava, the British Government would be justified in considering war as already declared, & in, consequently, destroying the trade of His Majesty's empire. Even in this supposition, however, the British government would have no disposition to take up the matter captiously, but, trusting that the wisdom of the King of Ava would enable him to see the folly of the counsellors who would plunge him into a calamitous war, & that His

Majesty would thence refrain from entailing ruin on the commerce of his dominions, the British Government would forbear (unless forced by actual hostilities) from any procedure which can interrupt those existing relations so beneficial to both countries.

[Nothing further happened, because the king at last heard of the defeat of the Mahratta Confederacy who were to have co-operated with him against the English—he was usually a year too late. He never disavowed the letter of the Raja of Ramree i. e. the Burmese garrison commander in Arakan, but his officers persistently crossed the Chittagong frontier & kidnapped the East India Company's elephants hunters in the jungles, releasing them on payment, and the Burmese outposts on the east side of the Naaf estuary fired on native British subjects as they went about their daily business in boats. The people were terrified and, to soothe them, the magistrate of Chittagong in February 1823 stationed a police outpost on Shahpuri Island (Shinmapyugyun) on his side of the estuary.]

Letter delivered by Dayen-ya-geo, Vakeel from the Rajah of Arracan, on 8 August 1823.

Maha Mongee Keojoa, Governor General of Arakan, and the Western Frontier of the Burmese Empire. &c. &c. &c., to the Governor General of Calcutta, in Bengal.

Our Sovereign is extremely fortunate, he reigns over the great kingdom, by inheritance from his grand-father since his ascension to paradise. He is replete with religious principles, a strict observer of the ten commandments, and of the twenty-eight acts of virtue; to him has descended the throne of his grand-father, which he now feels.

There is a certain island known by the name of Shein-mabu, where a stockade has been erected, and a guard of native seapoys stationed: in order to their being removed, I forwarded a letter on the subject to the Governor of Chittagong by the hands of General Moungdoh, who brought an answer written on a sheet of paper in English, Arracanese, Persian, and Hindoo characters, declaring the said island of Shein-mabu to belong to the English. I ask, therefore, if this communication is to be considered as an authorised one on the part of the Governor General, if it be so, I assert, that the island of Shein-mabu does not appertain to the Bengal government: from the time Arracan was subject to the original Arracanese ruler, and since it came to the golden possession, the island was always annexed to the Denhawoody (Arracanese) territories, and still belongs to our sovereign. The guard now stationed at that place, may be the occasion of disputes among the lower order of the people, and of obstruction to the poor merchants and traders now carrying on commerce in the two great countries, and eventually cause a rupture of the friendship and harmony subsisting between the two mighty

states. To prevent such occurrences, it is requested, that the guard now stationed at Shein-mabu, may be removed.

From the Governor General to the Rajah of Arracan, &c. &c.

15 August 1823.

I have received your letter brought by Dayen Yageo, regarding the island of Shapuree, which you term Shein-mabu.

The communication addressed to you by the magistrate of Chittagong, on the subject of that island, was entirely in conformity with the views and sentiments of the supreme government.

The island of Shapuree has always appertained to the British territory of Chittagong, and is the undoubted right of the Honourable Company. It lies on the British side of the main channel of the Naf river, which is the admitted boundary between the two states in that quarter, and is in fact obviously a continuation of the *Tek*, or point of the main land of the district of Chittagong, from which it is separated only by a narrow and shallow channel. The occupation of Shapuree by the British government for a length of years, is also proved by the records of the Chittagong collectorship, which shew that it has invariably been comprehended in the revenue settlements.

Under these circumstances, with every disposition to receive your communication in the most friendly spirit, and after giving to the claim which you have advanced on this occasion, all proper consideration, I must declare my conviction, that the Burmese government has not a shadow of right to possession of the island of Shapuree.

With respect to what you have written of your apprehensions, lest the guard now stationed at Shapuree, may be the occasion of disputes among the lower order of people, and of obstruction to the poor merchants and traders, rest assured, that they are wholly without foundation. The proximity of British troops is a cause of protection, and not of injury to all who are peaceably and well disposed, and in the present instance, I feel persuaded, that the maintenance of the post will inspire confidence and encourage the resort of traders.

As to the possibility of a rupture eventually occurring between the two great states, from the Government maintaining a small party of troops on an island undoubtedly its own, you must have written this passage incautiously and without one reflection.

It does not appear from the contents of your letter, that your present communication has been made with the knowledge or authority of your royal master, the King of Ava. The respect which I entertain for His Majesty's wisdom and discernment impresses me with a full conviction that, on learning particulars, he will not fail to recognise the justice of the title by which the British government holds, and will continue to hold, the land of Shapuree.

I regret that the first communication which has passed between us since your arrival in India, should bear any appearance of a difference of sentiment between the principal authorities of two friendly states; but I trust, that the arguments and explanation contained in this letter, will

have the effect of terminating the pending discussion. Should they fail to produce conviction on your mind, it will afford me much satisfaction to depute an officer of rank, from Chittagong, in the ensuing cold season, to adjust finally all questions relating to boundary dispute on the S.E. frontier of that district, in concert with a properly qualified and duly empowered agent from Arracan.

I request you to accept the assurance of my high consideration and friendly regard, &c.

[The Burmese letter of 8 August 1823 was firm but not discourteous, and it contained no threat of hostilities. Yet the next thing that happened, without another word, was as follows.]

From the Magistrate of Chittagong, dated 28 September 1823.

The enclosed report from the Darogha of Tek Naf, will inform you of the Burmese having attacked and taken possession of the island of Shapuree—three sepoy have been killed, and three wounded, the rest have escaped to the Thana of Tek Naf. The action took place on the night of the 24th September. The Burmese were in force, about one thousand. I shall address you to-morrow, and give immediate notice to Lieutenant Colonel Shapland, C. B.

REPORT FROM THE DAROGHA AT TEK NAF, DATED 24TH SEPTEMBER.

This morning Ram Jeuren, Jemadar of the guard stationed at Shapuree, came to me and the Subedar of the guard at Tek Naf, & stated that at midnight whilst the sipahees were under arms at their post, the Burmahs, in number about one thousand, surrounded the Shapuree stockade on all sides, and began to fire on the party. The guard finding themselves attacked, returned the fire, and several rounds were discharged on both sides, for the space of nearly an hour, when three of the men, named Koorbanee, Sauchee, and Ghollam Khan, having been killed, and the Burmahs having, by the fire of their great guns (probably swivels) set in flames a part of the stockade, the Jemadar was obliged to abandon the spot, and retreat to the banks of the river Khor. At this time Akber, the interpreter of the guard, according to the orders of the Jemadar, called out "Dooahee Company Behad-door," but the Burmahs paid no attention to the remonstrance. The ghat (landing place) of the river was taken possession of by crowds of Burmese boats. The Jemadar finding his ammunition nearly expended, got with his party into two boats which the boat-men of the place had contrived to get ready for them and retreated, the Burmese all the time firing at them, and they returning the fire. During the passage, four of the party were wounded, as per margin. On arriving near Tek Naf, they were joined by a party sent by the Subedar to re-inforce them, but finding that they could not pass back to the island in consequence of the Shapuree ghat being

in the possession of the Burmese, they returned to Tek Naf. The Jemadar further states, that many of the Burmahs were killed in the action. Also a Manjhee and a boat-man are missing, and one fisherman was killed and another wounded by the fire of the Burmahs.

*From the Governor General to the Viceroy of Pegu,
dated 17 October 1823.*

I have the honor to forward to your Excellency's care a declaration, prepared on my part, to the address of the Burmese government which, as it relates to matters of the highest importance, I request the favour of your transmitting to the court of Amerapura, by the surest and most expeditious channel.

Adverting to the friendly connection which has so long subsisted between the two states, and the desire uniformly evinced by the minister holding the office of Viceroy of Pegu, to improve and cement the relations of amity, and to augment the commercial intercourse between the British and Burmese dominions, I feel persuaded that your Excellency will learn, with regret, the rashness and folly of which the local officers of the Burmese Government in Arracan, have recently been guilty on the Chittagong frontier, and to which the paper now forwarded relates.

The most probable view of the case appears to be either, that the Rajahs of Arracan, Ramree &c. have acted entirely on their own responsibility; or that, if their proceedings have been in any degree authorized, the judgment of His Majesty the King of Ava must have been practised upon, and misled by gross misrepresentations, and designed perversion of the truth, on the part of the local officers of the distant province of Arracan, who, for some unworthy purpose of their own, and utterly regardless of consequences, have dared to represent the island of Shapuree as belonging to Arracan, and perhaps even to exaggerate a simple police arrangement of the British government into an invasion of the Burmese territories. The subject therefore of the accompanying declaration is, to place the real facts of the case fully and distinctly before His Majesty, and to state the demand and expectation of the British government, that the court of Ava will take such notice of the insolent and unwarrantable proceedings of its officers, as the circumstances of the case imperatively demand.

Cordially solicitous to maintain the relations of peace and amity with the state of Ava unimpaired, it will afford me the most lively satisfaction to find, that the sentiments entertained by His Burmese Majesty on this affair are such, as not only to render unnecessary any interruption of the intercourse and connection which have proved so beneficial to both countries, but even to rivet the bonds of friendship more firmly than before, by occasioning the removal and punishment of the authors of this and former acts of outrage and aggression on the Chittagong frontier.

[The English letter of 17 October 1823 was addressed to the viceregal governor of Pegu because the kings of Burma would not condescend to correspond direct with a mere Governor General. The letter received no answer.]

From the Adjutant General to the Governor General; dated 24 November 1823.

The Commander in Chief can hardly persuade himself that, if we place our frontier in even a tolerable state of defence, any very serious attempt will be made by the Burmese to pass it; but should he be mistaken in this opinion, he is inclined to hope that our military operations on the eastern frontier will be confined to their expulsion from our territories and to the re-establishment of those states along the line of our frontier which have been over-run and conquered by the Burmese.

From Captain Johnstone, to W. J. Turquand, Esq., Acting Judge and Magistrate, Sylhet; dated 8 January 1824.

I have just this moment received an express from Captain Bowe, communicating intelligence of a large body of Burmahs approaching towards the British frontier; on my arrival at Budderpoor [Bardarpur on the Cachar side of the Jaintia Hills border], should I obtain the sanction of Rajah Ghumbeer Sing of Cachar, to enter his dominions, may I have your permission to advance and give them battle?

From W. J. Turquand, to Captain Johnstone, Commanding a Detachment of the Left Wing 23d Native Infantry. On the River, 8 January 1824.

I have just this moment received your letter of this day's date and in reply, beg to apprise you that the determination of Government is decided, that any endeavours of the Burmese to possess themselves of Cachar should not be permitted. I request, therefore, you will immediately require them to withdraw, and forward the enclosed letter from me to the Commander of the Burmese troops, in which I have stated, that Cachar is considered under the protection of the British Government, and will, therefore be defended from all foreign interference. After this being done, should he not think fit to comply with the requisition therein contained, and still persist in withdrawing a foreign force into Cachar, you will, of course, on the requisition of Gumbbeer Sing, in conjunction with Captain Bowe's detachment, and that at Dumdunah, use your best endeavours to restrain the invasion, by taking such measures as you may deem most advisable. I have sent a copy of your letter to me and your express to his address, to Major Newton, and requested his return forthwith, he being at present at Pundwuta, examining that pass.

From Major Thomas Newton, to W. J. Turquand, Esq., Acting Magistrate, Sylhet; dated Camp Budderpore, 18 January 1824

In consequence of intelligence which I received on the evening of the 16th instant, that a body of about four thousand Burmese and Assamese had crossed into the plains at the foot of the Berteaker pass, an armed stockading themselves at the village of Bekrampore; also, that a force to the eastward had defeated Rajah Gumbbeer Sing's troops and that a third division were crossing the Mootagool pass into Jyntea, to the northwest—I resolved, under circumstances so threatening to my force, to concentrate my detachment at Jatrapore [Jatrapur in Cachar], and move from thence

with the whole due northward, and attack the enemy before they could have time to strengthen their position. I accordingly ordered Captain Johnstone to join me from Tilayen, leaving his camp standing, and at two A. M. of the 17th, we moved off. At six A. M. just beyond an almost impervious grass and reed jungle, which we, with considerable difficulty, marched through, we came into a comparatively plain country, where the situation of the enemy was discovered, by the discharge of two shots at the advanced guard. Their position extended along the villages at the foot of the hills: they were covered by the huts, bushes &c. in a close and difficult country, and on their right they had a stockade on the banks of a steep nullah, occupied by about two hundred men; the attack was made in two divisions; the southern face of the stockade being assaulted by Captain Johnstone, with part of the 23d Regiment and Rungpore Light infantry, and the enemy's line, in the villages, being attacked by Captain Bowe, with part of the 10th Regiment: the whole under my command. This last was immediately successful; the greater part of the enemy, supposed to be Assamese, flying to the hills at the first fire. Captain Bowe then wheeled his force to the attack of the stockade, which was making a brave resistance against Captain Johnstone, and in a short time it was carried by assault, by the united exertions of both parties.

From D. Scott, Esq., Agent of the Governor General on the North East Frontier, to G. Swinton, Esq., Secretary to the Bengal Government; dated Munnipore, 3d February 1824.

In continuation of the subject of my letter to your address of the 31st ultimo, I beg to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, that my interpreter returned this day from the Burmese camp at Jattrapore, and states that the Commander of the forces there, in reply to his demand, for an answer to the various letters addressed to him, declared that he would give none, until he received instructions from Ava, to which place he had despatched messengers.

The interpreter says, that the Commander behaved to him in a very outrageous manner, sometimes threatening in a violent passion to cut off his head and sometimes declaring that he would satisfy his resentment by marching to England. He further states, that they said, that the Governor of Assam was not with the army; but on consideration of the tenor of the Burmese letter, of which a translation was submitted with my postscript of yesterday's date. I think it is not improbable that they have been induced to make this declaration, with reference to the contents of my letters of date the 23d ultimo and 1st instant, of which translations are annexed, in hopes of preventing the advance of our troops into Assam.

The Jynteah Rajah has, with the usual procrastinating policy of the native princes, declined entering into a treaty of alliance, until, as he says, the necessity may prove more urgent. I have pointed out the folly of this line of conduct, in the strongest terms; and with a view to prevent his being intimidated into submission by the approach of the Burmese

army, I have, in the mean time, promised him the assistance of our troops, provided he himself makes all the opposition he can; and declared, that if he admit the Burmese into his territories without doing so, we shall treat him as an enemy.

He has collected a considerable force, said to amount to several thousand archers; and has undoubtedly the means of defending his own territory, at least until assistance could be afforded him; should he, from his conduct, appear to deserve it, I would propose presenting him with a part of the muskets that are expected from Calcutta.

I have the honour of forwarding a translation of a letter respecting the Jynteah country, which I am just about to despatch to the Burmese Commander.

In respect to the exercise of the power with which his Lordship has been pleased to vest me, of eventually directing the advance of the troops into Assam, I shall observe the utmost caution. Of the inconvenience that might result from such a movement, I am fully aware; and it is only in case it should appear to be indispensable towards compelling the evacuation of Cachar before the commencement of the unhealthy season that I should venture to have recourse to it. In that case, also, I shall at the same time address you by express; and there will still be time to countermand the order, via Rungpore, should it then appear inexpedient to Government.

From the Agent to the Governor General to the Commander of the Burmese forces in Cachar; dated 23 January, 1824.

After the usual compliments,.....Previously to this, from Gowalpara [Goalpara, on the Brahmaputra river, was the eastern limit of British rule], I wrote three letters to the Governor of Assam, acquainting him that the country of Cachar was under the protection of the British Government, and that we could not permit the forces of the King of Ava to occupy it without resistance. Notwithstanding this, forgetting the obligations imposed by the subsisting friendship between your Sovereign and the Honorable Company, you have come into Cachar with an army from Assam, and another from Munnipore, and are devastating the country. Before I wrote you, and I now repeat, that the country of Cachar is under our protection, and upon receipt of this letter it is incumbent upon you to retire with your army to the places whence you came. If unfortunately you should refuse, notwithstanding the subsisting friendship, I must direct the British troops to advance into Assam whence you came, and also into Cachar, to repel you by force. For the consequence of such a measure, followed as it may be, by a war between the King of Ava and the Honorable Company, you will have to answer.

Besides this, I have heard that you have detained our Vakeel Biddeanund Sein, contrary to the custom of all countries. This a very improper and illegal act, sanctioned by the customs of no country; I therefore request that the Vakeel may be immediately released. If you keep him confined, or maltreat him, or any other person in a similar situation, you will be held personally responsible for the same.

Letter from the Governor of Assam, one of the Nobles of the King of Ava, an Emperor of the Burmah Country.

Mahanund Kegoodeen, Governor of Assam, intimates to the Magistrate of Sylhet the following circumstance: Gopee Govind Chund, the Rajah of Cachar, being driven from his country by the chiefs of Munnipore, threw himself at the foot of the throne of the Burmese emperor, and preferred an earnest request for assistance, pleading, that Chowrjeet, and Marjeet, chiefs of Munnipore had attacked and conquered his country; that on the occurrence of the misfortune, he had retired into the Company's Province of Sylhet and that from that place he had proceeded to Arrakan. The Governor of that district having inquired into the complaint of the said Gopee Chund, he related the particulars of his hard case, and stated, that for redress he sought the protection of his Burmese Majesty. The Governor of Arrakan having detained the said Gopee Chund there, sent a petition reporting the application made by him. In reply, an imperial mandate was issued regarding the presence of Gopee Chund at Court, and in obedience thereto the Governor of Arrakan sent him to the presence. On the arrival of the Gopee Chund at the foot of the throne of the King of Kings, he represented the hardships he had endured, and his Majesty, pitying his misfortunes, comforted him, and said, "We will re-establish you in your kingdom of Cachar." At length the Emperor ordered the advance of two armies, one from Munnipore and one from Assam; and accordingly Munghee Maha Keyoong Jowa, General of the forces, with eighteen thousand men, has arrived from the former country; and I, the writer, Maha Nund Kegoodeen, with fifteen thousand from Assam. The distressed Rajah Gopee Chund is also with us.

On the 13th of the month of Pendula, or in the month of Poss 1230, Bengal style, the Magistrate of Sylhet sent a letter to meet us, and the army of the King of Ava and that of the Company, meeting on the banks of the Jatinga since, an alarm ensued. The letter from Sylhet having arrived, was read, and the contents thereof are: That beside friendship, there was no enmity between the Rajah Gopee Chund and the King of Ava, and that on hearing that I was coming to re-establish the said Rajah, great pleasure was experienced by the functionaries of the Company; also that the Rajah Gopee Chund, in retaining the protection of his Imperial Majesty, was highly fortunate.

An imperial mandate directed to me has been received, couched in the following terms:—Whereas Chowrjeet and Marjeet, by deceit and insolence, have obtained possession of the country of Cachar, the patrimony of Rajah Gopee Chund, you are hereby commanded to conquer the said Raj, and to restore it to the rightful owner.

In obedience to this order I, Maha Nund Kegoodeen, have arrived with an army, and intending to fight with and to conquer Chowrjeet and Marjeet, I have met the English Company's troops, and fought with them. It will not be unknown to you, that before this, King Bering a son of one of the nobles of Arrakan, having disobeyed the order of the Emperor, was expelled from that country and took refuge in the English

Company's territories. On that occasion the chiefs of his Imperial Majesty and the functionaries of the Company had disputes, and quarrels ensued. Now also on account of the Munnipore Rajah's receiving protection from the English Company, the like occurrence has taken place, and a battle has ensued. Besides that, Boosyn and Byassyn and the Boora Gohayn and Chunder Kant, former Rajahs of Assam, one after another, having misbehaved and rebelled in the dominions of the King of Ava, took refuge in the territories of the Company on that account; also disputes occurred between the functionaries of the Company and those of the King of Ava, and rebels have thus been suffered to occasion discord between the two states, until at length a battle has actually taken place. In reality, the above-mentioned chiefs justly apprehended our vengeance, being fit objects for punishment, but they have escaped, and without reason a battle has taken place between the forces of the Company and those of the King of Ava. Now the armies of his Majesty have arrived from Munnipore, and also from Assam, and I, Maha Nund Kegoodeen, will re-establish Rajah Chund in his lawful station. I have come with the most positive orders to effect this, and besides, by chance, there was a battle on the way. Never will I depart from the orders of his Majesty, but I will certainly restore Gopee Chund to his former dignity.

It will not be unknown to you, that between the functionaries of the Company and those of his Majesty there was peace; and that notwithstanding frequent disputes, never had an open breach of friendship taken place but the merchants of the two countries continued all along to carry on trade, as usual between the ports of the two states. Now that state of things is at end. I shall not fail to do my best and with the English Company War will ensue. The former Kings of Ava were always at peace with the Company, but that is now over, and the hands of friendship are severed asunder. Formerly you wrote a letter from which it appeared there was friendship between Rajah Gopee Chund and the English Company; it is therefore likely that their functionaries will not be disinclined to promote his benefit; and it is therefore proper, that having confined the Munniporean chiefs, you deliver them up to me. If you will not do this, I have the King's order to seize them in whatever country they may be found. According to that order I will act. The above is the truth: I have written it.

From the Agent to the Governor General to the Commander of the Burmese forces in Cachar, dated 1 February 1824.

After the usual compliments. Your letter of the month of Maugh, 1745, has been received, and the contents understood. You write, that by the orders of the Burmah King, you have come with an army to reinstate Rajah Govind Chunder in the Government of Cachar. My friend, the country of Cachar is under the protection of the Honorable English Company, and we cannot permit a foreign power to establish a Rajah there. To the reinstatement of Rajah Govind Chunder we have no objection, but it must be done on the part of the Government. I am

therefore hopeful, that having withdrawn from further interference with the affairs of Cachar, you will retire to your own country. . You have written respecting the affair at Bikrampore. I regret that such an occurrence should have taken place, but as I wrote three letters to the Commander of the Burmese forces in Assam, from Gowalpara, declaring that the country of Cachar was under our protection, and that we should forcibly resist any attempt to occupy it; and, notwithstanding this formal warning you persisted in invading the country, you must be sensible, this unpleasant affair, which happened previously to my arrival here, was entirely attributable to your own conduct. Now I hope you will retire your army from Cachar, and prevent the further progress of hostilities. You state, that you will attempt to seize Chourjeet, and Marjeet, and Gumbheer Sing, in a foreign territory, should they be found therein; my friend, this declaration is inconsistent with the rules of friendship and good manners, as the abovementioned persons are in our dominions. You, of course, have the power of apprehending delinquents in your own territory, but not beyond the boundary, which we could never permit. If you come into our territory to seize the abovementioned, we must resist, and war may ensue. It is the desire of your Sovereign that Chourjeet, Marjeet, and Gumbheer Singh should not be allowed to return to Cachar; and we, also, are willing to prevent them from ever again creating disturbances in the country. Before this I wrote, and I now repeat, that I am desirous of having a personal interview with you. I therefore hope that you will meet me half-way between our respective encampments, when we may discuss the above and other matters, by which means the peace that has so long subsisted between your Sovereign and the Honorable Company may be maintained.

P. S. What else I had to say, I wrote in a letter dated the 23rd of January. You will consider the contents, and act with propriety.

From the Agent to the Governor General, to Maha Nund Kegoo-deen, Commander of the Burmese forces in Cachar; dated 2 February 1824.

After the usual compliments. I received your letter in the Bengal language. That in the Burmese character also arrived, but for want of an able interpreter it was sent elsewhere for translation. This has now arrived; and it appears that you write, that the old friendship subsisting between us and your Rajah is at an end, and that war will ensue. Of the result of hostilities, we have no apprehension; but we shall regret to find the long established friendship between the two countries interrupted by your proceedings. Hitherto you have experienced the advantages of being at peace with us: now if you insist upon war, you will also taste its bitter fruits. On all other matters, I addressed you on the 23rd of January, and 1st of February. From my letters of those dates, you will have learned my mind.

Now, I hear that you design to enter the Jynteah country, and that you have sent people to the Rajah. Therefore I acquaint you, that we will not permit the execution of this fresh act of aggression. First

because the Rajah's ancestor received that country as a gift, after conquest, from the Honorable Company, and he himself has sought our protection.

Secondly. Because, as you openly threaten war, we cannot permit you to occupy that or any other favourable position for commencing hostilities.

Having understood this, you will do well to return speedily by the road by which you came, otherwise you may lose possession of the country of Assam, whence you proceeded.

Letter of 2 February 1824 from the Burmese Commander in Chief in Assam to the Rajah of Jynteah.

Menga Maha Nanda Kroden, Commander in Chief of Assam, acquaints the Rajah of Jynteah and ministers, that presents and offerings from the country of Jynteah were invariably sent to the Rulers of Assam, until Rajah Goorenath became engaged in war with Matounka; and the country and several villages were depredated; from this time the usual offerings were discontinued.

Assam and its Sovereign having been conquered by his Burman Majesty, a Governor has been appointed to its four cities and eight provinces, including Jynteah, and to preserve peace. Loja Koop, the Chief of Chajooky, and Nattee, and Cho-hu-ru, other Chiefs, recognize our authority. The General is, accordingly, commanded to acquaint the Rajah of Jynteah and ministers, wherever they may be, that they must bow submission and send offerings. He is also commanded to proceed by land, for the purpose of placing the Chief of Cozalee on the musnud. By the good fortune of our Sovereign, the King of White Elephants, etc., on our arrival at Cozalee, we attacked and assaulted the Cassayers, took prisoners, and quieted the disturbances which prevailed there. The Rajah of Jynteah and ministers always obeyed the commands of the Assamese Rulers, and sent presents and offerings.

Doolwyun, now in the Royal service, the son of the Rajah of Cozalee, and his officers like Kooran, Lijah Koop, Dooraik Woourah, are charged with this letter, and ordered to request the Rajah of Jynteah to come to the place where our forces are assembled for the purpose of aordiff gnex planation.

From Captain Johnstone, Commanding a detachment of the 23rd Regiment Native infantry, to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, dated Budderpore, 14 February 1824.

The command of this post having devolved upon me, in the absence of Major Newton, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, that the Burmese advanced yesterday morning in very great force to within one thousand yards of this post, on the north bank of the Soormah river, and commenced upon the construction of five separate stockades on most advantageous ground.

Having obtained the sanction of Mr. Scott the Governor-General's agent, for dislodging them from positions which, if permitted to be finished, would form a serious hindrance to our future plans, and inevitably cause the sacrifice of many lives in their reduction, I was determined, if possible, to drive the enemy from them in their unfinished state, and with this view directed Captain Bowe, with part of the 2d Battalion 23d Regiment Native Infantry, and a party of the Rungpore Light Infantry, to cross the Soormah, whilst I proceeded, accompanied by Mr. Scott's interpreter, up the river, in order to induce them to desist from throwing up these fortifications; but seeing no probability of their acquiescence, and that they were rather waiting for further reinforcements, I thought proper to direct the advance of the column.

On reaching the first stockade, the enemy fired upon the leading sections, who ascended the height and instantly drove the enemy with the bayonet from the stockade, and rapidly followed them up without giving them time to rally, till every stockade was carried in the same gallant manner, and left in our possession; my instructions from Mr. Scott being not to commence firing, unless much resistance was made, prevented the enemy's loss from being so great as they otherwise must have sustained: with the stockades the enemy abandoned a number of gingals and muskets, and the whole of their ammunition.

I am sorry to add, that this success, on our part, was not obtained without the loss of a Jemedar of the 1st battalion, 10th regiment, and a number of men wounded, principally by spikes and bows set in the ground to impede the advance of the detachment.

I cannot close this despatch without bringing to his Excellency's notice the gallant conduct of Captain Bowe, who commanded the column of attack, and that of Lieutenant Ellis, who commanded the detachment 2d battalion 23d Native Infantry, and of whom Captain Bowe makes particular mention; indeed the whole of the detachment behaved with the utmost steadiness and bravery throughout.

From Lieutenant Colonel H. Bowen, Commanding in Sylhet, to Captain Bayldon, Major of Brigade, Dacca; dated Jattrapore, 22 February 1824..

I have the honor to report to you for the information of Lieutenant-Colonel McMorine, commanding the frontier, that agreeably to the requisition of D. Scott, Esq. Political Agent, the detachment under my command again disembarked yesterday morning at eight o'clock, and after a march of two hours, fell in with the enemy's stockades at Doodpatlee.

Several spirited attacks were made upon their position, under cover of a heavy fire from three six-pounders, all of which, I am sorry to say, failed, and after a most severe action, which lasted from ten o'clock until evening, I was compelled to draw off the detachment, and return to the strong stockades, which have been evacuated by the enemy at Jattrapore on the 16th instant, leaving two European officers and one hundred and fifty men (between the enemy and our present position) at the strong post of Tilayn, as a measure of observation and safety.

I regret to say, that our loss has been severe; one European officer killed, one Lieutenant-colonel wounded slightly, one Captain and one Ensign wounded dangerously, and about one hundred and fifty-five men killed and wounded.

I have not as yet been able to ascertain the exact extent of our loss, but as soon as I collect the returns, I shall have the honor to forward them.

The enemy's force may be fairly computed at two thousand Burmahs, including cavalry, and they fought with a bravery and obstinacy which I have never witnessed in any troops. It is impossible to estimate their loss, but it must be very severe.

Our troops behaved with their usual steadiness and gallantry, and retired with the heavy guns in the best order.

P.S.—The returns having been received, they are herewith enclosed:—

Returns of Killed & Wounded of the 1st Battalion 10th Regiment in action with the Burmese, on the 21st Feby. 1824.

Killed—1 Lieutenant, & 14 Sepoys. Wounded—1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Ensign, 1 Subadar, 4 Jemadars, 6 Havildars 6 Naicks, 84 Sepoys. and 1 Lascar.—Lieutenant Armstrong, killed.—Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen, wounded slightly.—Ensign Barberie, wounded severely.

List of killed & Wounded of a Detachment of the 2d Battalion 23d Regiment, in an action with the Burmese, on the 21st February 1824.

Killed—2 Sepoys.—Wounded—1 Captain, 1 Havildar, 1 Naick, and 21 Sepoys.—Captain Johnstone, wounded severely.

List of Killed & Wounded of a Detachment of the Rungpore Light Infantry, in an action with the Burmese, on the 21st Feby. 1824.

Killed—1 Naick, and 3 Sepoys.—Wounded—2 Naicks, and 4 Sepoys.

From Lieutenant-Colonel H. Bowen, Commanding the Detachment at Cachar, to Lieutenant Colonel Nicol, Adjutant General of the Army, Head Quarters; dated Camp near Jattrapore, 25 February 1824.

I regret to have to report to you that Lieutenant A. B. Armstrong, of the 1st battalion, 10th regiment N. I., was killed in action with the Burmese on the 21st instant at Doodputlee. This valuable officer was shot at the head of the Grenadiers, among the stakes and spring guns which were planted all round the enemy's stockades outside, for a distance of from twenty to thirty yards, concealed for the most part in long grass.

It is my painful duty to mention, by this opportunity, that Captain Johnstone, of the 23rd regiment N. I., and Ensign Barberie, of the 10th regiment N. I. are in a very dangerous state; the former was shot through the thigh bone, and the latter had his leg shattered to pieces, and has since been amputated. I trust it will not be considered presumption in me to express my hope, that something may be done for these two officers in the event of their recovery, and in consideration of their brave and gallant conduct in the actions of the 13th, 18th and 21st instant.

Captain Johnstone has been twenty years in the army, has seen much actual service, has never been absent from his corps during all that time (except on sick certificate for four months) and has rendered me the greatest assistance throughout.

I cannot close this letter without deeply lamenting our failure at Doodpatlee, and the loss we have sustained, and I sincerely hope his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, will concur in opinion with Mr. Scott, the Governor-General's Agent, and myself, that we were justified in following up our former rapid success in our attack at Doodpatlee, in order to prevent the junction of the Assamese and Burmese armies, and the invasion of our own territories, which they had repeatedly threatened by letter, since (notwithstanding our failure) it has caused the army to evacuate their strong stockades at and around Doodpatlee, and to proceed in disorder in the direction of Munnypore and Assam, of which authentic accounts reached me yesterday.

It has now been ascertained by people sent to examine the evacuated stockades at Doodpatlee, that the enemy had between four and five hundred men killed and wounded. They were wholly composed of Burmese, and they fought desperately, reserving their fire to the last moment, and seldom missing their object.

I beg leave to supply an omission in my report of this affair, under date the 2d instant, and to state that Major Newton, with an hundred and fifty men of the detachment left to protect the stockades at Jattrapore, joined me by order on the evening of the 20th, near Doodpatlee.

*Proclamation by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council,
5 March 1824.*

The conduct of the Burmese having compelled the British government to have recourse to arms in support of its rights and honour, the Governor-General in Council hereby notifies, that the government of Ava is placed in the condition of a public enemy, and that all British subjects, whether European or Native, are prohibited from holding any communication with the people of that state, until the differences now unhappily existing, shall be terminated.

The Governor General Council deems it proper to take this opportunity of publicly declaring the causes that have led to hostilities with a state, between which and the Honorable East India Company, a friendly intercourse has long subsisted, to the great advantage of both parties, and with which the British government has invariably sought to cultivate and maintain the relations of amity.

During many years past, the Burmese officers governing the country contiguous to our south-east frontier, have, from time to time, been guilty of acts of encroachment and aggression, which the British Government would have been fully justified in repelling by force.

Solicitous, however, to preserve with all nations, the relations of peace, the British government has considered it to be, in an especial manner, its duty to make large allowances for the peculiar circumstances

and character of the Burmese government and people. The consciousness of its power to repel and punish aggression has strengthened the motives of forbearance towards a nation removed, by their geographical situation, from the immediate circle of our political relations, and with whom (as we have no opposing interests) the supreme government sought only to maintain a commercial intercourse on terms of equality and freedom, conducive to the welfare and prosperity of both countries.

So long, therefore, as the aggressions of which the British government had to complain, could be treated as the unauthorized acts of the subordinate officers of the Burman government, and could be tolerated consistently with the national honor & the security of the British territories, the supreme government sedulously endeavored to preserve unimpaired the existing relations of peace and friendship, notwithstanding provocations which would have fully justified, & from a state more formidable in position and resources, would have imperiously demanded a resort to arms.

Trusting that the motives of its conciliatory demeanor could not have been misunderstood, the British government persuaded itself that the government of Ava, however extravagant in its pretensions, must have been no less desirous than ourselves to maintain a friendly intercourse so profitable to that country, and could not but be sensible, that as our moderation was founded on a consciousness of our strength, and on a general desire to preserve the blessings of peace, so our forbearance would not be carried beyond the limits where it ceased to be compatible with the safety of our subjects, the integrity of our dominions, and the honour of our country.

Unhappily, these expectations have been disappointed. The Burmese government, actuated by an extravagant spirit of pride and ambition, and elated by its conquests over the petty tribes by which it is surrounded, has ventured to violate the British territories, to attack and slay a party of British sepoys, to seize and imprison British subjects, to avow extensive schemes of mischievous aggression, and to make hostile preparations on our frontier, that leave no doubt of its intention to execute its insolent and unjustifiable threats.

In prosecution of a groundless claim to the island of Shapuree, the Burmese chiefs of Arracan, in a time of profound peace, and without any previous attempt at negotiation on the part of their government, attacked, under cover of night, a small guard of British troops stationed on that island for purposes of police, and drove them from their post with the loss of several lives. No answer has been returned by the court of Amherst to the demand of explanation and atonement which it was of course the duty of the British government instantly to prefer, but which was made in the same spirit of conciliation which had always characterised our communications with the court of Ava. On the contrary, the Burmese local authorities have distinctly declared the determination of their sovereign to invade the British dominions unless their groundless claim to Shapuree is unequivocally admitted.

Subsequently to the attack on the island of Shapuree, the commanding officer and several of the crew of the Honorable Company's schooner *Sophia* were insidiously enticed on shore, and carried into the interior, by the order of commissioners specially deputed to Arracan by the Burmese court, and although subsequently released, they have been sent back without any explanation or apology for the insulting outrage.

The Burmese generals on the north-east have, at the same moment, advanced their troops into the country of Cachar and occupied a post within only five miles of the frontier of Sylhet, notwithstanding that they were distinctly warned by the British authorities, in that quarter, that the petty state of Cachar was under the protection of the British government, and that the movement of their troops must be regarded as an act of hostility to be repelled by force. In both quarters, the Burmese chiefs have publicly declared their determination to enter the British territories in pursuit of alleged offenders against the government of Ava, and have avowed intentions of open hostility as the alternative of our refusing to comply with their unjust and utterly inadmissible pretensions.

Whilst occupying their threatening position on the British frontier, the Burmese government planned, moreover, the conquest of Jynteea, another chiefship situated similarly with Cachar, in regard to the district of Sylhet, and which having formerly been restored by the British authorities to the family of the reigning Rajah, after a temporary convulsion, had been more distinctly recognized as a dependency of Bengal. They called on the Rajah to acknowledge submission and allegiance to the King of Ava, and a demonstration was actually made to enter his territory, when the advance of the British troops frustrated the execution of their hostile design.

The deliberate silence of the court of Amrapoora, as well as the combination and extent of the operations undertaken by its officers, leave it no longer doubtful that the acts and declarations of the subordinate authorities are fully sanctioned by their sovereign, and that that haughty and barbarous court is not only determined to withhold all explanation and atonement for past injuries, but mediates projects of the most extravagant and unjustifiable aggression against the British government.

The Governor-General in Council therefore, for the safety of our subjects, and the security of our districts, already seriously alarmed and injured by the approach of the Burmese armies, has felt himself imperatively called on to anticipate the threatened invasion. The national honor no less obviously requires that atonement should be had for wrongs so wantonly inflicted and so insolently maintained, and the national interests equally demand that we should seek, by an appeal to arms, that security against future insult and aggression which the arrogance and grasping spirit of the Burmese government have denied to friendly expostulation and remonstrance.

With these views and purposes, the Governor-General in Council has deemed it an act of indispensable duty to adopt such measures as are necessary to vindicate the honor of the British government, to bring the Burmese to a just sense of its character and rights, to obtain an advan-

tageous adjustment of our eastern boundary, and to preclude the recurrence of similar insult and aggression in future.

Still animated by a sincere desire for peace, and utterly averse from all purposes of aggrandizement, the Governor General in Council will rejoice if the objects abovementioned can be accomplished without carrying the war to extremities. But to whatever length the conduct of the Burmese government may render it necessary to prosecute hostilities, His Lordship in Council relies with confidence on the justice of our cause, on the resources of the government, and on the approved valor of our troops, for the early and successful termination of the contest.

By Command of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

GEORGE SWINTON,

SECY. TO GOVT.

THE ARAKAN MUG BATTALION.

BY SAN SHWE BU.

The Arakan Commissioner's Office contains some very interesting and valuable records which are among the oldest in British Burma. Though they are bound together and preserved in book form, yet a casual examination of them will convince a researcher that they have been very carelessly kept without the slightest attention being paid to any form of order or chronological sequence. The papers being all more or less mixed, one finds it most difficult to reproduce a connected account of any of the many interesting subjects with which they are concerned. The time has more than arrived when these valuable records ought to be properly looked after, tabulated and indexed by some one competent to undertake the work. In preparing the following account this difficulty has been met with, involving the sacrifice of much of its interest owing to the want of continuity of narration. Such as these facts are found, they are now served up without further apologies.

The first proposal to raise three companies of Mugs, each a hundred strong, was made by Mr. Robertson to Captain Hay, Commandant of the Provincial Battalion at Chittagong, for the purpose of protecting the district during the unhealthy season. This seems to have been carried out, for Captain Hay is asked to indent for arms and accoutrements for three hundred men. This order was sent on the 9th of February 1824. Besides this, Mr. C. R. Cartwright, Acting Collector of Chittagong, was asked to advance Rs 1,500 to Captain Hay for the purpose.

Apparently one Mr Lindguist attached to some small force landed on the island of Shapuri and without authority removed the Burmese Flag. He was severely censured for this. Early in 1824 we find Robertson hinting at a possible rupture with the Governor of Arakan and advising Government to withdraw the small force apparently occupying that island. Another reason for withdrawal was unhealthiness. The ill feeling between the two people being really due to the boundary dispute, Robertson on the 8th January 1824 sends a letter to the Burmese Governor of Arakan to appoint some one to meet him to adjust the boundary. The dispute arose out of the arrest of two Englishmen who were found anchoring near the island. The Raja's letter being unfavourable, war is expected and Robertson takes precautions. He finds Arakanese cooperation indispensable. He works round their prejudices and gains their esteem. He praises their patriotism and their regard for their ancestors.

He thinks that there is no one under 40 who knows any thing about his country. Moreover he finds the Mugs never willing to work unless they were paid. The following passage represents his views regarding the

people. "It is a custom common to the Mugs, the Burmese and other Eastern tribes to give a bounty to every man going on actual service in his own country. This practice, I suspect, is found advantageous to several parties. It enables the sovereign to raise an army without difficulty, and the fact that the peaceful subject has to purchase an exemption from service ensures to the individual employed some remuneration for his exertion and affords the local authority an opportunity for extortion and embezzlement.Another peculiarity of the Mugs is their respect for their hereditary national chiefs and their comparatively ready submission to the headmen of their wards or villages..... The inhabitants of one village will not move under the guidance of the headman of another village..... They are clearly a trading and not an agricultural race; and they seem to have the commercial indifference to hereditary rank with the commercial attachment to their own little respective communities. At Hur Bung which contains upwards of 1000 families of their tribe I was informed by the zemindar that there was scarcely a single field cultivated by the Mug. Here he talks about restoring the independence of Arakan and making over the country to the people, but doubts whether the Arakanese themselves would exchange life under settled Government for a precarious existence.

In the month of March troops gather on both frontiers. Conditions of amicable settlement are laid down by Robertson as follows:—

- (i) First, that both of you (the Burmese Governor and Bandula) send me a written denial of your participation in the seizure of the two gentlemen and the khalaisis, in order that being furnished with this document the Right Honourable the Governor General may write to the Sultan of Ava to have the person punished who was guilty of the act."
- (ii) "Secondly, that relinquishing all claims to the island of Shapuri you plainly state in writing that you admit the said Shapuri to belong to the Honourable Company, and that the local authorities in Arakan will never again pretend to lay claim to it."
- (iii) "Thirdly, you reduce the force in the Province of Arakan by sending away all but the usual number of troops. So soon as you comply with these three conditions we will immediately withdraw our forces."

These conditions are to be fulfilled within ten days counting from the 19th. February 1824. In the event of their failure to comply with the above terms war is to be declared.

With a view to hostilities a party of 650 Mugs were sent to Naaf under the disposal of Colonel Shapland. He is told to train them for the subsequent formation of a permanent corps. To enable the proper

handling of the men a Bengali writer on Rs. 10 a month and a Mug interpreter on Rs. 10 a month are sanctioned in March 1824.

The Mug levy of 400 men is for the time being kept as a separate unit under Captain Pringle. In the month of April this officer is authorised to enrol suitable recruits and to raise the strength of the corps to 500. Other small bands of Mug distributed in other small towns do not form part of this regular levy, but Captain Pringle is asked to exercise control over them. They are not incorporated into the regular Provincial Battalion because of their general unwillingness to serve under foreign leaders.

This raising of Mug troops is more for political reasons than for any particular requirement of service; and in order to facilitate others joining the force when they are asked to do so. Colonel Shapland at the frontier is, however, on financial grounds, asked to discharge 700 Mugs under him in such a way that they will join again when wanted. He is asked to draw up an agreement to that effect, and adds: "The Mugs, though stubborn and intractable, are, I understand, generally faithful to any agreement they may enter into. I have reasons to think that these men will be found ready to adhere to the terms of their agreement."

Small bands of Mugs—20 to 90—are raised under their leaders and are looked upon as part of the regular troops. A pay of Rs. 7 a month is given to the leaders having more than 30 men under them. Discipline is to be introduced very gradually as sudden confinement would alienate the men from their cause. As an extra inducement extra pay is promised to those leaders who submit to regular drill and discipline. At first 3 leaders with their men agree to this. Their progress appears to be satisfactory: "many of the men are admirable marksmen and all of them seem previously acquainted with the use of the musket. It is the opinion of Captain Pringle and every officer who has observed them that they are particularly fitted to form an efficient rifle corps." The whole lot under training and proper discipline under Captain Pringle comes up to about 400 strong. They are given short green jackets as uniforms and 100 rifles are distributed among the best shots; six bugles are also given; and the ultimate object is to form a disciplined light infantry.

The levy at Chittagong being now without any officer to superintend and control them, become disorganised and rowdy. So in June 1824 Captain Dickenson of the Dacca Provincial Battallion is sent down to take charge. But on behalf of the Mugs it is stated that they, even when wounded severely, brought in their arms and accoutrements.

In July 1824 preparations were made to send 600 Mugs to Rangoon. The Mugs were very willing to go. They were sent in two batches, the first of which sailed in the "Thalis" under Captain Wiggins in the month of August 1824.

The Mug levy under Dickenson flourishes and he is authorised to raise the strength to 600. He gets in an extra Havildar and 2 Naiks of the Regular Army for the instruction of his men. On the 23rd July 1824 Captain Dickenson, in whose experience great trust is reposed, is empowered to form the men of his levy into six companies, *viz* :—

5 Companies, each consisting of

1 Subadar	at Rs. 40	a month.
2 Jemadars	at Rs. 20	„
6 Havildars	at Rs. 10	„
6 Naiks	at Rs. 8	„
1 Bugler	at Rs. 8	„
10 Privates	at Rs. 6	„

1 Company of Dowmen as a temporary establishment to be attached to the Corps during the War.

2 Jemadars	at Rs. 15	a month.
4 Havildars	at Rs. 8	„
4 Naiks	at Rs. 6-8	„
100 Privates	at Rs. 5	„

These men were equipped with light Fuzils with pouches and black belts of the new pattern—their old heavy muskets being too cumbersome.

The opinion formed by Captain Dickenson of his men and in which Mr. Robertson entirely agreed, was : “ It is to be remarked very much in favour of the Mugs that every man who offers himself as a soldier seems to have his mind solely occupied with the idea of entering as a fighting man, and all his arguments hinge on that ; and though the very limited experience I have yet had of them does not allow me to speak confidently, still I am greatly disposed to think the Mug will ultimately form a better and more useful soldier than ever was contemplated. Their hardiness, freedom from religious prejudices and mode of feeding are material circumstances in favour of my opinion of their natural courage and respectability. With regard to discipline I see neither difficulties nor obstructions to its perfect accomplishment with time. It must not too prematurely and too rigorously be imposed. The habits of the people must be gradually and progressively changed, and themselves more familiarised with the European character to ensure their confidence and by degrees to lessen that now reposed in their chiefs. If this corps is to be permanently retained the sooner it is rendered effective by the nomination for an Adjutant, the better, and he should be a young man selected for his fitness to assist in accomplishing the ends in view. A Quarter-master Sergeant would likewise be desirable.”

Three days later Mr. Robertson in writing to the Government for the full equipment of the Mug Battalion makes the following remarks.

"I am happy in being able to inform the Government that Captain Dickenson has, by studying the character of his men and commencing the acquisition of their language, succeeded in bringing them into a state of discipline such as promises fair to render the levy a most useful and serviceable corps. Many of the Sardars have cheerfully agreed to undergo regular drill to enable them the better to direct and manage their men."

Writing to General Sir Archibald Campbell at Rangoon, Mr. Robertson gives some pertinent advice to that officer regarding the handling of the 600 Mugs sent under Captain Wiggins: "They are divided into several district parties, and it will be found advisable in employing them to mingle the different sets as little as possible with each other, and never if avoidable to place the men of one party under the orders of the Sardar of another. You will I hope find them an active, hardy and serviceable though often intractable body of men; but there are some peculiarities in their character, by attending to which much of the annoyance arising from their occasionally unaccountable perversity may be avoided. They dread being called coolies or any degrading appellation, and are fond in the extreme of being treated with some degree of consideration. They have no prejudices of caste and are possessed of a respectable degree of courage. They are extremely inquisitive, observant and jealous of any indulgence that other troops receive which they may be denied. If sent into the field without tents while every other Regiment has them, they may think themselves slighted and consequently form less efficient soldiers than they otherwise do."

With a view to the advance on Arakan in the proper season Mr. Robertson devises means of raising as many Mugs as possible for the purpose. He therefore gets some influential Mug Chiefs to write to those of their people who had settled in large numbers in the district of Backergunge, asking them to join the army which was to take the offensive in Arakan and which would eventually give them the opportunity of seeing and recovering their own country again.

But at this stage of preparation we find that in November some doubt is expressed by Government if it would be advisable to allow the Mugs to take active part in the operations in Arakan, the suggested alternative being their employment at Chittagong for civil purposes. Robertson dissents from this view and points out the obvious disadvantages. He says that the levy was quite an experimental measure chiefly undertaken "to ascertain whether trained soldiers may not be raised from a class whom it has hitherto been supposed impossible to discipline." It was therefore finally decided to take them into Arakan, and accordingly an additional 300 Mug pioneers were raised under Lieutenant Scott.

In November of the same year an additional Rifle Corps is attached to the Levy and Captain Macfarlane is specially brought down from the

16th Madras Infantry to train them. He is so successful that he is permanently retained for the campaign at hand.

At the recommendation of Captain Dickenson an extra field allowance is sanctioned, to continue only while on active service.

Subadars	.....	....	Rs. 8-0
Jemadars	.....	....	„ 5-0
Havildars	.....	....	„ 2-8
Naiks	.....	....	„ 2-0
Buglers	.....	....	„ 2-0
Sepoys	.....	....	„ 1-8

In December Mr. Miller of the "Rose Ark" is appointed to be in medical charge of the Mug Levy.

The Government does not seem to attach much importance to the Mug Levy, and was inclined to deprive it of some of the privileges given to regular troops. We find Mr. Robertson fighting tooth and nail on their behalf, and pointing out that in a country like Arakan no Indian troops could be as useful, and the utility of the campaign rested entirely with the Mugs. He points out that as the Mugs were very proud and independent, any slight offered to them would prove disastrous to their cause; and that no amount of pecuniary recompense would mitigate the evil once created by preferential treatment. He regrets that they are still looked upon as irregulars and advances reasons to support his contention that they ought to be incorporated into the permanent establishment under the new designation of "Mug Rangers." In fact towards the end of December, anticipating Government compliance, he instructs Brigadier Morrison, commanding the Chittagong Division, to transfer the Levy, as a temporary measure, from the Political to the Military Department.

We next hear of Maungdaw being taken by Brigadier Morrison. Unfortunately the letter of information gives no date, but it is probable that it took place in January 1825. In the following month Mr. Robertson is taking every pains to reduce the conquered territory to some semblance of law and order. With this object he places Major Roope in full control in the District giving him directions to deal with crime in a manner suggested by his own discretion. Under him he also appoints

Mug Kyaun Oks over each half of the District, with the authority of petty Magistrates. We can see how very anxious he is to win over the confidence of the people and with that purpose he exerts himself to the utmost. He writes to Major Roope: "In all capital or heinous criminal matters the offender had better be confined and the circumstances of the case communicated to this office, whence further instructions will be received under such rules as may hereafter be laid down by Government. You will examine into all petty theft, assault, disturbances, quarrels, etc., etc., and award at your own discretion either a sentence of moderate

fine, imprisonment or corporal punishment limiting the infliction of the latter to 30 rattans.....Cases of petty debts and civil actions for money may be adjusted summarily when necessary by yourself.....A weekly report had better be in the same manner required from the two Kyaun Oks who must also be made to understand that they are to send immediate information of every serious occurrence to your office."

On the 7th January 1825 Government sanctions the transfer of the Mug Levy from the Political to the Military Department and places it under General Morrison.

With the fall of Arakan in March 1825 and its occupation by the British, Mr. Robertson is appointed Agent to the Governor-General in Arakan and Commissioner for the management of Civil Affairs. He is therefore given increased salary of Rs. 50,000 a year. He is also permitted to hold his original situation as Judge and Magistrate of Cawnpur. His duties are to collect revenue, to organise efficient police, to administer Civil and Criminal Justice, adhering as far as possible, to local usages and institutions, except when they are plainly at variance with the principles of humanity and natural equity. To assist him in this high office Mr. C. Paton, Magistrate of Calcutta, is appointed his assistant.

Captain Hutchins, the second in command of the Mug Levy, having taken leave, Captain Macfarlane is appointed in his stead in August 1825. In the same month Mr. Paton is directed to raise an additional 400 Mug recruits who should be trained along with the regular Levy. When the number sanctioned is completed, the question of its arms and accoutrements is to be considered by General Morrison.

On the 10th of March 1826 the Sub-Commissioner is informed by Government that it sanctions the disbandment of the Mug Pioneers raised at Chittagong to accompany the expeditionary force to Arakan.

Due to adverse reports the idea of forming a Mug Provincial Battalion on a large scale is stopped, and the Commissioner is authorised to employ the existing lot on police duty. The undisciplined conduct of the Mug soldiers is largely noticed by the military authorities; but on investigation it was found that it was mainly due to the removal of direct European control over them. It is therefore decided to place them always under European supervision and to utilise them along with other regular troops.

Correspondence lasts up to May 1826 only, when we have to leave the Mug Levy in the midst of general complaints against their conduct.

EXTRACTS FROM MÔN HISTORY.

BA SAYA THEIN.

(မွန်တလင်းရာဇဝင်မှထုတ်နှုတ်ချက်)

(၁) ဟံသာဝတီ-ဥပါယ်ဒိ မြို့ကိုစိုးစံသော တိဿ-ကုမ္မာမင်းအကြောင်း။

ဝိမလမင်းသည်။ နန်းစည်းစိမ် ၂၂ နှစ်တိုင် အောင်မင်းပြု၍။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၅၂၀ ခုနှစ်တွင်အနိစ္စဖြစ်လေ၏။ ဝိမလမင်းကံတော်ကုန်လျှင်။ တူတော်အဿကုမ္မာသည်။ သတ္တုဇေပဒုက္ခကိုခံယူ၍။ ထီးနန်းကိုသိမ်းပိုက်မင်းပြုတော်မူလေသည်။ ၎င်းမင်းသည် နန်းစည်စိမ် ၂၀ တိုင်ခံစား၍ အနိစ္စဖြစ်လေသည်။

သည်နောက်။ ရိမန္နာ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၅ နှစ်။
ထို့နောက်။ သုဘဒ္ဒါ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၂၂ နှစ်။
နောက်။ နာဝိန္ဒ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၁၄ နှစ်။
နောက်။ ဂဇဝိယ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၅ နှစ်။
နောက်။ အရိဝါရ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၇ နှစ်။
နောက်။ မပ္ပရာ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၅၄ နှစ်။
နောက်။ တိဿဘူ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၃ နှစ်။
နောက်။ ဂွေသေန-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၁၂ နှစ်။
နောက်။ ခိတ္တဒိပ္ပ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၄ နှစ်။
နောက်။ သေနမန္တ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၇ နှစ်။
နောက်။ ဥပလ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၄ နှစ်။
နောက်။ ပုရာ-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၃ နှစ်။
နောက်။ ဝိန္ဒက-မင်းပြုသည်။ ၇ နှစ်။

ယင်းသည့်မင်းတို့အဆက်မပြတ်မင်းပြု၍။ ဟံသာဝတီပြည်ကြီးတွင်။ သာသနာတော်ထွန်းတောက်လျက်။ သာယာစည်ပင်စွာယှိလေသတည်း။

နောက်တိဿကုမ္မာမင်းပြုသောအခါ။ ခွန်းစက္ကာအမျိုးနိုင်ငံဖြစ်သော။ အလဇ္ဈိရဟန်းတို့ ရောက်လာ၍။ မင်း၏ အထံတော်သို့ ဝင်ပြီးသော်။ မင်းကို မယုံ ယုံကြောင်းမိန့်ဆိုသည်မှာ။ သင်မင်းကြီး မြို့တော်သည်ကာ။ ဘုန်းတန်ခိုးကြီးမည့်မြို့ဖြစ်မည်ကို။ မဟုတ် သည်အရာ။ လူသေကောင်ကို ကောင်းမွန်စွာမြှောက်ထား၍။ ကိုးကွယ်ကြသည့် အရာသည် မသင့်တင့်ပ။ ဆရာတော်တို့ကို ယုံကြည်သဖြင့်။ မိန့်ကြားသောစကားကိုနာယူလျက်။ ပယ်ဖျောက်တော်မူပါလျှင်။ ဘုန်းတန်ခိုး အဏာကြီး၍။ မင်းစည်းစိမ်ကို အရည်ခံစားရပါမည်ဟု အကြိမ်ကြိမ် တိုက်တွန်းဖန်များသဖြင့်။ တိဿမင်း ယုံကြည်တော်မူ၍။ ကျောင်းကန်တို့ နှိုက်ယိုသော ဘုရားရုပ်ပွား ဆင်းတုများကို မင်းမိန့်နှင့် အကုန်ရှာစေ၍။ ရှာဖွေရယူသော ရုပ်ပွားတော်များကို။ မင်းအာဏာနှင့် ကိုးကွယ်ပူဇော်သည်ကို မပြုရဆို၍။ သေနမသက်သော နေရာတို့ကို။ ပစ်ထားကြရလေသည်။

သို့လိုဘုရားဆင်းတုတော်များကို။ စုန့်ပစ်ထားရသောကြောင့်။ မြို့ပြ ပြည်ရွာ တိုင်းကာ။ ငတ်မွတ်ခေါင်းပါးလျက်ယှိကြသဖြင့်။ ပြည်သူအပေါင်းတို့သည်။ ချောက်ချားတုန်လှုပ်။ စိုးရိမ်ခြင်း ပြင်းစွာ ယှိကြခိုက်အခါ။ တဦးသော သူဌေးသို့။ သုဘဒ္ဒါသည်။ ပစ္စုပ္ပန် သံသရာအကျိုးနည်းပါးလျက်။ ပြည်သူအပေါင်းတို့အား ငရဲသို့လားစေအောင်။ မင်းပြုသည်အရာသည်ကာ။ သင့်မည်မဟုတ်။ မင်းတို့ ကျင့်စဉ်တရားပျက်ပြားလျက် ယှိချေပြီတကာ။ ထိုမင်း၏ အယူမြှင့်မတ်စေမှု။ ပြည်သူများချမ်းသာရာရချေမည်။ မင်း၏ အာဏာကို

လွန်ဆန်သည်ဟု ငါ့အားမင်းကကွပ်မျက် . တော်မူလျှင်လည်း ကွပ်မျက်စေတော့ . တသက်လျှာကိုငါခံတော့မည်။ ဘုရားတန်းခိုးဘော်ကြောင့် ပြည်သူအပေါင်း ချမ်းသာရအောင်။ ရတနာ ၃ ပါး တန်းခိုးဖြူး။ မင်းကိုငါနိုင်ပေမည်ဟု စိတ်တွင်အမြဲ ယုံကြည်ရင်း ယှဉ်သည်အတိုင်း ဘုရားရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုဘော်မျိုးကို မသန့်သောနေရာမှပင့်ယူပြီးလျှင် ရေ၊ ဂန်ကြီး တခုတင်။ ရေနံ့ပွတ်တိုက်သုတ်သင်သပွယ်ပြီးမှ နံ့သာအမွှေးအထုံလိမ်းကျံလျက် မြင့်မြတ်သောနေရာရှိက်။ တင်ထားကိုးကွယ်ပူဇော်လေ၏။

တိတ္ထိတို့သည် သူဌေးသွီးပြုလုပ်ပူဇော်သည်ကိုမြင်၍ မင်းကိုပြောလေလျှင် အမျက်ဒေါသကြီးစွာဖြစ်လျက် ခေါ်စေလေသည်။ မင်းကလည်း သူဌေးသွီးကိုရှေ့တွင် စီရင်မည်ဟူ၍။ သူသတ်တို့ကိုခေါ်ထားနှင့်လေသည်။ သူဌေးသွီးလည်း မင်းကခေါ်သည်ကိုဝမ်းမြောက်သဖြင့် ဝတ်စားတန်ဆာကိုလှပစွာဝတ်ဆင်ပြီးသော်၊

ကျေးသဉ္စ
သစ်တုန်း၊

သေ့အနက်မှာ ငါ့ထားစေသည်ကို။ ၎င်းလူသေရုပ်မျိုးကိုညှည်းသည်ယူ၍ စင်ကြယ်အောင်ပွတ်သပ်ပြီးလျှင် ပူဇော်ထားသည်ကို။ ဟုတ်သလောဟုမေးတော်မူသည်တွင် သူဌေးသွီးကလည်း သာသနာတော်စောင့်နတ်ကောင်းနတ်မြတ်တို့ စောင်မကြည့်ရှုသည့်လက္ခဏာ။ ကြောက်ရွံ့ထိပ်လန့်ခြင်းတို့ဖြင့် ကင်းလွတ်ခြင်းယှဉ်သည်နှင့် မင်းကို လက်အုပ်ချီ၍ လျှောက်တင်လေသည်မှာ။ ဘုန်းတော်ကြီးလှသော အသျှင်။ သည်လူသေခကောင်ဟုမိန့်ဆိုခြင်းသည်။ ပကတိသူမဟုတ်ပဲ။ ဤရုပ်တုဘော်များသည်။ လေးသင်္ချေနှင့်ကမ္ဘာတသိန်းကာလပတ်လုံးပါရမီတော်ကိုဖြည့်ကျင့်ဘော်မူ၍။ သားချစ် မယားချစ်၊ ရူပကာယ ကိုယ်သွေးကိုယ်သားမျက်လုံးသည်းပွတ်တို့ကို တောင်းလှာသူတို့ယှဉ်လျှင် လူ့ဒါန်တော်မူ၍။ ပါရမီများစွာဖြည့်ကျင့်တော်မူပြီးမှ။ ဘုရားသျှင်အဖြစ်သို့ရောက်တော်မူပါလျှင်။ ဥာဘိုက်နေကုန်သော လူနတ်နဂါးသိကြားဗြဟ္မာအပေါင်းတို့အား။ မကောင်းသောအရာက။ ကောင်းမြတ်သောအရာသို့။ ကယ်တင်တော်မူ၍။ ခေတ္တ ၃ ပါးတွင် အကျိုးအကြောင်းကြီးစွာ။ မအို-မသေ-နိဗ္ဗာန်ရှေ့ပြည်သို့။ ပို့ဆောင်တော်မူပြီးမှ။ နိဗ္ဗာန်ဝင်စံတော်မူပါသည်။ ထိုဘုရားသျှင်ကို မရှိလိုက်ရသောသူတို့သည်။ နောင်သံသရာ ကောင်းရာ မြတ်ရာရောက်အောင်။ ပညာယှဉ်ကြီးတို့။ သဒိဿသဏ္ဌာန်တော် ရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုတော်ပြုလုပ်၍။ ကိုးကွယ်ပူဇော်ကြရသည်ဖြစ်ပါကြောင်းကို လျှောက်ထားလေ၏။

သူဌေးသွီးလျှောက်တင်သောအခါ။ တိဿမင်းက။ အံ့ဩစရာတဏှာမျှ။ မြင်ပါရစေမိန့်တော်မူ၍။ သူဌေးသွီးက အမိဉ္စ နိပြု၍။ ဆီမီး ပန်းပေါက်ပေါက်တို့နှင့် လက်အုပ်ချီပြီးလျှင် မြတ်စွာဘုရားသျှင်ကိုယ်စားတော်ဖြစ်သော ရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုဘော် အသျှင်တို့ဘုရားတပည့်တော်မေသည်။ သတ္တဝါတို့ကို။ ကောင်းရာသို့ ပို့ဆောင်သ သူဖြစ်ပါသည်။ ယခုထုဇွန်တို့အမျိုးမျိုး တန်းခိုးမျှဝှံဟုပြတော်မူပါ။ ဘုရားဟုပူဇော်ကံတော့လျှင်။ ဘုရားသျှင်ရုပ်ပွားတော်မျိုး သည်ဈာန်ဖြင့် ထန်းတဖျားခန့်ကောက်၍ ဈာန်ကြွလာတော်မူသည်ကို။ မင်းနှင့်တကွ လူအပေါင်းတို့မြင်ကြသောအခါ။ အံ့ဩခြင်းမက။ ကြီးစွာ အံ့ဩကြပြီးလျှင်။ ကိုယ်တွင်ပါသော ဝတ်စားတန်ဆာ စသည်များကို ပစ်ချ၍ ပူဇော်ကံတော့ကြလေ၏။

လူအပေါင်းတို့ကြည်ညိုပူဇော်စဉ်း ရုပ်ပွားတော် နာ။ ကောင်းကင်က ဖျံသက်၍။ မြို့တောင်တောနား နွှက်သန့်ရှင်းသောသုံးပုံသို့။ ကြွတော်မူကြသည်ကို။ တိဿ မင်းမြင်လျှင်။ ကြက်သီးထလျက်။ ကြောက်ရွံ့ခြင်းပြင်းစွာယှဉ်လှသောကြောင့်။ သက်ဝင်ကြည်ညိုခြင်းသည် အလွန်အမင်းယှဉ်တော်မူလေ၏။

ထိုအခါ။ သူဌေးသွီးသုဘဒ္ဒါကို မိဖုရားကြီးဘင်မြှောက်တော်မူပြီးလျှင်။ မင်းကြီးနှင့်မိဖုရားသည်။ ကြွင်းကျန်သောရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုဘော်များကို။ အလျှင်ပင့်ယူစေ၍။ မြို့တောင်နှိုက်။ ဘုရားကျောင်းတော်ခုနစ်ဆောင်ဆောက်လှ် ရွှေငွေ မှမ်းမံချယ်လှယ်ပြီးလျှင်။ ရုပ်ပွားဆင်းတုဘော်များကိုတင်ထား ကိုးကွယ်ပူဇော်လေသည်။ သုံးပုံဘွဲ့ဈာန်ဖြင့်သက်ဆင်းအောင်မှသော ရုပ်ပွားတော်များကို။ ၎င်းနေရာတွင်ပင်လျှင်။ ရွှေစင်ဘုရားကျောင်းစေတီ ကြီးစွာအံ့ဩစရာတည်လုပ်၍။ ပင့်ထားကိုးကွယ်ကော်မူလေသည်။ ယင်းသည့်စေတီတော်ကို။ တပိုင်းဘာသာ ကျိုက်ပေါ်ဟူ၍ ခေါ်တွင်လျက် ၊

ခွန်းစဉ်းအလဇ္ဇီဟန်းများကို တလိုင်းဘာသာ တိဆရာဟု ခေါ်ကြသည်။ ၎င်းတိဆရာတို့သည် မြတ်စွာဘုရားသာသနာတော်ကို ဖျက်သောသူဟူ၍၊ ဖမ်းဆီးရမိသူတို့ကို၊ မြေတွင်းတူး၍၊ မြှုပ်သတ်လေသည်။ ကုန်ကြွင်းသောသူတို့ကိုလည်း၊ ဖမ်းဆီးပြီးလျှင်၊ လည်ပင်းကိုအိုးဆွဲ၍၊ ချောင်းတခုနှိုက် ပစ်ချပြီးသေစေလေသည်။ ၎င်းတို့ကိုပစ်ချသေစေသောချောင်းကို၊ တလိုင်းဘာသာ (ကြုံတီလိုင်) ဟုခေါ်ကြသည်။ ယခုသရော်မူ (တီလိုင်ချောင်း) ဟုခေါ်တွင်လျက်ရှိလေ၏။

တိဿမင်းသည်။ ရတနာသုံးပါးကိုယုံကြည်လျက်၊ ရင့်မာသသူဖြစ်သည်ကိုပင်၊ မဟုတ်သော အဇ္ဈိရဟန်းတို့ကိုပေါင်းဘက်ပြုမိ၍၊ အကျိုးကြီးနည်းရမည်ကို၊ နောက်သူဌေးသို့သဘောနှင့်တွေ့၍၊ ပေါင်းယှဉ်မိရသည်တွင်မှ၊ အမှောင်ပျောက်၍၊ အလင်းသို့ရောက်ပြီ လျှင်၊ သာသနာတော်မြတ်ကို၊ ထွန်းလင်းစောက်ပ။ အောင်အထူးသဖြင့် ရွက်ဆောင်တော်မူ လသတည်း။

တိဿမင်းနှင့်၊ သုဘဒ္ဒါဒေဝီမိဖုရားတို့သည်၊ ရွှေကျောင်း၊ ရွှေသိမ်း၊ ရွှေပြဿင်၊ စေတီဗိုလုံး တည်ထား၍၊ မြတ်စွာဘုရားသာသနာတော်ကို အလွန်အမင်းစုံကော် ရွက်ဆောင်ကြလျက်၊ အသက်နှင့်အမျှပင်မင်းပြု၍၊ အနိစ္စဖြစ်ကြကုန်သတည်း။



NOTES AND REVIEWS.

DEPRESSED CLASSES OF BURMA.—*A further note.*

My paper entitled "Depressed Classes of Burma", published in Volume XII Part III of the Society's Journal, when read at the meeting of the Society on the 9th February 1923, provoked a "lively discussion" among the members who attended the meeting. Some of the members expressed their scepticism as to the existence of depressed classes comparable with those of India. As the resolution, passed at that meeting, invited other writers to contribute information on the subject, I may be permitted to vindicate the position taken up by me by a further instalment on the subject.

The Buddhist Dhammathats are my authority for holding the view that there have existed recognised class and caste distinctions in Burma from time immemorial. U Gaung's Digest on the Law of Dhammathat, Section 12 of Volume II, unmistakably gives us the classification. It mentions the royalty as distinct from the ruling class; the ruling class comprising ministers, responsible officers and high officials; the *thate* class (the members whereof held the position by royal appointment); the *thagye* class; the trading or merchant class; the poor or indigent class. It may be argued that this division is archaic and out-of-date. I maintain that it was recognised up to the end of the reign of the last Burmese monarch in 1885. The classification cannot therefore be called archaic or out-of-date. In modern times a new class of people has sprung up; they style themselves (albeit arbitrarily) as *min* or *asoya* (official, literally ruling, class). Government officials, judges, magistrates and lawyers are placed in this category.

While writing this answer to the criticism of the members at the said meeting, I was highly pleased to read the evidence of Mr. P. C. Fogarty, I. C. S., deputy commissioner of Bassein, given before the Crime Inquiry Committee, published in the Rangoon Gazette dated the 7th July 1923. Mr. Fogarty affirmed in strong terms the existence of the last named official class of modern times. He rightly indicted the subordinate Burmese officials as relentlessly unsympathetic to the Burmese cultivator class. His keen observation of the Burmese, his accurate insight into the Burmese nature, his judgment (which is in no way exaggerated) based on his observation and his well founded fear of the future, led him to open up matters of sociological interest deserving of special notice by the Burma Government, in the interests of the future welfare of the country and its people. I would endorse every word he said; and I would quote his evidence in its entirety in support of my contention, as it will express and establish the point at issue much better than I can.

Mr. Fogarty stated :—“ To the best of my observation, Burmese of education and well-to-do persons, both official and non-official, are beginning to regard themselves as a class apart from the poorer Burman, so that there is not only a difference of wealth but a growing difference in modes of life and thought, indicated in such matters as intermarriage and social customs generally. If that is so, there is very grave danger in the future. I have noticed that persons of the class of township officers have not shown a really genuine interest in helping their poor brethren. Take a small matter like the distribution of quinine. A number of the townships of the districts I have served in have been badly ravaged in parts by malaria : but I very seldom found an officer who in the least bothered about exercising the very considerable powers of assisting the people which the Government has given him in the matter of free distribution of quinine and so on. They are a separate caste.”

The evidence of U Ba Hlaing, editor of *New Burma*, given before the Crime Inquiry Committee, published in the Rangoon Gazette of the 18th July 1923, also lends support to my statement, and runs as follows :—“ The Burman official is under the false and antiquated impression that he is a *min*—a ruler of men—who must be placed far above his fellows. As a *min* he thinks he is of a different caste from his fellows whom he must rule over. As such he does not try to mix with the people whose co-operation he seeks.”

The evidence of Mr. Fogarty and U Ba Hlaing confirms my assertion that there exists the notion of class distinction in Burma : that it is a notion still unconquered by the spirit of toleration : that it tends to divide, and in fact divides, class from class, community from community and family from family. It is undeniable that there are class distinctions in Burma ; but what I have to establish is “ the existence of depressed classes in Burma, as comparable with those of India.”

I stated in my paper that the fishermen, barbers, washermen, pagoda slaves, professional beggars, grave diggers and people who follow certain trades and callings such as hunters, butchers, intoxicating drug sellers, actors and midwives, are looked down upon as untouchables : and that they are absolutely debarred from taking any part in all social functions of the respectable classes.

I shall take first the case of the *thinchis*. It is self-evident, from the language of the Government communiqué dated the 25th December 1922 which I incorporated in my paper *verbatim*, (1) that nearly two hundred years have elapsed since the *thinchis* were condemned to this punishment of degradation as pagoda slaves : (2) that for the last two hundred years they have remained in the self-same position : (3) that they were never received into the society of the respectable classes for these two hundred years : (4) that for the last one hundred years during the British rule of Arakan, they have from time to time clamoured for recognition as one of the respectable classes without any result : (5) that

they have given the reason (which is logically, morally and legally, though not sociologically, sound) that it was only their ancestors who were condemned to this punishment: (6) that they, the descendants, should not suffer degradation any more: (7) that their community is a large one: (8) that they own lands: (9) that they are no more in the service of the religious shrines: (10) that they are following their vocations as the rest of the people: (11) that although nearly two hundred years have elapsed their condition is stationary and not improved: (12) that in regard to them the Arakanese as well as the Burmese are conservative to the core: (13) that they have therefore repeatedly sought the interference of the British Government in the matter: (14) that they have at last obtained "consolation" (which term must not be confounded, as it is not synonymous, with "recognition" by the people) in the said Government communiqué which may be accepted at its face value: (15) that there still exists this depressed class in Burma: (16) that these people are still considered as untouchables and not associated with by the respectable classes; (17) that they are therefore absolutely debarred from taking any part in any social function of the respectable classes.

The Government communiqué will be a dead letter for a very long time to come as the people cannot, by any law of the land, be compelled to take these depressed classes into their society. The fusion of the pagoda slaves with the respectable classes is only possible after the complete conversion of the people from their Brahmanic notions and social customs. The stray cases of carefully hidden identity of some of their members, who have severed all connection with their own kith and kin, left their homes and migrated to distant places, are few and far between, for obvious reasons.

Thinchis of Arakan and *paya athes*, *payakhyuns* and *khwas* of Burma proper are on the same level with one another. The latter are treated by the Burmese as the former are treated by the Arakanese up to this very day. I have heard of and seen a few cases of *thinchis* and *khwas* who, by trying to hide their identity, live incognito as of the respectable class in some of the large cities of Burma. They are somehow or other known and found out; they are in consequence shunned by the respectable classes. Some of the daughters of these families are very fair, well-educated, well-mannered and well brought up; yet they cannot find husbands from amongst the respectable classes. As their origin is a well-known secret, it is whispered about all over the country.

The *kebas* (professional beggars), grave diggers and monastery slaves are classed together with the *thinchis* and *khwas*. The washermen, midwives and sweepers of Mandalay known as *tha-ngè-daw* (royal children) are of another class; but they are looked down upon as untouchables as their occupation is despised by all orientals, the Burmese not excepted. Because they are conservers of dirt (*anyit akye*: *thok thin tho thu mya*), they are considered unclean bodily. There is also a widespread belief, though not warranted by the scriptures extant, that Lord Buddha

did not accept food from the hands of washermen, barbers, sweepers, grave diggers, prostitutes, midwives and sterile women. The *tha ngè-daw yat* at Mandalay is the quarter assigned to the palace sweepers by the late King Mindon. In Mandalay some of the pagoda slaves dedicated to Mahā Myatmuni, popularly known as the Arakan Pagoda, earn their livelihood as musicians; but they are never known to be engaged at any other ceremonies than funerals. The musical companies are known as *Yakaing-saing*: (from the fact of their being Arakanese *thinchis*).

I shall now proceed to give the reasons why the people who follow certain trades are despised, and why they are not associated with by the respectable classes.

Hunters, butchers, fishermen and dealers in life-destroying implements are considered by the people as great sinners who cannot escape going to the deepest hell as they perpetually infringe the first of the five precepts, strictly enjoined by Lord Buddha. They are for that reason hated and despised, despite the fact that the people, not being strict vegetarians, cannot subsist without them. There is a Burmese saying that it is extremely sinful to earn a living as bee-hunters, butchers, professional adulterers, hunters and fishermen (ဗုဒ္ဓဝါဒသားတို့မဟုတ်သောသူတို့သည်), for such cause endless ruin.

As regards the intoxicating drug sellers, they are believed to influence others directly or indirectly to infringe the fifth of the five precepts. It is considered as the most serious offence against the five precepts as it often leads to committing the offences prohibited in the other four precepts.

There is also a widespread knowledge of the teaching of Lord Buddha that there are five kinds of trade which must be eschewed, viz: (1) selling of human beings: (2) selling of live animals for food: (3) selling of life-destroying implements: (4) selling of intoxicants: and (5) earning a livelihood as theatrical performers.

The average Burman, who is not conversant with the modern art of government, is unable to follow the highly sophisticated reasoning why and wherefore the benign British Government could bring itself to legalising and licensing the sale of liquor and opium.

I now come to the vexed question of the actors which afforded much food for discussion and criticism at the last annual meeting.

During the second half of the last century (and perhaps from a much earlier date), actors, actresses and musicians were recruited generally, I would say almost invariably, from amongst the depressed classes of pagoda slaves, beggars and *sandalas*. The beggars made it their business to train their voice as they beg even now by singing. They organised theatrical troupes, marionette companies and musical companies, and used to sail down from Upper to Lower Burma after the Buddhist Lent, in pre-

annexation days, in rowing boats of their own. On the arrival of such a boat at town or village, the troupe had to give its first performance *gratis*, by way of trial. They were not permitted to occupy any house in the town or village, as they were considered as social lepers. They generally camped in *sayats* (public rest houses) or under shady trees. When fed, they were provided with plantain leaves on which the rice cooked is lumped; and the curry poured over the rice. Through fear of pollution, neither plates nor cups used by the townspeople or villagers were supplied. Hence the epithet *phet-kwet-sa*: (eaters from cups made of leaves) came into being. The term is a contemptuous one and used to be applied indiscriminately to all actors, actresses and musicians, irrespective of the fact that some of them were recruited from amongst the poor of the respectable classes. Once the men of the respectable classes joined the theatrical troupes or musical companies, they are counted among the depressed classes.

As times changed and as the profession became more patronised and paying, the people of the respectable classes who considered themselves talented musically, began to join the troupes gradually, in small numbers at first, and in large numbers later. The dawn of the present century saw a somewhat kindlier attitude in the people towards the actor class; but unfortunately the fact remains that people still look down upon them as the lineal descendants of the *phet-kwet-sa*: class who have learnt their art from their untouchable predecessors.

I would therefore maintain that the actors may still be counted among the depressed classes.

MAUNG THA KIN.

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA VOL. I, Pt. I. (Government Press, Rangoon).

It is fitting that the *Epigraphia Birmanica* should open with a scientific study of the famous Myazedi Inscription-pillar, with its four faces written in four languages: Burmese, Pali, Talaing and Pyu. This pillar enjoys the distinction of providing Mr. Blagden with a clue to his studies of Old Talaing and the hitherto unknown Pyu. The date it gives for Kyanzittha, one of the Kings of Pagan, has enabled Mr. Taw Sein Ko to rectify the dates of four successive kings: Anawrahta, Sawlu, Kyanzittha, and Alaungsithu; while the importance it has for philological studies is ably shown by Mr. Duroiselle in his numerous notes.

The question of transliterating Old Burmese is one of peculiar difficulty owing to the transitional stage of the language. Mr. Duroiselle rejects the commonly used phonetic system as being 'a method of practical utility well adapted to official and commercial requirements', and adopts the 'scientific method' of literal transcription, which reproduces, 'the

exact form of the language as it has been fixed in writing'. He is satisfied that the latter method is 'better adapted to our purpose than any phonetic scheme could have been.' The necessity of this literal system is indeed great, and Mr. Duroiselle is to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which he has worked it out. It, at least, has the advantage of preserving the exact forms of those words, whose sounds we do not know for certain. But when Mr. Duroiselle gives the phonetic as well as the literal rendering of those words whose pronunciation is known, it is a pity that he does not follow any well-defined system. On p. 19 သံ: is rendered literally as *sum*³, and phonetically as *thon*³. Is the *th* sound as in English *thin* or *then*? Whether it is the one or the other, or both, this *th* sound, which stands for ∞ evidently stands also for ∞ , for on p. 36 ဓံ is treated literally as *thui*, and phonetically as *tho*. This is clearly a confusion. What Mr. Duroiselle means is that in the former instance *th* is pronounced as the Burmese ∞ (*th*), and in the latter as the Pali ∞ (*ht*). Again the sound *s* serves for \circ as in the example ဂ္ဍ, *cwan*, pron. *sun* (*u* being sounded as in English *put*) p. 16, and also for ∞ as in the example သိုး, *chui*³, pron. *so*³ p. 18. I point out these inconsistencies not from a malicious desire to pick holes, but because I wish to show that they can be avoided by adopting a well-defined system of phonetics, which would render the sounds no less accurately than Mr. Duroiselle's literal system renders the form of words. Such a system has already been worked out by the International Phonetic Association for modern European and Oriental languages including Burmese. It has the advantage of bringing Burmese into line with the other languages and enables foreigners to pronounce Burmese sounds even without knowing the language. For instance in သေဝဋ် (the *thi*) the first ∞ is sounded as in *thin*, and the second as in *then*. And ဓံ (*hto*) can only be pronounced as in Pali. The phonetic equivalents, being conveniently put in brackets immediately after the words treated, will do away with the necessity of such qualifying phrases as 'e as in the French être, prêtre', 'eu as in French peu, peut', and of printing *pron.* before each case in the book under review. European phoneticians also, being acquainted with the system of transliteration, will come to take an interest in Burmese phonetics. The only new thing they need to study in the present book is Mr. Duroiselle's own system of literal transcription, which as said above is a necessary acquirement. The two systems together will ensure accuracy of sound as well of form in the rendering of words, which are capable of being treated both phonetically and literally. A scientific undertaking, such as the Epigraphia Birmanica is, might use the International Phonetic system with advantage in the phonetic transcriptions of words, as Mr. Duroiselle uses his own system in the literal transcriptions.¹

¹ A plea for the International Phonetic System has already been made by Mr. Grant Brown in JBRs, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 57-61. If the System does not meet with our approval, it is our duty to make suggestions for improvements.

To touch on a few points as regards the translations: In verse 4 of the Pali stanzas (p. 49) Mr. Duroiselle translates: 'He had a beloved queen — skilled in all the affairs of the king,' taking *rājino* together with *sabbakiccesu*. But surely *rajino* goes with 'Tass' and is put at the end of the verse for metrical reasons. A better translation would be 'The king had a beloved queen — skilful in all (her) duties'. In verse 9 *mahantaṃ guṇa-saṃcayam*, which means 'a great heap of favours' is too freely rendered by 'numerous and great favours'. Likewise in verses 12 and 19 'image' and 'attaining Supreme Enlightenment' are too free for *munindassa* and *sabbāññutaññapaṭivedha*, which mean 'lord of sages' and 'penetration of omniscience'. These are examples of faulty translation in an otherwise scholarly work. Mr. Duroiselle attains a higher level of accuracy in his study of the Burmese face. He has on the whole done a splendid piece of work. He has made a scholarly study of the Burmese and Pali faces of the Inscription. His notes are suggestive and his list of Old Burmese words is very useful. He has compared Burmese words with a host of words from the dialects and neighbouring languages, and has thus indicated the lines on which future research should be conducted.

Mr. Blagden is responsible for the interpretation of the Talaing, and Pyu faces. Mr. Blagden himself is the best judge of his work on the Pyu, a language he has rescued from total oblivion. He admits that his translation is tentative and hopes to revise it when further materials are forthcoming. Greater interest attaches to the Old Talaing, for which there are more materials. This language belongs to a different group of languages from the Burmese as shown by its formation of words by means of infixes. Remarks on this language may be reserved for a subsequent paper. Suffice it to say that Mr. Blagden's work is distinguished by his usual scholarship. Those who are mindful of the importance of antiquarian studies in Burma will appreciate the great service done to Burmese scholarship by Mr. Duroiselle and Mr. Blagden, who, by bringing out this volume, have paved the way to that rich field of research, the inscriptions.

P. M. T.

"THE EXPOSITOR (ATTHASALINI): BUDDHAGHOSA'S COMMENTARY ON THE DHAMMASANGANI, THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ABHIDHAMMA PITAKA, VOL. II. Translated by MAUNG TIN, M. A., Edited and Revised by MRS. RHYS DAVIDS, D. LITT., M. A. Published by the PALI TEXT SOCIETY, LONDON. Price 10s. net.

This book is the continuation and completion of the translation of Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammasangani, done into English by Maung Tin of University College, Rangoon, and edited and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids, of which the first volume appeared in 1921. In its main lines it consists of a running comment on the text of the first book of the Abhidhamma or philosophy section of the Buddhist Scriptures, and its aid can hardly be dispensed with by any one desirous of studying that book and gaining a correct idea of its contents. In this

second volume, the comment is a very swift-running one indeed, for, whereas the first volume with its 280 odd pages only covered some sixty pages of the Pali Text Society's edition of the Dhammasangani, this second volume within the compass of its 250 pages only, disposes of all the remaining 260 pages of the Text commented on.

It begins with a section of some interest, namely with a "Discourse on the Transcendental," that is, upon what is *lokuttara* (literally, *beyond-the-world*), which the translator quite correctly in the body of his text translates as "supramundane," the term *lokiya* (literally, *worldly*) being translated "mundane." However, the reader influenced by accidental associations of the word "transcendental", who expects to find in these pages something rapt and vague and dim, a cloud of phraseology, loftily indecisive, will be disappointed. There are indeed "raptures" in Buddhism, but they are sober, not drunken raptures; and the Buddhist as a rule prefers not to speak of them overmuch. He prefers to reserve all his energy for the doing of them. Also Buddhist "mysticism" is never *misty-ism*. Despite its title, this Discourse remains very sober, very clear, very matter-of-fact. It soars off into no immense inane. *More buddhistico*, it keeps its feet securely on the ground, even if its face is lifted to the far-off stars. It treats of transition from the *lokiya* to the *lokuttara* mind as a sober science, to be soberly studied and followed up in practice until the moment arrives when the thing is done, and the practitioner actually makes the passage through the stages of the successive "insights" of "adaptation" (*anuloma*) and "adoption" (*gotrabhu*; literally, *becoming of the family* [of the Ariyas]), on to the vision of the moon of Nibbana, now no longer concealed from him by the clouds of his infirmities and failings. This is a great work, the greatest man can do, and demands the most arduous labour successfully to accomplish, even in the case of an already highly developed man. We are here told of Mahāmoggallāna, one of the two chief disciples of the Buddha, his "left hand" as Sāriputta was called his "right hand," that while he was engaged on this labour, his Master himself for seven days looked after him "as though he were a little child"; and when he would have fallen asleep for sheer weariness, with chiding and remonstrance recalled him to renewed activity: "Moggallāna, Moggallāna, do you drowse with heavy eyelids, O brahmin!" It does not comport with the sober, scientific tone of the Commentary to dwell much on the emotional reactions of this transcendental achievement: for these we must look elsewhere, to the Theri and Theragāthā, the "Psalms of the Sisters" and "Brothers." Yet it has to record that this achievement is accompanied by joy, and indicates one main source of that joy in the statement that by the transition from worldly to beyond-the-world consciousness, all evil things at one stroke are cut off, whereas we painful plodders in the vale of the common man's pursuit of excellence, only overcome them, when we do overcome, one by one. Yet the Buddhist system of spiritual training is not one of the pursuit of common morality merely. Its final, fundamental aim is the purification of the mind; that accomplished, all good things

follow, of necessity, because they cannot help but do so. It is here said of the *Anāgāmi*, of the man (or woman) who is done with earth-life for ever, that he has sons and daughters, but that "sons and daughters are the result of the mere exercise of bodily functions," the lower nature in him, not any the less, having become "very weak and attenuated in form, like a film of cloud or a fly's wing."

As always, so here, Buddhaghosha shows himself a complete master of his subject—and not it of him, as so often is the case with lesser men—by the skilful, excellently varied similes and parables where-with he illustrates and lights up his treatise, making clear the intricate mental processes he is describing, by apt comparisons with ordinary village events like the falling of a mango from a tree upon a man sleeping beneath it, the finding of a coin in the dusty village street by a playing boy, a fly being caught in a spider's web, and the now universally well-known one of the lame but seeing man being borne about on the shoulders of the blind but sound-limbed man, whereby both achieve their ends, this last comparison being intended to illustrate the relations of mind and body.

After the section on the Transcendental there follow sections on "Immoral Consciousness" and on what the translator calls "Unmoral Consciousness," but which surely were better called "Neutral" or "Indeterminate Consciousness," since the Pali *ayākatā* clearly bears that meaning. Then comes a chapter on "The Four Great Essentials," more familiarly known as the "elements" Earth, Water, Fire, and Air, but which in *Abhidhamma* are understood as the forces respectively of Extension or Impenetrability, Cohesion, Heat, and Motion, all four of which "elements" enter in unequal proportion into the composition of all forms of matter, the predominating proportion of one or the other of them in any given substance, determining the nature of that substance as solid, liquid, gaseous, or etheric. On this follows another chapter on the secondary forms of these primary elements. And the last hundred pages of the book are taken up with a very rapid summary of matter largely dealt with in other Commentaries from the same hand, in the course of which the good Buddhaghosha, after his manner, and as elsewhere, from time to time explains the derivation and meaning of this and the other technical term with an aim obviously more careful of edification than of accuracy!

The English of this volume is as good as that of its predecessor, and could only be improved and made a little clearer in some slightly ambiguous passages by a closer attention to punctuation, a more liberal resort to commas. The use of the word "purgatory" on several pages may be just permissible, albeit the word is a technical term of only one branch of the religion of the western world, the very existence of any fact corresponding to the word being denied by others. But "perdition" on page 290 is hardly satisfactory as a rendering of the Pali term, since, thus baldly set down, it suggests revolting ideas of eternal torment, of total loss, ideas utterly alien to the sound logic of Buddhist thought, no less than to the whole spirit of Buddhist feeling.

The book cannot fairly be dismissed without mention of the numerous references to, and subsidiary quotations from, other Pali literature, contained in the informing notes from the pens of both translator and editor, evidence of their wide reading in that literature. Like its predecessor, in its general excellence this volume once again proves, if proof still were needed, that the ideal method of translating any Oriental classic into an Occidental tongue lies in the collaboration of an Occidental and an Oriental translator,—may we say, of two such competent intermediaries, each at their own end of the bridge, as Mrs. Rhys Davids, and Pe Maung Tin.

S.

“THE PATH OF PURITY”, BEING A TRANSLATION OF BUDDHAGHOSA’S VISUDDHI-MAGGA, by PE MAUNG TIN. PART I—OF VIRTUE (ORS MORALS). Published by the PALI TEXT SOCIETY, LONDON. Price 10 sh. Net.

One of the great books of the world, albeit the world as a whole does not yet think so, is the Visuddhimagga or “Path of Purity” (perhaps more correctly, “Path to the Pure”) of Buddhaghosha. It is one of the world’s great books because it aims to give, and does succeed in giving, within the compass of one volume, a complete conspectus of the entire mighty field of Buddhist ethics, mental training, and philosophy and psychology, which else the student has to seek for through many volumes of almost bewildering variety and amplitude. To the sceptical mind there is some ground for doubt if it actually is the work of one particular individual, Buddhaghosha. So many voluminous commentaries of profound and varied content bear this name as author, that it seems impossible that one man, with only a single pair of hands, in one lifetime could have found the time required to do the mere pen work of them, to say nothing of thinking out and arranging their complicated matter. It seems much more likely that Buddhaghosha is in his own *métier* a sort of earlier Oriental Raphaël who looked over, touched up here and there, and finished off and set his name to, works written under his direction and inspiration by pupils, through his instruction become almost as able as their master. It is the case that in the ancient schools of Sanskrit learning many writers of one given school, with a self-effacement which we of this over-individualised generation are scarcely fitted to comprehend, still less properly to appreciate, were content to let their own individual name remain in obscurity, and to affix to all they wrote the name simply of the head of their school. They are as men who should say to us: “Here is a tune, but it is not of our making. We are only the flute upon which it has been played,” and would seem to be quite happy to be such flutes. It is very likely that the same fine spirit prevailed in the early schools of Buddhist lore, even in Buddhaghosha’s day almost a thousand years after the death of the Founder of that Lore; and that the name of Buddhaghosha was appended to all works written by pupils of

the school of Buddhistical exegesis at whose head he at that time stood. Some such theory is more than a little countenanced by the fact that there exists in a Chinese version, of which the Pali original has completely disappeared, another commentarial work of a much earlier date, called the *Vimuttimagga* or "Path of Freedom," which bears a very close resemblance, not only in its title, but also in its general style and arrangement, to the *Visuddhimagga*, so that the latter may very well be, as has been suggested by some, merely a revised and improved version of the earlier work.

But however all this may be, the *Visuddhimagga* as we have it to-day, did no other work on its subject exist, would still suffice to provide the modern enquirer into Buddhist doctrine and practice with a fully adequate outline of the object of his enquiry. It is therefore very satisfactory that at last a beginning has been made in rendering such an important work accessible to readers of English. It is Pe Maung Tin of Rangoon University who has taken upon himself this onerous labour; and a slim volume of some hundred pages, published by the Pali Text Society, being No. 11 in its Translation Series, represents the first instalment he has accomplished of his task. It comprises the first two chapters of the book, being the section devoted to the first division of the threefold classification of Buddhist Teaching into Virtue or Morals, Mind Training, and Wisdom or Insight.

In a certain sense Buddhism may be regarded as an ascetic's religion, the Bhikkhu being the only real "Buddhist," and in his person mediating the Buddha's teaching to the layfolk in a reduced form adapted to the mode of life of the latter. Hence we find these two chapters on *Sīla* or Virtue exclusively taken up with morals as these apply to a Bhikkhu. As says the very stanza which opens the whole discourse and constitutes as it were its "text," it is the Bhikkhu (here translated 'brother') who pisenangles this tangle of conditioned existence in which all creatures living are entangled; and it is with his first steps towards disentanglement, namely through the practice of virtue, that the ensuing discourse deal in minute detail. And it is interesting to note that a doctrine which is generally regarded as the characteristic mark of what is called Mahāyāna Buddhism, to wit the aim at the emancipation of all beings, here in Buddhaghosha's pages finds definite formulation in a passage where, defining the different kinds of virtue as inferior, middling, and superior, he in set words declares: "That virtue of the perfections which arises [the original Pali word here *pavattati*, could equally well be rendered by 'runs its course'] for the sake of the emancipation of all beings, is 'superior'"; virtue practised without clear consciousness of what one is about, out of compliance with convention, as we of to-day would say, or from vanity or self-pride, or for the sake of worldly welfare, being declared to be 'inferior.' Yet the Bhikkhu is not to remain content with mere morality. He must not stop at the stage of merely being good. He must pass on, and develop and transmute his virtue into insight, penetration, else he is

a 'stagnant one.' So the exposition of Virtue proceeds, being pleasantly diversified, as so often happens in commentarial literature of this kind, by one or two of those naive little tales about Theras or Elders who manifested in their own persons shining examples of the virtue under discussion, or, as may also sometimes happen, by a story, as warning example, about some other less perfect member of the Order who conspicuously broke the virtue enjoined.

The second chapter treats of the thirteen Dhutangas or ascetic practices which the Buddha, when asked to do so by some zealous disciples, declined to make a binding Rule upon the members of his Order, but permitted any Bhikkhu to bind upon himself, who wished to do so for the sake of self-discipline, or in order to overcome some weakness in his character. They range from such simple forms of austerity as a vow to own only one set of robes, those actually in use, or to sustain the body solely upon food put into the begging bowl when upon the round for alms, up to the rather hard practice of living continually in the open without even the shelter of a tree, or of never taking sleep save in a sitting posture. An explanation of the method of observing each practice is given in detail together with a statement of the advantages obtained by the observing Bhikkhu in his increased detachment of spirit, freedom of mind, and liberation from care about many wants.

Of the English rendering of these two chapters it may be said that their translator here again shows the same facility found in his other translation work. Of awkward phrases, smelling rather of the language translated from, than of that translated into—a common fault in many translations from an Oriental into an Occidental tongue—there are few or none here. The English goes forward in plain easy fashion touched now and then with just a pleasant tang of the original. Only one or two lapses may be noted, though we understand that the translator is not wholly to blame for them, having in a manner taken them over from another hand. Thus, in the opening stanza, the word "disembroil" is used as an intransitive verb, which of course it is not, a fault that grates on the ear more in verse than it would in prose; and on page 23, "looking above, down," and so on, would read better as "looking up, down," and so on. On page 70, why should not the Pali *devadattiyam* be translated just as what it is, "deva-given," or "spirit-given"? On page 85 however, there is a rather unfortunate rendering of the Pali *devatāhi sahaṇvāsītā* as "intercourse with tree-deities"; for the advantage a Bhikkhu obtains by living at the foot of a tree, which is what the Text is speaking of, is not anything more *déshonnête* than the *company* merely of the hamadryads, or, to coin a word literally exact to the Pali, their "co-dwellership." A final error, to be found at the foot of page 88, seems due to some mischievous imp—a printer's Deva, if not devil—who has managed to get placed in exactly reverse order every word except the initial one in the last line of the verse passage, completely spoiling its scansion though not its sense.

It is greatly to the credit of the translator that there are so few slips or infelicities in this his first essay at rendering into English the Pali of the *Visuddhimagga*, for it is by no means easy to understand. One who with the help of a commentary can make fairly good going of Sutta Pali, in Buddhaghosha's pages here, finds himself constantly baffled by words he never saw before and by long, elaborate, involved sentences. This is hardly to be wondered at, since a good many centuries of development separate the language of the one from that of the other. Pe Maung Tin generously acknowledges the help he has received in performing his own task from consultation of a Burmese translation of the work and Burmese sub-commentaries. But even so, he has had a difficult piece of work to do, and has done it well. Taking these first pages as sample, the completion of that task is something to look forward to with pleasurable anticipation, and confidence that the great Buddhaghosha's greatest work will be presented to English readers, when complete, in a dress worthy of its long and high renown in Buddhist lands.

S.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, XI^e SERIE, TOME XX, Nos. 1, 2 (July-December 1922.)

For those who wish to see early Burmese history in proper perspective, these numbers are of importance, for they contain M. Gabriel Ferrand's "*L' Empire Sumatranais de Çrivijaya*" (pp. 1-104, 161-244). Scholars are not likely to accept without dispute *all* of Ferrand's identifications; indeed, in a series of articles beginning with Deel 77, 1921, of the *Bijdragen*, Dr. G. P. Rouffaer combats a number of his earlier theories¹. But there can be little doubt that, in the main, Ferrand's conclusions will be accepted, developing, as they do, the earlier work of Coedès, Krom, Vogel and Blagden. The starting-point of Ferrand's work was clearly Coedès' brilliant article "*Le Royaume de Çrivijaya*" (*B.E.F.E.O.* t. XVIII, 1918, No. 6), in which the greatness of the old Sumatran kingdom of Palembang begins to assume its just proportions. Ferrand has now assembled an array of nearly a hundred texts—Chinese, Old Malay, Sanskrit, Pali, Tamil, Old Javanese, Arab, Persian, Cambodian and Siamese—referring, under various names, to this kingdom and its dependencies, and his thesis (p. 3) is as follows:—

It is, one may say, the current opinion that Java has been the home and centre of expansion of Indian civilisation in the East Indies. It appears, on the contrary, that this honour must be ascribed to the Sumatran Empire of Çrivijaya, which is proved by texts and inscriptions to have possessed a high degree of culture and incontestable supremacy, political, military and naval during the first millenium of our era. Still mistress of an immense territory

1. Students who do not read Dutch, will find a summary of Rouffaer's first article in Dr. R. O. Winstedt's "*Early History of Singapore, Johore and Malacca*."—*J.A.R.S., Straits Branch*, No. 86, November 1922).

in the 13th century, the empire collapses under the defeats inflicted on it by the Javanese in the metropolis, by the Thai of Sukhodaya in its possessions on the Malay Peninsula, and in consequence of defeats sustained in two expeditions against Ceylon.

That Java, in the past, should have usurped the credit properly belonging to Sumatra, is not surprising; for not only were the names of the two islands almost indistinguishable, but the magnificence of the remains of Hindu-Javanese architecture and sculpture—unequaled, not merely in Sumatra, but throughout Further India—was bound to prejudice the case from the outset. It is true that the archaeological survey of Central and Northern Sumatra cannot yet be said to have approached completeness; but one must confess that the remains so far found are disappointing¹. It is strange that a rich country, so long the centre of Indian culture in the Far East, should have no extant architecture to compare with that of Misson, Dieng, Angkor or Pagan—unless, indeed, the climate of Palembang can account for its almost total disappearance. From an under-estimate, therefore, of the importance of Sumatra, nothing could save us but a keen survey of all available texts, and, based on this, an accurate identification of place-names. This is what Ferrand has attempted; and he finds that the Chinese Shih-li-fo-shih, Fo-shih, and San-fo-ch'i:² the Sanskrit (and old Malay) *Çrī Vijaya*: the Tamil *Kaḍāra* and *Jāvaka*: the Arab *Sri Buza* and *Zābag*: and the old Javanese *Sam Boja*—all refer to one empire or its capital, situated at or near the modern Palembang. On this basis he proceeds to sketch its history, of which the following summary must suffice:—

The first reference to Sumatra (*Yavadvīpa* and its gold mines) is in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. At about this time Madagascar and the coastal regions of east Africa were colonised by Hinduised settlers from Sumatra. In 132 A.D. is the first mention of an embassy (? from Sumatra) to China; in the same century the gold and fertility of "Iabadiou" is noted by Ptolemy. In 414 Fa-hsien, returning from Ceylon to China, spent five months on the island, finding "heretical brahmins" there very numerous, and Buddhist "a negligible quantity". In 644 Jambi (*Mo-lo-yü*, *Malāyu*), north of

1. Readers who wish to pursue the subject should refer to Ferrand's bibliography on pp. 1, 2. In addition to this, see J. W. Yzerman's "Beschrijving van de Boeddhistische Bouwen te Moera Takoes", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* (Batavian Society) Deel XXXV 1893; P. V. Van Stein Callenfels' "Rapport over een Dienstreis door een Deel van Sumatra", *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1920 2nd quarter (Albrecht & Co., Weltevreden); the now-incomplete list of Sumatran inscriptions in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1912, 2nd quarter pp. 32—52; *ditto*, 1914, 2nd quarter pp. 104-138 for a general list of Sumatran antiquities; photographs Nos. 1499-1501, 1631-1649 of the Dutch Archaeological Department; and finally L. C. Westenink's "De Hindoe-Javanen in Midden en Zuid Sumatra", *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Java* (Albrecht, 1921). The last contains a list of dates of early Sumatran history and a map of the old Hindu settlements thickly spread from the latitude of the river Siak down to Kroe in the far south. (There were, of course, other settlements in the north, both on the east and west coasts). Photographs would seem to shew that Sumatran temples, particularly in their p'inth mouldings, shew a closer resemblance to those of Pagan than to those of Java.

2. English transcriptions of Chinese characters are here given.

Palembang, first sends an embassy to China; Palembang follows suit in 670, and sends missions regularly till 741. Between 671 and 693 I-tsing spent as many as $8\frac{1}{2}$ years here, and his account is invaluable. We gather that Jambi has now passed under the sway of Palembang. There were more than a thousand studious Buddhist monks of the Mūlasarvāstivādin (Sanskrit Hīnayāna) school, with books and discipline exactly as in India. Here I-tsing studied Sanskrit, and advises other Chinese monks to do the same "for a year or two" before proceeding to India; he also studied old Malay, his example being followed by several other Chinese pilgrims. At this time Palembang was a thriving port, on the main trade route, says Chau Ju-kua, between Arabia, Quilon (S.W. India) and China. Its chief exports appear to have been camphor, cloves, aloes, musk, sandalwood, ivory, pearls, tortoiseshell, gold, silver, tin, areca nuts, and all kinds of spices and perfumes. Its populousness is quaintly attested by Arab merchants (early 10th century) who state that the first barndoor cock who crows in the morning is answered continuously by other cocks over a distance of 400 miles. It was also in the 8th century a formidable power. In 686 it invaded Central Java, then at its artistic prime; a century later, under the Çailendra dynasty, it was in steady control, it seems, of the west and centre of that island. In 775 its influence was paramount up to the borders of Tenasserim; and perhaps about the same period it effected a lightning conquest of Cambodia. From 904 onwards embassies to China are resumed. In 990 we first hear of the Javanese invading Palembang, but 17 years later Palembang in turn invades Java and destroys king and capital. From the 11th century relations with S. India become important (for centuries, of course, there had been contact, not merely with S. India, but also with Nepal and Kashmir); for a time vassal to the Cholas, it becomes later, for a time, their overlord. During the last quarter of the 13th century its empire finally collapses, as described above.

It is hardly necessary to stress the bearing of all this on Burmese history. The recent discoveries of Old Malay inscriptions—not all, it seems, definitively edited, though this is only a matter of time—have enlarged our horizon. We must take in Madagascar on the west, and probably look eastward no less far. It seems that as mere exploits, apart from their historical significance, the voyages of Columbus or Vasco di Gama will have to yield the palm to those of the Hinduised Malays at the beginnings of our era. Thaiton can claim no longer, all for itself, the proud title of the Land of Gold. The term, *Suvarṇabhūmi*, is found (see p. 180) in an Old Malay inscription dated 1286 A.D., and is there applied, more appropriately, to Sumatra; *Suvarṇadvīpa*, also, and *Suvarṇapura* appear elsewhere in a similar sense.

One name applied to the Malays by the Chinese seems to have been *Po-ssü*, a term usually reserved for Persia; but Ferrand, in an interesting review of Laufer's *Sino-Iranica* (*Journal Asiatique*, t. XVIII No. 2, Oct-Dec. 1921 pp. 270-293), shows that this sometimes does not suit, and proceeds to discuss other identifications. He debates at length the claims of *Bassein* (though this name would appear to be a Burmese corruption (?))

of Kusimanagara¹, but decides finally in favour of Pasé, in the north of Sumatra. The data are worth summarising. In 742 Kanshin, a Japanese Buddhist priest, observes that "in the river of Canton there are innumerable vessels belonging to the people of P'ò-lo-mèn, of Po-ssü, and of K'un-lun." In 860, according to the Man Shu, at a place called Ta-yin-k'ong, apparently a silver mine on the Gulf of Siam, the people of P'ò-lo-mèn, Po-ssü, Shê-p'ò (Java) and P'ò-ni (Borneo) come to do trade. The Nan-Chao Yeh-Shih states that in 1103 P'iao, Po-ssü and K'un-lun offered white elephants and perfumes. Finally, the Man Shu says that "the P'iao country...adjoins Po-ssü and P'ò-lo-mèn; on the west, however, its frontier is at the town of Shê-li" (provisionally identified with Çrikṣetra, or old Prome). Ferrand argues at length in favour of the phonetic equivalence, here, of P'ò-lo-mèn and Mramā (Burma), instead of the usual equation P'ò-lo-mèn = Brahmana, *sc.* India. Po-ssü, in the last extract from the Man Shu, would suit Bassein; but, from a list of Po-ssü numerals—obviously Malay—given in the Japanese Memoirs of Ōye no Tadafusa (early 12th century), he decides that it usually, at least, refers to Pasé in Sumatra. For the vexed question of the identity of the K'un-lun, see Ferrand's important work, "Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du sud" (Journal Asiatique, 1919, t. XIII pp. 239-333, 431-492; t. XIV pp. 5-68, 201-241). His conclusions on this head are summed up on pp. 320-1 :—

On the continent, K'un-lun territory extends from Champa to Burma, including the Malay Peninsula. But the inhabitants of Palembang and of Java are also K'un-lun, and such is the name of the language spoken there. I have said already that by "the K'un-lun language" in Sumatra and Java, we must understand Kawi; now Old Javanese is closely allied to Cham, Khmer and Talaing; Edouard Huber has already noted this (B.E.F.E.O., t. X, 1910, p. 625). We have seen that the continental K'un-lun territory of the Chinese is the old Cham-Khmer-Môn kingdom; in the island kingdoms of K'un-lun tongue, the Kawi, there used, is near akin to the languages of the continental K'un-lun. Moreover the physical, cultural and ethnographic type of the Hinduised Indonesians of Sumatra and Java is fairly closely allied—still more so in the 7th century than later—to the Hinduised Cham, Khmer and Talaing type of the same period To sum up, the Chinese employed the term *K'un lun*, much as we employ that of *Latin* or *Slav*, to designate peoples whom they thought ethnically and linguistically allied, and who, in fact, were so to a greater or less extent."

Another passage, in the New T'ang History (ch. 222. C. Section on P'iao) has an important bearing on the southern connections of the P'iao. It is an itinerary from P'iao to Shê-p'ò (Java), and it is worth examining in some detail. It has been translated and briefly discussed by Pelliot (B.E.F.E.O., t. IV, pp 222-4), and I have seen translations also by Parker and Waley. The rendering given below is my own, but I mention any important variations :—

"From Mi-ch'ên you reach K'un-lang. Again there is a Little K'un-lun tribe. The king is called Mang-hsi-yüeh. The customs are the same as at

1. On this point, see Mr. Fraser's interesting letter—J.B.R.S. Vol. XII, Part III, p. 165.

Mi-ch'én. From K'un-lang you reach Lu-yü, where is the kingdom of the Great K'un-lun king. The king is called Ssü-li-po-p'o-nan-to-shan-na. The river-plain is larger than at Mi-ch'én. From the dwelling place of the Little king of K'un-lun, in half a day you reach the stockade of Mo-ti-p'o. After a five months' sea-journey you reach the kingdom of Fo-tai, where are 360 river-branches. The king is called Ssü-li-hsieh-mi-t'a. There is a river called Ssü-li-p'i-li-jui. The country has many rare perfumes. To the north there is a mart where the trading junks of all the kingdoms gather. Cross the sea, and you reach Shê-p'o. In a 15 days' journey you cross two big mountains, one called Chêng-mi and the other Shê-t'i. There is a kingdom whose king is called Ssü-li-mo ho-lo-shê. The customs are the same as at Fo-tai. Cross the To-jung-pu-lo river, and you reach Shê-p'o. After 8 days' journey you reach the kingdom of P'o-hui-ch'ieh-lu."

We know, from the Man Shu ch.10, that Mi-ch'én was on the sea-coast: that the inhabitants called their chieftain *shou*: and that they had black short faces. They seem to have been sometimes subject to P'iao, but in 805 A D., and in 862 according to Ma Tuan-lin (ch.330 Section on P'iao), they sent independent embassies to the court of China. Pelliot thinks they were at the mouth of the Irrawaddy, and possibly Talaing. The mouth of the Sittang is perhaps rather more probable, as being on the main route from Prome to Mo-ti-p'o, which Pelliot (doubtfully) identifies with Martaban. Pegu and Thaton would naturally lie on the line of route. But Mang-hsi-yueh (old pronunciation: *Mang-sit-val*, according to Waley) sounds more like a Burmese than a Talaing (or Pyu) name. Martaban certainly seems a likely port from which to set sail for Java. The voyage of 5 months (to Fo-tai) seems long; Pelliot thinks it a mistake for *days*. If so, the mistake must be an old one, for all the texts I have seen or heard of, read *months*. It all depends, of course, on where we place Fo-tai. Apparently it is a 15 days' land-journey from Java, but you can also go by sea. There is a king, and even a river, with Sanskrit names; and the river has 360 branches. (This surely is the most natural rendering—I follow Parker. If we read, with Pelliot, "a river branch which flows for 360 (*li*)," it is strange that *li* should be omitted; besides, a river branch some 70 miles long is not very remarkable, while a river in this part of the world with 360 branches is so extraordinary as perhaps to have driven Pelliot to seek some other explanation). The difficulty, I think, resolves itself if we can identify Fo-tai with Fo-shih or Fo-ch'i, i.e. Palembang. The neighbourhood, as Marsden has noted, is one of the best watered spots in the world. As a great centre of Indian colonisation, its chief river would naturally bear an Indian name. (The final character, *jui*, Waley suspects to be a mistake, as one would not expect it in a Sanskrit name). The time assigned to the voyage is not perhaps excessive, considering that it appears to have been a little-used route, and probably small boats were employed, stopping at all ports on the way. Anyhow we know from I-tsing (v. Chavannes, *Les Religieux éminents*, p. 144) that it took Wou-hing a month to sail from Palembang to Kedah, and this was on the main trade-route between India and China.

The equation, Fo-tai = Fo-ch'i, is of course a difficulty, but not perhaps insuperable (Parker's text has apparently a different character for the

second syllable, for he reads Fuh-fah. All the other texts I know, read Fo-tai). Perhaps it represents a P'iao pronunciation, unfamiliar to the Chinese, who got their usual name from the Seas of the South. Possibly it is a dialectal variation, as is commonly the case with *l* and *ch* today (e.g. English 'tea' is from Fukienese *te*, which is *ch'a* in Mandarin). The difference of vowel seems not unnatural when we reflect that all these Chinese names represent the Sanskrit Vijaya. However, it is for better Chinese scholars than the present writer to decide whether the equivalence here suggested is tenable.

What follows, seems to be an account of alternative routes to Java. (i) By sea. This would start from the thriving port north of Palembang, probably at the mouth of the Palembang river, where I-tsing embarked in 689 (v. Chavannes, *op. cit.* p. 176). (ii) By land, a fifteen days' journey, to the river (Pelliot: *valley*) of To-jung-pu-lo (Pelliot: = Tanjongpura, or 'cape-town'). The name is a common one, and would naturally apply to a port in the extreme south, affording the shortest sea-passage across the Sunda strait—which the writer here seems to think not worth mentioning. My map of Southern Sumatra shows a range of mountains immediately behind Tandjoengkarang on the coast. Perhaps here Mts. Chêng-mi and Shê-t'í are to be sought. The kingdom hereabouts, with its king Çrī Mahārāja, offers some difficulty. For it is odd that a kingdom, apparently independent, though friendly and with similar customs, with a king so titled, should exist so near Palembang. One suspects a confusion; for the king of Palembang, was known *par excellence* as Sri Mahārāja (v. Ferrand's texts, *passim*), so much so that the whole island became known to the Arabs as 'the Mahārāja's Island.' Possibly the same king was known as Çrī Svamitra in the capital, and Çrī Mahārāja in the provinces. (If the itinerary is contemporary with the main notice of the P'iao, the period referred to is about 800 A.D., when Palembang was at its zenith. But one must confess that it comes in rather awkwardly into the account of the P'iao, so it may well be a later insertion, previous to 1060, when the New T'ang History was completed). The goal of the journey is P'o-hui-ch'ieh-lu, identified by Pelliot with P'o-lu-chia-ssü, port of Surabaya, to which the Javanese king Kiyen transported his capital, as a result, it seems, of the Sumatran conquest of Central Java.

Several of these names re-appear in the list of P'iao dependencies given in the New T'ang History. Thus Mi-ch'ên, K'un-lang, Fo-tai and Shê-p'ô are given among the 18 dependent kingdoms, and Lu-yü and Mo-ti-p'ô among the 32 most important of the 298 settlements. Probably Pelliot is right in regarding the inclusion of Shê-p'ô (Java: and I would add also Fo-tai, if I am right in identifying it with Palembang) as an empty boast, for amongst the other "dependent kingdoms" are mentioned Çrāvasti and Champa (probably the Indian Champa, south of the Ganges).¹

1. I leave open the bare possibility of this Champa being the present Sampanago (Champa nagara) in Upper Burma. What troubles one in this 'tall' list of P'iao dependencies, is not that the P'iao gave it, but that the Chinese apparently 'swallowed' it, — when, in the case of Shê-p'ô at all events, they must have known better.

So far as I am aware, no Chinese account of the P'iao contains any reference to P'iao ships or sea-trade. They may have exercised some sort of suzerainty over the Talaings¹ (and Burmans and Malays?) on the coast, but if we might assume that they were cut off at an early date from the sea, it would explain a number of things we know about them, e.g. their conservative character as evidenced both in the script of the "Pyu" inscriptions and in the Chinese account of their music. If such was the case, history has repeated itself many times in Burma; the ceaseless struggle between a coastal people with leanings toward sea-trade, and a slightly more vigorous land-power in the interior, has all along been her bane, effectually defeating the ambitions of both.

G. H. L.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1922 (4 VOLS), 1923 (3 VOLS).

Several reviews etc. in these numbers are of interest to us in Burma. In the January 1922 number is a flattering review (pp. 107-9) by Sir George Grierson of Mrs. Milne's "Elementary Palaung Grammar" (1921 Clarendon Press), and another (pp. 127-132) by Mrs. Bode, (authoress of the "Pali Literature of Burma")—written, it appears, very shortly before her death—on Maung Tin's translation (vol. 1) of the *Atthasālinī* (P. I. S., Oxford University Press 1920).

The January 1923 volume has a review (pp. 120-1) by Mr. Grant Brown on the J. B. R. S. 1921 vol. XI Part I. The writer asks for information about the Tagaung chronicle, part of which is translated in that number. This is now provided in Maung Tin's introduction to the translation of the Glass Palace Chronicle (Clarendon Press 1923). It may be pointed out that the translation of the Tagaung Chronicle was originally intended as an appendix to this volume, but this idea was given up, together with that of adding notes, for reasons of expense. Mr. Grant Brown wishes Mr. Stewart had included the Môn originals of the songs he translated; typographic difficulties prevented this at the time, but these are not now, I think, insurmountable. The final words of the review deserve quoting: "The Journal can perform no more useful function than the recording of valuable literature, which now exists only in the memories of the people and may soon be lost for ever." Will not some of our Talaing scholars undertake for Môn, what Burns and Scott did for the Border, the task of collecting the folk poetry and songs still on the lips of the people?

1. The present diffusion of Mon-Khmer and allied languages in the peninsula among races so distinct as the Semang Sakai, Talaing and Nicobarese, and their wide extension from Annam to the borders of Bombay Presidency, suggest that there was once a power dominant, at least in the peninsula, which spoke a language of this type. But this theory, if true, could only apply to prehistoric days, several thousands of years ago. Between the date of the empire of Fu-nan (2nd-4th century) and the dates of the earliest Cambodian and Mon inscriptions, there is not nearly time enough to account for the already wide divergence of these languages; and as for the old theory that Mon and Khmer were one until the Shans divided them, the sooner it is forgotten the better.

In the same number (pp. 144-5) there is a short review by Mr. Blagden of Dr. V. Heine-Geldern's article in Band XXXVII (1917) of the *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*—"Kopfjagd und Menschenopfer in Assam und Birma und ihre Ausstrahlungen nach Vorderindien". The author concludes that "the Hindu *Sakti* and tantric cults owe their origin largely to Indo-Chinese (particularly aboriginal Assamese) influence, as the late Mr J. D. Anderson had already suggested". Mr. Blagden thinks the evidence adduced "very strong". He points out that head-hunting must be regarded in some sort as a religious act rather than an inhuman sport; and, with reference to human sacrifice, glances at the *myosate* of Burma.

The April number has a sheaf of interesting reviews. On pp. 265-9, in a shorter and somewhat altered form, appears Maung Tin's article on Buddhaghosa which was first printed in J. B. R. S. Vol. XII Part I. On pp. 284-8 Sir George Grierson gives a searching, but kindly, review of Mr. J. O. Fraser's "*Handbook of the Lisu (Yawyin) Language*" (1922, Government Press, Rangoon). He falls foul—as who would not?—of the transliteration *ɾgh* for a Lisu vowel, which, be it noted, can also be a nasal or part of a diphthong. He praises the author for using numbers to mark the tones:—"I hope that this example will in future be followed by all writers of Tibeto-Burman grammars and vocabularies, using, if possible, the system of representing tones formally adopted by the Associated Asiatic Societies."

This review is followed by another, by Sir Richard Temple, on A. R. Brown's "*The Andaman Islanders*" (1922 Cambridge University Press). On pp. 298-9 Mr. Grant Brown notices the '*Comparative Dictionary of the Pwo-Karen Dialect*' by the Rev. W. C. B. Purser and Saya Tun Aung (1922 A. B. M. Press), and styles "perverse" the extraordinary alphabet invented for the Karens by the American missionaries. It would be interesting to hear what can be said on the other side, but meantime it is noticeable that the Karen (Buddhist) books now being published at an enterprising Pa-an Press, are in Talaing character, and nearly all the Taungthu Mss. I have seen, use Burmese. It is natural that the missionaries, coming in contact chiefly with illiterate Karens, should underestimate, or even ignore, existing Karen literature. If such has been the case, surely it is high time—now that we know Pwo-Karen, at least, to possess a considerable literature, for them to drop their curious alphabet and adopt the one chosen by the Karens themselves.

On pp. 303-307 there is a review by Mr. P. R. Gurdon of Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua's "*Ahom-Assamese-English Dictionary*" (1920, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta). Ahom, as a spoken language, is now extinct; but the earliest *būranji*, or native histories of Assam, are in Ahom; and to students of Shan or Lao the language is important: "The Ahoms of Assam are the descendants of those Shans who, under the leadership of Chūkāphā, crossed the Pātakai range from Burmah and entered the upper portion of the valley of the Brahmapūtra (the country

which is called now Assam after them) about A. D. 1228. Their place of origin may be located now with some certainty, in the Chiengmai Province of Siam, on the banks of the river Mehkawng." It is strange that the Burmese chronicles make no reference to this big Shan movement across Upper Burma; the Shans are scarcely noticed, in Burma proper, till half a century later. But there are indications that, during much of the Pagan period, Burmese influence was felt far less in the north than in the south.

On pp. 317-8, there is a notice by Dr. R. O. Winstedt of W. G. White's "Sea Gypsies of Malaya, being an Account of Nomadic Mawken People of the Mergui Archipelago" (1922, Seeley, Service & Co.).¹

Finally, in the July number (p. 489), is another review by Mr. Gran Brown of the J. B. R. S. Vol. XI Part II. His question about the sources of "Folk Tales of Arakan" is answered elsewhere in this number by the author himself. Several criticisms are just and helpful; but if the writer, in his remarks on Mr. Taylor's paper in that issue, means that final "killed" *t* and *k* in Burmese words are really pronounced, *i.e.* that they are the stops of the plosives, he will find few phoneticians in modern Burma to agree with him. No doubt they were plosives, more or less complete, some centuries back; for the confusion between final *p* and *t* is of comparatively modern origin. But by personal observation of a good many Burmans I am satisfied that in final *t* the tongue does not usually touch the teeth-ridge; and though I am not so certain whether final *k* is not sometimes a velar stop, it seems probable that this too, like killed *p* and *t*, is now generally formed by the closing of the glottis.

G. H. L.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY—AUGUST 1922-JULY 1923.

There is not very much about Burma in these numbers, but enough to show that Sir Richard Temple never forgets his early love, and even deigns to read the Burma Research Society Journal.

In the August number Sir Richard corrects a slip in the "List of Inscriptions found in Burma", Pt. 1;—"The Archaeological Officer who brought King Bodawphayá's collection of copies to the serious notice of the Government, and induced it to collect and house them suitably, and afterwards began the printing of the Pagan, Pinya and Ava Inscriptions in 1892.....was Major R. C. Temple.....The work of printing the Inscriptions was carried on by his personal friend, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, after his departure from Burma in 1897."

1. Mr. White, it may be noted, has also brought out a translation of St. Mark's Gospel in Mawken (=Selung, or Salon); the book, which is in Roman character, is obtainable at the British and Foreign Bible Society, Sule Pagoda Road, Rangoon.

The December number (pp. 227-8) has a list of 15 Burmese Proverbs, collected by Rao Bahadur B. A. Gupte, and edited by Mr. A. L. Hough of the London School of Oriental Studies. Perhaps it is worth pointing out that many collections of Burmese proverbs (in the vernacular) have appeared in print. I know the *တောဝံ့နှစ်ထောင်* or "Two Thousand Proverbs" of Saya Taing (Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1910); the *သောဓမ္မပရိဝေဒနာ* *တောဝံ့နှစ်ထောင်* (Parts 1 and 2, Rangoon, Pylon-metswe Press); and the *၈၈၅၅ ရဟန်းတော်တော်အကြောင်း* Part I, 200 pp., published at Maung Saw's Press, Mandalay, 1913). There must be many others. Most of them appear to have explanations in Burmese, I know of none with English translations. The "Thesaurus of Proverbs, Maxims and Idioms", (by A. Maung Aung, published 1921, Chanea Press, Mandalay) sounds promising, but proves to be translations of English proverbs into Burmese; it is, however, of interest.

The February 1923 number (p. 45) contains a careful review by Sir Richard Temple of Mrs. Milnes Palaung Grammar, with a number of strictures chiefly on the system of transliteration—a matter on which, as usual, Sir Richard is hard to please. He connects Palaung *ta* a "conjunctive of intimate relation" as he calls it with *ta* in Nicobarese. Is there an equivalent in Talaing?

In the May number, in an interesting survey of the work of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Mr. S. M. Edwardes (p. 119) quotes Pinot—"This coastal region (*of Prome and Pegu*) professed the Theravāda doctrine six or seven centuries before it appeared on the banks of the Mekong"—a statement based on the Maunggan plates and Baw-bawgyi stone, all of which are in Pali—and adds "It is quite possible that Siam borrowed the creed from Pegu to hand it on to her eastern neighbours, and that therefore the inscriptions of Maunggan and Hmawza are indirectly the earliest title-deeds of the modern Buddhism of Cambodia."

The June number contains "Some Discursive Comments on Barbosa" (as edited by the late M. Longworth Dames, Vol. II) by Sir Richard Temple, an article full of important suggestions to scholars in Burma. He mentions (p. 133) Barbosa's (and Pinto's) Lake Chimay or Chiamay—which some have tried to identify with Tonle Sap in Cambodia—and hints a possible connection with Zimè. Barbosa's tribe of "Gueos" is identified by Dames with the Wás, on Sir George Scott's authority; Sir Richard very shrewdly argues that they were probably Gwê Shans; but invites researchers to take up the problem. With regard to Burma proper, Sir Richard quarrels with Barbosa's statement: "There are no Moors (*sc. Muhammadans*) therein, inasmuch as it has no seaport which they can use for their traffic." "Barbosa's Dela should be identified, not with Dála, but with Dalá..... As regards Macao near Pegu, I made a note some years ago on it which I have unfortunately mislaid. My recollection is that it was on the Pegu River, between its junction

with the Rangoon River and Pegu town, and that it has since disappeared owing to river changes. To Dames' note on "Martaban Jars" (page 159) I may add that full information on the subject.....will be found *ante*, Vol. XXIII pp, 340,341.....While one is discussing place names it is interesting to note that Nicolo Conti in the 15th century thought that Mâchin (Macinus) meant Burma with its capital at Ava. The name Capelan for the Ruby Mines of Burma has baffled Dames as it has long baffled me, and I would like to draw attention to it here in the hope that some Shan, Palaung or Mon scholar will take it up and settle it." Finally, Temple explains "Anseam" as Siam *plus* a form of the Arabic prefix *al* and agrees with Dames in thinking that similarly Arakan represents Ar Rakhaing." If so, Parker's identification of the Chinese A-li-chi (one of the kingdoms dependent on the P'iao, mentioned in the New T'ang History) with Arakan, falls to the ground.

In the July number (pp.172-3), continuing the subject, Sir Richard refers to Barbosa's notice "of a custom in Arakan of selecting brides by the smell of their perspiration in clothing, which reads as if it were apocryphal" but "may have an explanation in the custom of smelling for kissing prevalent in Burma and elsewhere in the far East." Sir Richard gives an amusing account of his official tenure of the Court white elephant at Mandalay in 1885, and of Pegu (or rather Shan) ponies, mentioned by Barbosa—"many very proper nags great walkers."

In the "Miscellanea" of the same number Sir Richard draws attention to a "puzzling corruption of the Oriental term Faringi (=Frank) for a Western European," occurring in San Baw U's article "My Rambles" (J. B. R. S. Vol. XI. p. 165), where the author explains Min *Palaung* of Arakan, as the king (who defeated) the *Faringi*. Do Arakanese scholars accept this interpretation of the name?

G. H. L.

1. Mr. G. E. Harvey has called my attention to the following curious passage, translated from the French of Richard (Paris 1778, 2 Vols.), which appears on p. 761, Vol. IX, of Pinkerton "A general Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all parts of the World" (Longman, 1808-14).—"The King of Arakan), shut up in his palace, vegetates in lifeless indolence with the queen and his concubines. Every year each of the twelve Governors, chooses in his district twelve girls of the same age, whom they expose to the burning rays of the sun, to create perspiration. They are afterwards dried with a fine cloth which is sent to court that they may determine by the smell, which is most worthy to enter the seraglio. Those who are rejected, fall to the lot of the courtiers, who receive them as a mark of the greatest favour. It is said that the monarch has no other guard than his concubines who are trained to the use of arms."

CORRESPONDENCE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT SHINMOKTI VILLAGE, TAVOY TOWNSHIP.

Dated Tavoy the 7th June 1923

SIR,

I have the honour to report that about 6 weeks ago certain relics were found in a paddy field near a village named Shinmukti in the Tavoy Township. I enclose a report on the subject submitted by the Township Officer, Maung Ba Thin, and also a translation made from a palm leaf document kept in the *pongyikyaung* at Shinmukti concerning wooden images referred to by Maung Ba Thin, in his report. The translation in question was made by my Chief Clerk Maung Pe Hlwe.

I shall be glad to furnish you with any further particulars which may be of interest to the Society.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. R. PELLY, I. A., Major.

Deputy Commissioner,

TAVOY.

Report by Maung Ba Thin, Township Officer, Tavoy, to the Deputy Commissioner, Tavoy, dated the 26th May 1923.

I beg to report that on being informed that certain relics have been found by U Wayama and the villagers of Mokti village in a paddy field 200 feet east of Mokti village, I proceeded to the village and on making enquiries found that relics of historical importance were unearthed at a place some 200 feet east of the Mokti village and not far from the famous Mokti Pagoda. Before I say anything about the relics I may say that the pagoda has a history of its own. It was supposed to have been built by the Siamese who were the early settlers of a portion of the Tavoy District. In those days Tavoy was divided into hamlets, each with its own King or Sawbwa.....So far as the pagoda is concerned it is said that a wooden image floated down the river, supposedly from Ceylon, and reached Tavoy. The villagers turned out in a body, and when they tried to land it they could not do so, until a pious man finally

succeeded. A ground was then selected and consecrated and the image was then enshrined. It has been, and is still a custom amongst the Buddhists that at such a ceremony the people from the King downwards should attend and give offerings such as rings, jewels, hair, moneys, etc., and generally a slab of stone with an inscription commemorating the ceremony would be put up. This latest find consists of :—

- (1) one stone image of Buddha in a sitting posture, height 4 feet; found at a depth of 5 cubits, with an inscription. The workmanship seems to be old.
- (2) big clay images, about 300 in number; the height of each image is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. 150 are in good condition, and most of them carry inscriptions, apparently in the Siamese language.
- (3) two slabs weighing about 100 viss, with inscription defaced.
- (4) one anklet made of silver and copper, showing oxidation.
- (5) one small bangle made of silver and copper, showing oxidation.
- (6) four silver and two copper rings. They also show oxidation.
- (7) three pieces of alloy, probably of copper and silver.
- (8) two gold rings.

The anklet, bangle and gold and silver rings are at present with U Sandima, a *ponggi* of Shin Mokti Ponggi Kyaung. The villagers held a meeting and it was resolved to enshrine all the images at one place, and at the ceremony of enshrinement the gold and silver pieces will also be put in. Since this find I have asked the villagers to make diligent search in the locality for relics, and to report to me at once when a find is made. I have also asked a few elders of the town and the villages for information about this pagoda. It is said that a book relating the important event of that time that took place in connection with the landing of the images, consecration of the ground and the dedication ceremony, has been published, and if required it will be submitted to you.

Submitted to the Deputy Commissioner, Tavoy, for information.

Copy of translation by Maung Pe Hlwe, Chief Clerk, Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Tavoy.

Three images of wood were carved out of the southern branch of the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained omniscience. In these images were enshrined also certain relics of the Buddha by the disciples, who floated the images, each set up on a marble slab placed upon big planks of *thingan* wood with a small banyan tree growing upon the plank. The images floated down the Ganges and through the ocean,

when one of these got aground at Sandoway and the second stranded at a reef near Amherst. The third found its way into the Tavoy River as far as the mouth of the Sawwa Chaung where it lay stationary. At that time King Sila was the ruling chief of Wedi. Certain boatmen caught sight of the image on a sand bank. The king went to the spot in a royal boat but the image went up the Sawwa Chaung as far as Mokti. King Sila with his retinue landed the image at Mokti with a befitting ceremony on Tuesday the 5th waxing of Tazaungmon in the year 800 B. E. The banyan tree was planted in the precincts of the shrine and the slab of marble can be seen at Mokti to this day.

Note.—While the above correspondence was in the press, I received from Major Pelly two photographs of the find referred to. One of these shews a selection of the objects enumerated in Maung Ba Thin's report, the large image, it seems, in the normal earth-touching attitude, and about a hundred stamped clay reliefs. The rings etc. are shown in the other photograph together with three inscriptions, probably on the backs of three of the clay reliefs just mentioned. I cannot decipher the whole of any of these inscriptions as seen in the photograph, but I have little doubt that the language is, mainly at least, Old Talaing. The first seems to contain, at intervals, the words *tirley* (= lord), *gna smiñ sri tribhovanāditya* (= His Majesty King Sri Tribhavanāditya—an unusual spelling), *saṃbhañ* (= title of a Burmese official. See Epig. Birm. Vol. III. Pt. I. Inscr IX *passim*), *tirla' poṃ seṇak* (= our lord the monk Seṇaka), *cy dik* (= I) and *tirla'* (= lord). The second has *kyek* (= pagoda or image—spelt as in the Myazedi Inscription), *kon* (= child) and *brow* (= woman). The third has *samben (ānanda) jeyy(a)*, and possibly the name of the king as given above. A good many other letters are visible at intervals but one would need time and, probably, a view of the objects, to make a satisfactory restoration. There are moreover certain letters, or marks over letters, which are unfamiliar to me. I am therefore passing on the photograph to an expert, and hope to reproduce it, with his comments, in a subsequent number of the Journal. The historical importance of this find is obvious—*G. H. L.*

SOURCES OF "FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN."*

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Grant Brown is quite justified in making the remarks he did, especially in regard to the "Story of the Turtle" (B. R. S. J. vol. part). But if ever he brought in a suggestion that I manufactured the story for Arakan, the people here would only laugh at him because it is known to every individual Arakanese. I am not sure if it is known in Burma as well; but the last story I sent you, that of the Hamadryad, is quite familiar to the Burmese also.

When I was a little boy I used to be sent to bed early, and my aunt used to tell me these stories which were then familiarly known to every household and employed with the sole object of inducing children to fall off to sleep. A few years back the late U Htoon Chan once casually remarked to me that these stories were being gradually forgotten by the people owing to their increasing struggle for existence. It was then that I conceived for the first time the idea of writing up these stories in English and thereby preserving them for posterity. My subsequent

* In reply to a letter drawing the author's attention to a review in the R. A. S. Journal in which the sources of the "Folk Tales" are called in question.—*Ed.*

investigations have proved the truth of what U Htoon Chan then said. In the town of Akyab there is at present not a single person, man or woman, who remembers more than three or four of such stories. Whenever I make enquiries I am always told, "Oh ! I used to know a lot when I was young ; but those who really knew them are now dead. If you want to listen to these stories you should go to some secluded village in the district where they are still preserved and handed down from generation to generation."

So far as I remember, these stories form a very large collection. Some are short and some long ; and like the Fables of Aesop a few of them contain some useful moral lesson. The majority of these stories are orally handed down ; there are also others, lengthy ones, which have been preserved in the form of E-gyiñ, Linga, Thā-gyiñ (ဆာဉ္ဇး) and Phwè (ခဲ). Some of these latter are That-ta-hta-nu, Kaw-Kaw-nu, Wun-thu-daw, Ran-aung, Hta-ma-ra, U-ga, Gro-gra, Shwe-ma-la and Mra-ke-tha phwè, and so on.

It is my intention to write up these oral stories first as they are more easily forgotten and lost. When the series is complete, or rather when I have recorded as many as possible, I shall next take up the written ones in which are some of the best in the whole collection.

Folk tales are common to every country. Sometimes some of them travel great distances either in the wake of trade and commerce or due to the impact of civilisations. Thus we observe that some of the stories in the Jatakas are reproduced, with certain modifications, in the Fables of Aesop. But even if this is not conceded it has been ascertained that in the first century A. D. a collection of about a hundred Indian fables came to Alexandria. According to Mr. Jacobs the so-called "Fables of Kasyāpa" were taken to Ceylon, and that it was by means of an embassy from that Island that they reached the Egyptian centre of learning, where they were translated and were subsequently known as the "Libyan Fables." Then again there are certain scholars who favour the belief that the Jatakas inspired the "box arrangement" of the Arabian Nights, which in turn produced in the West the well known works called the Decameron and the Heptameron. My task does not lie in finding out the origin of our stories but simply in recording all those that are found to be in common use by the people of the land. Everybody knows of the political relations between Arakan and Burma in the past, and there is hardly any necessity for us to be surprised when we find some of these stories to be common to both countries.

Yours faithfully,
SAN SHWE BU.

BURMESE GARDENING.

DEAR SIR,

I am desirous of obtaining information upon the practice of Gardening by the Burmese. I understood from Lady Cuffe that this subject was given attention to by the Burmese before the British assumed control, and wish to learn of the existence of any :—

Gardening—Palace Gardens—Avenue Tree or Fruit Tree planting apart from main crops, that owes its origin entirely to Burmese effort.

The Agri-Horticultural Society has been in existence for 45 years now and I can trace no information upon any enquiry into the subject and would like to put on record any available information concerning it.

I think that there is great danger in sources of information becoming considerably less during the next few years.*

Yours faithfully,

H. E. COOPER,

SUPERINTENDENT,

Agri-Horticultural Society of Burma.

* Will any member who has information on the subject of this letter kindly communicate it, either to me, or to Mr. Cooper direct? *Ed.*

Report on the Burma Research Society Prize Competitions.

The late U Chit Maung, President of the Kyaukse Literary Academy, shortly before his death offered the following prizes for open competition under the auspices of the Burma Research Society :—

(a) 3 prizes, one of Rs. 50, two of Rs. 25, for the best set of unpublished songs or ballads by any Burman writer who wrote before 1885.

(b) one prize of Rs. 100 for the best essay in Burmese on the life and works of U Ponnya, with comments on the *Zats*, songs etc., showing why they were written and contemporary opinions regarding them.

(c) one prize of Rs. 25 for the best essay in Burmese poetical prose on one of the following subjects.

1. The Tamarind Tree မန်ကျည်ပင်၏အသုံးကျခြင်း
2. The Subot-ywet or Chinbaung. မြင်ဘောင်ရွက်ချိုမဟုတ်ဆူးပုတ်
3. The Sèhnayathi ဆယ်နှစ်ရာသီ

The competitors were directed to model their essays on U Ponnya's မေတ္တာစာ (Myittaza), on နွားတကောင်လုံးအသုံးကျသည် (Nwā-ta-gaung- loñ-athoñ-kyathi).

U May Oung, President of the Burma Research Society, kindly contributed Rs. 50 towards the prize of Rs. 100 in Competition B, and the two second prizes in Competition (A) were offered by the Burma Research Society.

For Competition A eight entries were received, for Competition B five entries, and for Competition C eleven entries. The number of competitors was therefore encouraging, and the wide range over which the competitors are spread is even more satisfactory. Entries were received from Mandalay, Prome, Sagaing, Thayetmyo, Pyapon, Tharrawaddy and the Upper Chindwin. They were not confined to the large towns, and the greater proportion of the competitors are from country villages, which would seem to indicate a very widespread and general interest in the activities which it is the object of the Society to promote. Two of the competitors were women.

Competition A

There were 8 entries, but most of the entries submitted were found to have been published previously. The following notes on the entries may interest competitors and others.

No. 1.

Submitted 3 verses : (a) အမေးခွေးပျို (Ame :hkwe :pyo) ; (b) ဟံသာဝတီ ရောက်မင်းတရားဆိုလို့ရုံ (a yadu) ; (c) ဇင်္ဂူမင်းချင်း Singumin Egyin) ; of which the first is a modern song in the style of Po Sein, and the others have already been in print in the ကဗျာပန္နိသား (Kabyā Bandhathāra ကဗျာသိက္ခာ (Kabyā Sandika) and elsewhere.

No. 2.

Submitted 3 old verses which have not been traced in print. The first represents an incomplete and not very accurate version of the ဆဒ္ဓန်ကျိ (Hsaddan Kyo). The competitor gave the name of the author as Zat Mintha U Tha San whereas the author—or, at least, the producer—was Yok-the Minthami U Tha Zan. The same competitor submitted a Legyo which has been printed in the မဟာကဗျာ (Mahā Kabyā) Volume I page 83.

No. 3.

Submitted 5 verses, comprising the တောင်သူ့သီချင်း (Taungthū bwè thī-gyīn), ထမ်းသမားသီချင်း (Tanthamā bwè thīgyīn), which have been printed in the Mahā Kabyā Volume II pages 87-88, the pleasant *ainggyin* ချစ်တဲ့သူငယ်ဆေး (chit tè thungēle) which has been printed in the Kabyā Bandhathāra p. 218, and also in the Kabyā-thingaha-medani (ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟမေးနီ), and two Lungyins by U Kyi and U Saung respectively.

No. 4.

Submitted one entry, ရှာတောင်ပုံခိုချင်း (Shā daw boñ Ngogyīn), which has been printed in the Mahā Kabyā Volume II page 120.

No. 5.

Submitted verses, an အောင်ငင်ကျိ (Aung-ngin-kyo :) and ဝါဆိုလဆွဲတေးတင် (Wā-hso-la-bwè-te-dat) which may be found in the Mahā Kabyā Volume II pages 37 and 28.

No. 6.

Submitted the သနားစရာငွေတောင်ဆွဲအင်ချင်း (Thānasayā Ngwetaung bwè) dated 1217, by the သလုံးငှက်ကြီး (Thaloñ Wungyi), which has not been traced in print. The entry was wrongly styled an အင်ချင်း (Añ-gyīn) as the poem is really an အောင်ငင်ကျိ (Aung Ngin kyo :) and is better known as the ကိန်းရာဆွဲ (Keinnayā bwè).

No. 7

Submitted 2 verses, a ရွှေဘိုလွှမ်းချင်း (Shwebo Lungyīn), and အောင်ပင်လယ်လွှမ်းချင်း (Aungbinlè Lungyīn), which have not been traced in print but are incomplete. Both are old popular songs, the second a very pleasant charm for the girls transplanting paddy.

No. 8.

Submitted 3 verses of an E-gyīn (အေးချင်း) dated 1106, by မင်းမိုးမင်းကျော်သုတေသရာဇာ (Minyè-minkyaw-thū Padethayāzā).

It was evident from the prefatory remarks attached to many of the entries that the verses have been regarded as heirlooms and that many competitors were quite unaware of the collections of Burmese verses which have been made from time to time. The greatest find undoubtedly was the E-gyīn submitted by No. 8, but as the complete poem comprises 32 verses of which only 3 have been produced, the judges found themselves unable to recommend it for a prize. They are of opinion however that the Society should offer to purchase the full poem if available for the

amount which was offered as a first prize.* The two 2nd prizes are awarded to (No. 3) U Htin of Sa-daung village in the Sagaing district, for his လွင်းချင်း (Lungyins) by U Kyi and U Saung; and to (No. 6) Maung Tauk Tun, pensioned bazaar-gaung of Sinbaungwe town of Thayetmyo district, for the ဆောင်ငွေ or ဆန်ချင်း by the Thalon Wungyi. They recommend also that the hitherto unpublished fragments submitted by Maung Tein Hoke, District Office, Prome (No. 2), and by Maung Thetpyin, Student, Ywasigaingdauk Sayadaw's School in Sinbaungwe (No. 7), be printed.

Competition B.

Five entries were received for this competition. The entries from No. 1 and No. 3 were marred by several defects. The history was not always accurate, the criticism was defective and the opinions of other authorities on U Ponnya's writings were not given. No. 2 suffered from the same defects but in a less degree and contains a considerable amount of interesting matter. No. 4 also fails to attain the standard required for a prize. By far the best of the entries was that submitted by No. 5. The Society, therefore, in accordance with the judges' recommendation award three-quarters of the prize, namely Rs. 75, for the essay submitted by (No. 5) U Ba Thein, and one quarter of the prize, Rs. 25, for the essay submitted by (No. 2) Saya Oh. Both these gentlemen belong very fittingly to the Literary Academy, Kyaukse, of which the late U Chit Maung, the donor of the prize, was the President. With great regret, however, the Society has learnt that U Ba Thein, the writer of the prize essay, died shortly after his paper was submitted.

Competition C.

There were 11 entries, of which all but two selected the Tamarind among the alternatives given to competitors. In this competition a prize of Rs. 25 is awarded to U Shan, of Sa-daung village, Sagaing District.

The Society is greatly indebted to the judges for their work in connection with the competition. They were U Tin K.S.M., A.T.M., the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, and Saya Tun Pe.

* U Kyin Han T. D. M. has kindly agreed to supply gratis a copy of the complete Egyin, which is printed below.

PADESARĀJĀ EGYIN.

EDITED BY U KYIN HAN.

PREFACE.

၁။ ထိုဒီးချင်းရေးသော ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်မှာ။ ပဒေသရာဇာဘွဲ့၊ နတ်ရှင်နောင်ဘွဲ့စသောဘွဲ့ကြီး အသီးအသီးဖြင့် ခြီးမြှင့်ခြင်းကိုခံရသော ဇရုံမြို့စားဝန်ကြီးမင်းပင်တည်း။ ထိုဝန်ကြီးမင်း၏ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိစာတမ်းမှာ စာမျက်နှာ (၃၉) တွင်စာပေရှာတွေ့ရသမျှ ဘော်ပြရေးသားလိုက်သည်။

၂။ ထိုဒီးချင်းဘွဲ့ခံသော။ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေအမည်တွင်သော မင်းသမီးကား။ လောကသရဘူ စေတီတော်ဟူ၍ ၎င်း။ ကြာသပတေး မင်းဟူ၍ ၎င်း။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက် မင်းတရားဟူ၍ ၎င်း။ ရာဇဝင်များတွင် မေးတင်ကြသော ၁၀၉၅ ခုမှာနန်းရ၍ ၁၁၁၃ ခုမှာ နန်းကျသော အဝဘုရင်နှင့် မိဘုရားမဟာ မိပတိဒေဝီက မွေးဖွားသောနန်းထက်ဖွား မင်းသမီးတည်း။

၃။ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ အမည်တွင်သော မင်းသမီးမယ်တော် ဖြစ်သော မိဘုရား မဟာမိပတိ ဒေဝီမှာလည်း ဟံသာဝတီရောက် မင်းတရားခမည်းတော်။ တနင်္ဂနွေမင်းတရားနှင့် မိဘုရားကြီးက မွေးဖွားသော နန်းထက်ဖွားမင်းသမီး ၃ ပါးရှိရာ ဟံသာဝတီရောက်မင်းတရားက ၃ ပါးစလုံး မဟေသီဘိသိက် သွန်းလောင်းတင်မြှောက်ခြင်းခံရသော အလှဆုံး အငယ်ဆုံး ညီမတော်အထွေးဆုံးပင်တည်း။

၄။ သည်ကဲ့သို့ဖြစ်၍။ ဒီးချင်းတွင်။ မင်းသမီးနှင့် မင်းသမီးမယ်တော်မိဘုရားကြီးယဉ်ကျေးသိမ်မွေ့ နှုတ်ယူမှုပုံ။ အပြစ်လွတ်ပုံများကို စာဆိုဆရာ ဝန်ကြီးမင်းက ထည့်သွင်းဘော်ပြ။ သာဓု။ သာဓက။ ညာပက။ ညာပန။ ယထာဘူတစပ်ဆိုသတည်း။ ။

၅။ ယခုတင်သွင်းသော ဒီးချင်းတော် ရေးရင်းသက္ကရာဇ်ကား ဂေါ်စာ။ (၁၁၀၆) ခု၊ ခိုခိုလဆန်း ၁ ရက်မှာစ၍ ရေးသည်။ ဝါဆိုလဆန်း ၃ ရက်နေ့မှာ အပြီးသတ်သည်ဟု အမှတ်ပြုကြရုံမက။ ဒေါသ စသောအပြစ်ကင်းလွတ်။ အသတ်ပင့်ရစ် ခွဲထားအသံမှန်ကန်၍ စံပြသောကဗျာဟု မြန်မာမင်းတို့လက်ထက်တော်။ ထင်ပေါ်ကျော်စောသောဒီးချင်းများတွင် ပါဝင်သောဒီးချင်းပင်တည်း။

ထိုဒီးချင်းမူရင်းလက်ခံသည်။ U Tin (2) K.S.M. A. T. M. Retired E.A.C, ၏ပို့ကတ်တိုက်ကရသည်။

EGYIN.

နမော တဿ ဘဂဝတော အရဟတော သမ္မာသမ္ဗုဒ္ဓဿ။ ။

၁။ တိုးတက်မင်္ဂလာ။ ဘုန်းတေဇာတိ။ ဖြာဖြာပြီးမြင့်။ မညှိုးပွင့်သည်။ ရာမင်းဦးစွန်း။ ထိပ်ပန်းလှချာ။ ဧကရာလျှင်။ မဟာရာဇာမိပတိ။ သီရိထွန်းပ။ နရသင်္ကန်းဧကရာဇ်၏။ ရင်နှစ်သွေးရည်။ လှသည်ရောင်ဆင်း။ မင်းဦးထိပ်နေ။ မြတ်သန္ဓေကို။ ရံရွှေပြီးမှ။ ချီထိမ်းယနှင့်။ နှုတ်ငယ်သက်။ ကစားဘက်ကို။ စုံမက်ပျံ့ပျံ့။ လွှဲကျွန်းစရာ။ ဒီးချင်းစာကို။ ရုံးကာလွယ်လှ။ အကျဉ်းပြ၍။ ဘုရားကျွန်တော်။ ထင်ပေါ်မင်းပွဲ။ မင်းရုံးမင်းလှကျော်ထင်။ ဦးတင်ရှိမြောက်။ စီကုံးလျှောက်မည်။ စံမြောက်ရွှေလျော်။ နန်းထက်ပျော်သည်။ နားတော်စေ့စေ့နာတည့်လေ။ လျင်လျင်တည့်ဘုန်းမွှေးစက်ပျော်ရေး။ ရွှန်းရွှန်းတည့်ယဉ်ချေးနှုတ်ပျံ့မွှေး။ ။ ဒီးယဉ်တည့်သလေးသံယဉ်ဇေး။ ။

၂။ ထွန်းပအသရေ။ ထွေထွေဆန်းထူး။ ရွှေတိုင်းမူးသည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ ရုပ်သွင်လှကျော်။ ရွှေနား

ပျော်လော့။ ထွန်းပေါ်ကမ္ဘာတည်သောခါက။ မဟာသမ္မတ။ စန္ဒြတိုင်မဲ့မင်းဖြစ်ခဲ့ပြီး။ မိုးကြီးသာစည်။ တကောင်းပြည်ကို။ စိုးသည်လူထိပ်။ ခုနစ်ကျိပ်နှင့်။ ရန်ဒိပ်ပယ်ပျာ။ ခုနစ်ပန်းမှ။ ရွှေရှားတထွေ။ သရေခေတ္တရာ။ ပြည်အောင်ချာဝယ်။ ရာဇာဘုန်းကြွယ်။ နှစ်ဆယ်ကကျူ။ ခုနစ်ဦးလျှင်။ စိုးမှူးခွဲနောက်။ ဘုန်းတောက်ထင်ရှား။ နေနဂါး၏။ သည်ကြားမျှမင်းထွတ်ရန်နှင့်လျှင်။ ပွင့်လင်းသာစံ။ ပြည်ပုဂံကို။ ဘုန်းလျှံဥမျိုး။ စံရွှံစိုးသည်။ ။တန်ခိုးပြင်းတေဇာတည့်လေ။ ။ရန်မန်တည့်နီးဝေးကြောက်တုန်ဇေး။ ။စည်ရှည်တည့်ထက်ဝေးသခင်ဘေး။ ။

၃။ ။ဥမျိုးအစ။ သည်ကဖြစ်ခဲ့။ ငါးဆဲ့ငါးယောက်။ စိုးပြီးနောက်မှ။ ရွှေမှောက်ထွတ်တင်။ တစီးရှင်နှင့်။ ဦးကင်ခြောက်ဆက်။ မပျက်မူလ။ ပြည်ပင်းယကို။ စိုးရကွပ်ထိုင်။ မြစ်စက်ကိုင်းဝယ်။ ဘုန်းလှိုင်းရာဇာ။ သခံယာဟု။ ဆက်ကာခြောက်ကန်။ စိုးပြီးလွန်မှ။ တမ်းခွန်ရွှေဝ။ မြတ်ဌာနကို။ အစအုပ်မိုးသတိုးမင်းဖျား။ တရားမင်းခေါင်။ တည်ပြန်ထောင်၏။ သည်နောင်ဧကရာဇာ။ တကျိပ်နှစ်တို့။ တလွှပ်စိုးက။ ဝံ့ပြီးစမ်းမှ။ မင်းရှေးဘုန်းတူ။ သိင်္ခသူလျှင်။ တောင်ငူနန်းမြင့်။ ရိပ်ဖြူနှင့်၏။ သည်မင်းသည်းကြား။ တရားပွင့်လူ။ ဆင်ဖြူများရှင်။ ဘုရင်များချာ။ နန်းဟံသာကို။ အာဇာသိမ်းအုပ်။ ချုပ်ခဲ့ပြီးမှ။ နေရသည်းကြား။ မင်းဖျားထွတ်တင်။ ညောင်ရမ်းရှင်လျှင်။ ရပ်ထင်ပုရ။ သည်ရွှေဝကို။ လောကတမ်းခွန်။ ထူဆောက်ပြန်သည်။ ။ရန်မန်ပျောက်ရှင်းရှင်းတည့်လေ။ ။မကြွင်းတည့်မြို့မြွေးစင်အောင်ဆေး။ ။ဘုန်းလျှံတည့်နီးဝေးဖြာဖြာပြေး။ ။

၄။ ။သည်နောက်သည်ချာ။ ဆက်ကာစံပျော်။ ညီတော်ဘုန်းဝှန်း။ သာလွန်မင်းတရား။ သည်းကြားဘုန်းလျှင်။ ငါးထပ်ဒါယကာ။ နရာထိပ်ပေါ်။ ညီတော်ပြည်မင်း။ ရင်တွင်းသည်းချာ။ ဆက်ကာဘုန်းတောက်။ အထွတ်ရောက်၏။ သည်နောက်ကျော်သည်။ ခမည်းတော်ဘေး။ ဘုန်းမွေးပွင့်လျာ။ ဧကရာလျှင်။ စန္ဒာဗေဒီ။ မဟေသီနှင့်။ တူပြီရွှေနန်း။ စံသိမ်းမြန်ရွှံ။ ကြွန်းသည်းချာ။ မဟာဩရသ။ ရှင်ဘဘိုးတော်။ ဘုန်းကျော်သည်ရှင်။ လူထွတ်တင်ကို။ ရည်ဆင်ကိုယ်စား။ အိမ်ရှေ့ထားလျက်။ လွှံ့ကြားမြေပြင်။ ဥကင်လျှံတောက်။ ငါးကျိပ်မြောက်ဝယ်။ ကျော်ခြောက်နံ့သိ။ သီရိပဝရ တရိဘဝနာသီဟသူရ အဂ္ဂပဏ္ဍိတ ရာဇာဓိမဟာဓမ္မရာဇာ။ သာသည်နာမံ။ မည်တော်ခံသည်။ ။ကျော်သံနတ်ရပ်တိုင်တည့်လေ။ ။ဦးကင်တည့်လျှံပြေးမင်းမှုရေး။ ။ပြည်ရွာတည့်နီးဝေးချမ်းငြိမ်းရေး။ ။

၅။ ။လွှပ်စွပ်ဦးကင်။ သိထင်မြတ်လှ။ ရာဇဒေဝီ။ သိညီပေါ်ထင်။ အသျှင်မိဘုရား။ ရှစ်သောင်းဖျားသည်။ ကျော်ကြားနံ့သိ။ သီရိပဝရ အာဇာလအဂ္ဂမဟာ သုဓမ္မရာဇာဒေဝီ။ သီရိရောင်လျှံ။ ဘွဲ့တော်ခံရွှံ။ သူဇမာသ။ နေနှင့်ထသို့။ ရာဇပလ္လင်။ ရည်စံရွှံရွှံ။ ဦးကင်နန်းမှ။ ။တွင်စည်ခါပယ်။ တေဇာကျော်သည်။ ခမည်းတော်ဘိုးရိုက်ရာစိုးက။ ကျော်ဟိုးနံ့သိ။ သီရိမဟာသီဟသူရမဟာသုဓမ္မရာဇာ။ သညာနာမံ။ မည်တော်ခံရွှံ။ ထွန်းလျှံဆင်းဝါ။ မဟာဒေဝီ။ တူပြီမည်ရှိ။ သီရိဒေဝီ။ သီရိတမျှ။ နန္ဒဒေဝီ။ အင်ညီထွတ်ထား။ မြတ်သုံးပါးနှင့်။ တရားသဖြင့်။ ရိပ်ဖြူနှင့်ရွှံ။ နတ်နှင့်ပြော။ မြတ်သုံးပါးတွင်။ ညာဖျားတင်ရာ။ မဟာဒေဝီ။ မဟေသီ၏။ ရှည်လွန်ချစ်။ ရင်ဝယ်ဖြစ်သည်။ ဧကရာဇာထိပ်ပေါ်။ ရှင်ဘိုးတော်ကို။ ရည်မျှော်ကိုယ်စား။ အိမ်ရှေ့ထားသည်။ ။ညွန့်သားမင်္ဂလာတည့်လေ။ ။ရာဇာတည့်စင်ရွှေးပြင်မျိုးဝေ။ ။သခင်တည့်ဘုန်းမွေးဘိုးကော်မြေး။

၆။ ။ခမည်းတော်ဘိုး။ နတ်ပြည်စိုးသော်။ တန်းခိုးထွန်းပေါ်။ ရှင်ဘိုးတော်လျှင်။ ပြည်ကျော်တိုင်းလုံ။ စိုးယူကျုံးရွှံ။ ထွတ်ဆုံးတိုင်ပြီ။ သီရိပဝရမဟာဓမ္မရာဇာဓိပတိ။ မိုးထိကျော်သံ။ ဘွဲ့တော်ခံရွှံ။ ဆင်းစံခေါင်ထိ။ သီရိမဟာမင်္ဂလာဒေဝီ။ နတ်ပြီဆင်းဝါ။ စန္ဒာဒေဝီ။ ကျော်ညီနံ့သိ။ သီရိဓမ္မဒေဝီ။ ညီသည်ကြန်အင်။ အသျှင်မိဘုရား။ မြတ်သုံးပါးနှင့်။ ဖျားသည်ရံအုပ်။ ကိုယ်လုပ်မောင်းမ။ ညွတ်ခမူးဝတ်။ ဝန်းပတ်ပြီးထူ။ ဆင်ဖြူဆင်မည်း။ ပည်းမျှထွေလည်။ ရွှေတော်နှည်ရွှံ။ ရောင်ခြည်အနီ။ မှန်စိပြုံးပြက်။ ရွှေနန်းထက်ဝယ်။ ငြိမ်သက်သာယာ။ စမ္ပာယ်ကာလျှင်။ မြတ်ရာတင်ထား။ မင်းသုံးပါးတွင်။ ခေါင်ဖျားဓိပတိ။ သီရိမင်္ဂလာ မင်္ဂလာဒေဝီ။ ကျော်ညီလွန်ထင်။ နန်းမရှင်၏။ ရွှေရင်သည်းချာ။ ရတနာမြတ်လှ။ ရှင်မွေးဘကို။ ပေါက်ပြုသတင်း။ အိမ်ရှေ့

နှင်းသည်။ ။နန်းခင်းကိုယ်စားရည်တည့်လေ။ ။ခပ်သိမ်းတည့်ဗိုလ်လှေးချမ်းသာပေ။ ။နတ်လူတည့်
ချီကျွေးအောင်ဆုပေး။ ။

၇။ ။သခင့်ဘိုးတော်၊ ဘုန်းကျော်ထွတ်တိုင်၊ ရွှေနန်းထိုင်သော်၊ ဖက်ပြိုင်မချ၊ တန်းမိုးပသည်။ နရထိပ်
ပေါ်၊ ခမည်းတော်လျှင်၊ ပြည်ကျော်တိုင်းလုံး၊ ရိုက်ရာကျိုး၏။ ထွတ်ဆုံးကျော်ခြံ၊ တိုင်ရောက်ပြီးသော်၊ ဝေး
နီးပတ်ကုံး၊ တိုင်းလုံးသာယာ၊ ပြောစွာအောင်၊ ပညာတော်မြတ်၊ စက်သွားဖြတ်သို့၊ မလွတ်မဟင်း၊ စီရင်
ခြင်းနှင့်၊ ထွန်းဝင်းရိပ်ငြိမ်း၊ စည်းစိမ်ဘုန်းတန်း၊ အဆန်းဆန်းကို၊ မော်ကွန်းထင်ရှား၊ နန်းပွဲများဝယ်၊ မလွှားမပ၊
ဘွဲ့ဘူးလှပြီ၊ နရသဒီ၊ သီရိရောင်ဝန်း၊ ရှင့်ကြောင်းခြင်းကို၊ သံညင်းရုံးချဉ်၊ စပ်ကာလျဉ်း၍၊ အကျဉ်းလွယ်
ကာ၊ လိုရုံသာလျှင်၊ ရှိကြာလက်မြှောက်၊ ကျွန်တော်လျှောက်မည်၊ လုံးပေါက်ရွှေဝံ၊ ထက်အာကာကာ၊
လွင့်ကာကျသို့၊ လှသည့်အသရေ၊ ထိပ်ဦးနေသည်။ ။စေ့ရေနလုံး သွင်းတည့်လေ။ ။စက်တော်တည့်
ဇေးဇော်တည့်ရေ၊ ။ချီတည့်လေးလေးစကားမွေး။ ။

၈။ ။ချစ်ချင်စဖွယ်၊ နုနယ်ရွှေ၊ လှသည်ရောင်ဆင်း၊ တင်ပြစ်ကင်းသည်၊ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ၊ ရွှေနားခွေ
လော၊ မြဲတစ်ပျော်၊ ရှင့်မယ်တော်သည်၊ ပြိုင်ဖော်လွှတ်တု၊ ယဉ်မျိုးစုသည်၊ နုသည့်ဆင်းဝံ၊ လက္ခဏာ
ကာ၊ ဒီပီနွံစင်၊ ကျွန်းလေးရပ်ကို၊ စိုးကွပ်သနင်း၊ စကြာမင်းတို့၊ ထန်ပြင်းတေဇာ၊ သုံးဆောင်ရာသည်၊ ခုတ
နာနု၊ ဣန္ဒနီလာ၊ မသာရကန်၊ ဝေသဝဏ်ကာ၊ ရောင်ဝှန်တောက်ညို၊ ဝေလုရီနှင့်၊ လောဟိတင်၊ ဇီနီခေါ်၊
မနောမယ၊ ဇော်တရကို၊ အမျှထောင်းထု၊ ညက်အောင်ပြုမှ၊ ညစ်ကြစင်အောင်၊ အထောင်ကြိတ်ဘန်၊ ဆေး
ပြီးလွန်သော်၊ လုပ်ဟန်ထူးဆန်း၊ ပုံဖြင့်သွန်း၍၊ လုပ်ပန်းတင့်ကြပ်၊ ပွတ်သပ်ပြီးလျှင်၊ အရောင်ထင်သို့၊ မှတ်
တင်မည်မှည့်၊ ပြုစီစင်းကို၊ မဆိုစသာ၊ ပြာဇာ၊ ပြတ်ပြတ်၊ မမှတ်သာလှည့်၊ သိုဇာ၊ ဆိုမည်၊ သည်လည်းမရ၊
ထွန်းပအသရေ၊ အထွေထွေသည်၊ ။ထင်ချေအနည်းနည်းတည့်လေ။ ။ပုံစံတည့်ပြရေနှုန်းရာစေ။ ။
လူတွင်တည့်စံသွေးမမြင်သေး။ ။

၉။ ။ကြည့်လေကြည့်လေ၊ အထွေထွေလျှင်၊ ထင်ချေမည်ပြင်၊ သို့ရာတွင်မူ၊ မြင်မြင်သသို့၊ လူတို့စိတ်နေ၊
မိန်းမောစေလျက်၊ ဝေဝေတိမ်ဆိုင်၊ မိသီးလုံးမှိုင်းသို့၊ မျှော်တိုင်းမူး၊ ဗန်၊ နောက်ပြန်ဦးသည်း၊ ခေါ်လည်း
မကြား၊ တိမ်းပီးညွတ်ခေါက်၊ သည်ကိုထောက်သော်၊ အံ့လောက်ချီးဆို၊ ညိုသည်ဆင်းဝံ၊ အားကြီးရာ
၏။ လက္ခဏာညီလှ၊ ခြေဖျားကသည်၊ စသည်လည်လှည့်၊ ကိုယ်လုံးကြည့်သော်၊ တင်မည်ပြစ်ဝင်း၊ မထင်မြို့
မျှ၊ ခါးခတ်လျှံနှင့်၊ ရင်ဝမောက်မို၊ မျိုမျိုနုထွား၊ လက်ဖျားသွယ်ရှည်၊ လှသည်လုံးလုံး၊ လက်ရုံးလည်တိုင်၊
နှိုင်းပြိုင်လွှတ်ရှား၊ သွားလည်းနက်ရောင်၊ ပြောင်ပြောင်ဖိတ်လျှမ်း၊ နှုတ်ခမ်းယည်ကုံး၊ မတွေးမထော၊ အ
ဆင်းသော်မူ၊ မှည့်ပျော်ကို၊ အာ၊ ပမာမပြား၊ နားလည်းလှဟန်၊ မလန်မကုပ်၊ အကြိုက်လုပ်သို့၊ တွန့်ရွှံမ
ထင်၊ ကြံအင်စုံပေါင်း၊ နှာခေါင်းတန်းတန်း၊ ရွာနန်းသည်၊ လျှံလန်းကြက်သရေတည့်လေ။ ။မြဲတေ
တည့်ရောင်ပြေးချမ်းငြိမ်းလေ။ ။ပြစ်ဆာတည့်မြို့သေးရှင်းရှင်းဝေး။ ။

၁၀။ ။မျက်လုံးအသရေ၊ မြဲတေထွန်းပြောင်၊ ကော့မျက်တောင်နှင့်၊ မျက်မှောင်မျက်လုံး၊
ကူး၊ နဖူးတိုရှည်၊ ဆံလည်ကြဟန်၊ လွန် ဗွန်ကြိုးကြိုး၊ ထူးထူးဆန်းဆန်း၊ နပန်းဆံကူး၊ စီလျက်လှ၏။ စိမ်း
မြဲကောသာ၊ သေးစွာသွယ်ရှည်၊ ထူးလည်ညိုမော၊ ရောင်ကြောနက်နက်၊ လက်လက်ပြောင်ဖိတ်၊ မြင်သို့
ကို၊ ငင်ချိတ်ပါအောင်၊ ယုတ်ဆောင်သို့၊ မွေးမှောင်မချီ၊ အဆံရှိ၏။ ဣဇ္ဇအံ့အံ့တွဲ့တွဲ့တွဲ့တွဲ့ခဲး
နွံပြိုင်ပြိုင်ရှမ်း၊ လန်းလန်းပြီးပြီး၊ နုမျိုးမက၊ ရွှေမြို့ပြ၊ အူအူရွှေ၊ ပွပွတွတ်တွတ်၊ မှတ်မှတ်မွေမွေ၊
ညက်၊ ညိုသက်ထွားထွား၊ ရွှေသားလွေလွေ၊ နတ်အထွေနှင့်၊ တရွေတမှား၊
ရည်ရွက်၊ မြင်ကာမျှလျက်၊ ရွှေငြိမ်းငြိမ်း၊ ထောင်ကြောစိမ်း၍၊ ဖိစိမိသားရေ၊ နံလေတင်းကွမ်း၊
သည်၊ ရွှေရွှမ်းရေကော တည့်လေ။ ။ကြက်သီးတည့်ထပြေး ကိုယ်လုံးစေ၊ ဆွယုတည့်စည် ရှေး
ကောင်းကွီးပေ။ ။

၁၁။ ။လှပြည်နှိုက်ဝယ်။ နုနယ်ဆင်ပြင်။ ငါးအင်ညီမျှ။ လှကြသည့်ပင်။ ရွှန်းရွှင်အသေချေ။ ယဉ်ပေသည်
ချည်။ အနည်းနည်းပင်းတွေဘူးမြင်၍။ သခင်မယ်တော်။ လှကျေ စံတည်။ ယဉ်သည်ကားမြင့်။ နုနယ်နှင့်ကို။
နှိုင်းချင့်စရာ။ အောက်မေ့ရှာသော်။ အရာမဟုတ်။ ပယုတ်နှင့်ဆား။ ငွေသားမှတ်ဘဲ။ ဘွယ်ကြီးမင်းစံ။ ဝေးလံ
နှိုင်းချိန်။ စိန်နှင့်သလင်း။ ပယင်းအင်တွဲ။ ပုလဲခရူပမာပြသို့။ ပုံတူဝေးဘိ။ ရယ်ဘွဲ့။ ရှိ၏။ မိုးထိရွှေစပါ။
လင်္ကာချီငေါ်။ ဖွဲ့နွဲ့သော်မှ။ နော်မယာ။ ဥဗ္ဗာဒဗျူ။ ကလျာဏီလည်း။ စုံညီလှတင်။ မယ်တော်နှင့်ကို။ နှိုင်း
ချင့်ပမာ။ ခုပေါ်လှာသော်။ အောက်သာကျချင်။ မှတ်ဘိထင်၏။ ထက်ခွင်မိုးမှာ။ သူဇာဒေဝီ။ ဘရဟ္မာကို။
မြှောက်ချီသံချို။ ကျမ်းဝန်ဆိုလည်း။ မြင်းရဲထိပ်ချင်။ အာကာဘုံနေ။ နတ်ဖြစ်ပေသည်။ တူးလရာ၏။ မ
လွန်လှည့်ဘူး။ နှိုင်းရှည်စံရာရာ။ လူရွာထိုထို။ လူချင်းဆိုက။ ရွယ်ပျိုထပ်ရှင်း။ မယ်တော်မင်း၏။ ထံရင်းတော်
မှာ။ နီးဝပ်လားသော်။ ညစ်ပြာမွှေးတော။ ရိုင်းကြချေ၍။ လေရမည်မှန်။ မြီးဇကန်သည်။ ဖက်ရန်ဝေးခြားနား
တည့်လေ။ ပြိုင်ရာတည့်တူချေးမရဝေး။ ပင်လယ်တည့်ခြားဝေးချောင်ကွန့်ပြေး။ ။

၁၂။ ။သူများမိန်းမ လှပကြသည်။ ပြသဆင်ယင်။ ခြယ်လွှဲထပ်ဆင့်။ ထုံးမြတ်ဆင့်မှ။ ယဉ်နု
မင်းလှမယ်တော်။ လှသည်သော်ကား။ တွေခေါ်မမှ။ အမြဲသက်သက်ခြယ်ဖက်မဲ့။ ဆင်ဝတ်ခါမျှ။ ရှုသာ
မျက်ပွင့်။ တော်လှသင့်၏။ နှုတ်ခြယ်ဆင်။ ပျော်ရွှင်မှိုင်းမှိုင်း။ ယဉ်ရှိုင်းမရွေး။ နီတွေးညိုပြင်။ ရွှေဝါငွေသား။
ဝတ်စားသမျှ။ ဆင်တိုင်းလှ၏။ စိန်မြကေသာ။ ထုံးမြတ်မှာလည်း။ ဗျူပဗျူ။ ရွှေပိမ့်ပိမ့်။ နိမ့်နိမ့်မြင့်မြင့်။ စွင့်
စွင့်ရှည်ရှည်။ ထူးလည်သကင်။ ထုံးတင်မြတ်လွတ်။ ဖြစ်တတ်သမျှ။ ကလံဘိုင်မဲ့။ ဆဲနွယ်ရာသီ။ နာရီခြောက်
ဆယ်။ နေလယ်ည။ ညညှော်သန်းကောင်။ သောက်ရောင်နေထွက်။ နံနက်နေမြင့်။ နေရင့်ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်။ ခပ်သိမ်းအ
ခါ။ စက်ရာလျောင်းခွေ။ သွားနေတခါ။ ဣရိယာပထ။ လုံးစုံလှ၏။ သီလအာစာ။ ကျင့်သမာနှင့်။ အရာရာမျိုး။
နုယဉ်မိုးသည်။ ရှေးကျိုးပါရမီ တည့်လေ။ ကျေးဇူးတည့်စံလွှေး ဂုဏ်နက်လေး။ ပစ္စာတည့်မြှ
သေးရှင်းရှင်းဝေး။ ။

၁၃။ ။ယင်းသို့ကျေးဇူး။ အထူးထူးထိ။ ချစ်ကြောင်းရှိ၍။ သီရိထွန်းဝင်း။ မယ်တော်မင်းကို။ ရာစင်း
လေးဆောင်။ ညွတ်ပြောင်းခြီးချဲ့။ တုတ်ခွန်သည်။ နရထိပ်ပေါ်။ ခမည်းတော်လျှင်။ သင့်လျော်ပေးရာ။ မြှောက်
ထိုက်စွာဟု။ မင်္ဂလာသီရိ။ ကျော်သိပတ်လည်။ ရွှေဘွဲ့မည်နှင့်။ ရံသည်ပတ်ချပ်။ ကိုယ်လုပ်တော်ကြီး။ မြှောက်ခြီး
ထိပါ။ အရာထား၍။ သာယာသွားညွတ်ခါ။ လုပ်ကျွေးရ၏။ သည်ပသင့်ထောက်။ ထိုက်လျှောက်စွာဘိ။ သီရိရတနာ။
ဘွဲ့မည်သာနှင့်။ ရံကာမောင်းမ။ ညွတ်ခဝါတ်သန်း။ ဝန်းရံကိုယ်လုပ်။ တအုပ်တထွေ။ အိမ်ရှေ့နှင့်။ ရဝေပြောင်ရွှန်း
ရွှေနန်းစံထား။ အားလုံးသာပျော်။ နန်းတော်တောင်စည်။ ယဉ်သည်ရွှေချ။ ထွန်းပပြောင်ပြောင်။ နန်းတန်ဆောင်
ကို။ အခေါ်ဘုန်းတူ။ တင်တော်မူ၍။ ညွန့်လူသစ်။ ဝေါပုယည်ကျ။ နှစ်ဖက်ဦးကို။ ထွန်းမြိုးရောင်ပြေး။ ရွှေပြည်
ရေးလျက်။ ကျိုင်းခြောက်ချက်သည်။ ပြီးပြန်ရောင်ခြည်ဖြာတည့်လေ။ တင့်တယ်တည့်ငြိမ်းမင်းမှု
ရေး။ ယည်ယည်တည့်ချေးချေးနုသေးသေး။ ။

၁၄။ ။တင့်တင့်တယ်တယ်။ ရှုဖွယ်ထူးလည်။ စည်လည်းသာဖြော။ စည်ပြောကိုလုံး။ သာဆုံးမညီ။
နှီးကြီးသုံးသွယ်။ နှီးငယ်လေးဖြော။ ငွေရတနာနှင့်။ ဘုံသာစည်ပုတ်။ တီးချက်လင်းကွင်း။ ညင်းညင်းသာသာ။
အဆောင်မှာလည်း။ ရတနာပြုံးပြက်။ ကွမ်းကွက်မြဝိတ်။ ရောင်ဖိတ်ပတ္တမြား။ စီသန့်ခြားလျက်။ ထိုလားတူရိုး။
လက်ဖက်အိုးနှင့်။ ပြုံးပြုံးရောင်ဖိတ်။ တကောင်းပိတ်လည်။ မျက်ပိတ်မိမှာ။ ပတ္တမြားနှင့်။ ပြေးခြယ်ဆင်။ ထွေးအင်
ရွှေလုပ်။ ဆေးကြပ်ရွှေသား။ ပတ္တမြားဆေးတံ။ ထွန်းလျှံဝင်းဝါ။ တင့်တယ်စွာနှင့်။ မြတ်ရာတင်ထား။ မိဘုရားဟု။
မြှောက်စားတော်မူ။ ညွန့်လူထွန်းပ။ ထင်ရှားလှသည်။ ပည်းမျှချွေရံကာတည့်လေ။ မည်သည်တည့်လို
ရေးတောင့်တဝေး။ စမ္ပယ်တည့်ငြိမ်းလေးချမ်းသာဇေး။ ။

၁၅။ ။ဘုန်းတော်ကြက်သချေ။ တိုးလေလေလျှင်။ ဝေဝေရွှန်းတင်။ လန်းလန်းပွင့်၏။ သခင်မယ်တော်။
လှကျော်စုံပေါင်း။ တင့်တယ်ကြောင်းကို။ ပျံလှောင်ကြိုင်မြို့။ ပန်းမထူးသည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ သခင်နုနယ်။

မင်းငယ်တို့၏။ ရွှေနားချီလော့။ သီရိရတနာ။ ပြည်တော်သာနှင့်။ စံရာရွှေချ။ တောင်နန်းကလည်း။ သည်မျှတဘန်။ ကံးလွန်ရာမြင့်။ တင်ပေသင့်ဟု။ ရာမင်းငေးဖျား။ ရွှေစိတ်ထား၍။ ဂုဏ်အားလျော်လှ။ ရာဇဒေဝီ။ မဟေသီဟု သိက္ခိဘွဲ့ရွှေ။ အပ်ဆက်စေ၍။ ရဝေပြောင်ရွှန်း။ ရွှေနန်းစံဘောင်။ သာခေါင်ကျူးကြော်။ ရွှေနန်းတော်ဝယ် သာဖျော်နုယဉ်။ နောက်စဉ်တဆောင်။ ရွှေနန်းတောင်သို့။ အခေါင်နတ်တူ။ တင်တော်မူ၍။ ဇမ္ဗုယဉ်ကျော် ဝေတော်ထိန်ဖြာ။ ရတနာကရာ။ ရွှေသားပြီးပြန်။ ကျိုင်းခြောက်ချက်။ လက်လက်ရောင်ဖြိုး။ ကျိုင်းမိုးကျပ် လစ်။ ။ ရွှေကုန်းဆစ်သည်။ ။ ပြေပြစ်ချောလုပ်ဆောင်တည့်လေ။ ။ ပြောင်ပြောင်တည့်နီးဝေးလွှပ်ခြည် ပြေး။ ။ နောင်ခါတည့်ဆင်ရေးချိန်ခွင်လေး။ ။

၁၆။ ။ နောက်တိုးမင်္ဂလာ။ ညွှန်ဖြူလှ၍။ မြောက်စည်ခုနစ်။ ဆွဲတစ်စည်မြော။ ငွေကြောစင်ကြယ်။ နှုံးငယ်နှစ်စင်း။ သုံးပြင်းတကျိုး။ တံပိုးနှစ်ဖြာ။ ခရာသုံးတည်။ တံရှည်တံမြွှာ။ သံသာလင်းကွင်း။ ခရသင်းနှင့်။ ညှင်းညှင်းသာထွေ။ သံပြေသံလွန်။ စည်ဝန်းရိုက်ခြီး။ နှုံးကြီးသည်ထပ်။ လက်ကြပ်စည်ပုတ်။ ယဉ်ချုပ်သာခေါင်း ဆောင်ယောင်တင့်တယ်။ လာကြယ်ရပ်ငြိမ်။ ဝန်အိပ်သားစံ။ သုံးခံမြို့ပြ။ လောက်ငဖြင့်ညှိ။ အကြီးစာရေး။ ဖွေးဖွေးလူငိုလှ။ အခိုခိုအမှီ။ စိစိသောသော။ ပျံ့ပြောဝပ်။ ယူငင်မနိုင်။ ဆောင်ကိုင်မတ်ပျို။ နဂိုရ်လျှလန်။ ရွှေနန်းသာခေါ်။ အဆောင်တော်မြီးရုံးရုံးသီရိ။ မြတ်မိဘုရား။ ရာထားပီပီ။ ချီချီပပ။ ချီးလျှောက်ရသည်။ ။ မည်မျှချီမတင်တည့်လေ။ ။ စုံအင်တည့်မင်းရေးကင်းယဉ်ချေး။ ။ သည်ပြင် တည့်တိုးရေးနောက်လို သေး။ ။

၁၇။ ။ တပျံ့ပျံ့ပျံ့ပျံ့။ လွှဲကျူးသံညှင်း။ နားတော်သွင်းသည်။ မင်းဦးထိပ်နေ။ သရေရွှန်းရွှင်။ ရွှေနားတင် လော့။ ရုပ်သွင်ထွန်းပ။ တို့ထိပ်စက်။ အလှစံထား။ မယ်တော်ဖွား၍။ များများမကြာ။ ရာဇာငယ်ပေါ်။ ခမည်း တော်လျှင်။ ရှုမြော်လေးမြတ်။ ငသည်းပွတ်ဟု။ မည်မှတ်သာယာ။ မြင်းဝန်းရွာကို။ သည်းချာကြင်စေး။ ဆောက် နှင်းပေး၏။ ကံကျွေးဖြင့်ပည်း။ စေလည်းထပ်ကာ။ မြို့စည်သာကို။ မေတ္တာကြည်ဖြူပေးတော်မူ၏။ သက်တူတမျှ။ ချီးထိန်းယလည်း။ တူကွဲခြားချက်။ ကစားဘက်မှ။ ငယ်သက်နုနယ်။ ရွယ်တဂျှည်ချည်း။ ပည်းမျှဖျော်ခြေ။ ထွေထွေ ရှုတ်ရှက်။ သားငှက်ရွှေသာ။ သေချာလုပ်ဆောင်။ ရွှေကြက်ပေါ်နှင့်။ ဖျော်အောင်သာချို။ မငိုစေချ။ သိပ်ပြောင် ဘိတ်။ ရွေ့ထိပ်ရွှေချို။ ဇမ္ဗုရောင်ဝင်း။ ခြေခြင်းလက်ကောက်။ စံမြောက်ရတနာ။ တန်ဆာစုံအင်။ လုံးလွယ်ဆင် ရွှံ့။ ထိပ်ပြင်လက်ဖျား။ ဖျော်ကြဖြားသည်။ ။ ဆပွားကြင်သက်စုံတည့်လော့။ ။ ချစ်ကုံတည့်မြတ်လေးချစ် သက်ပေး။ ။ ရိပ်ဖြူတည်ဇော်ပြေးရွှေစိစွေး။ ။

၁၈။ ။ အလွယ်အလွယ်။ မကျယ်ရုံးချဉ်း။ အကျဉ်းသာမျှ။ စိုးစဉ်းပြု၍။ မင်းလှမယ်တော်။ လှကျော်ရောင် ဆင်။ တင့်တယ် ခြင်းနှင့်။ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ။ တို့မျက်ဖြေကို။ ဘုန်းနေရောင်ရွှန်း။ ဖြိုးပြီးလန်းသည်။ ထိပ်ပန်းမွှေးဘ။ မြတ်လှသည်ချာ။ ကြင်နာနာတောင်း။ ချစ်ကြင်ကြောင်းကို။ သံညောင်းချိုသာ။ ကျူးလျှော့ပါရှင့်။ ခမ္မာတမျှ။ ဘုန်းလူဝေဆင့်။ ဖြာဖြာတင့်သည်။ ရှင့်ခမည်းတော်။ လှကျော်ထူးချွန်။ ယဉ်ကြူးဟန်ကို။ တတန်ရှိမြောက်။ ကျန်တော်လျှောက်မည်။ လှံတောက်ဆင်းဝံ။ မြတ်အင်္ဂါဖြင့်။ မြက်နှာမြတေ။ ကြက်သရေရလှ။ လဝန်းပသို။ တမျှမယဉ်။ ထွန်းရောင်ဝင်းသား။ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ။ ဘုန်းညွှန်ဝေသည်။ ။ မှတ်ခေရွှေနားညွတ်တည့်လေ။ ။ မင်းမြစ်တည့်မင်းမြေးမင်းရင်ဘွဲ့။ ။ သိင်္ဂါတည့်ရောင်ပြေးနန်းထက်မွှေး။ ။

၁၉။ ။ နန်းလုံးအသက်။ နှင်းဆက်စုရာ။ ရတနာမြတ်ဆုံး။ ပုလဲးကုံးကို။ ခေါင်းလုံးသာရွှင်။ တင်ကာပျံ့ပျံ့။ ချစ်ရူးမူးသည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ သခင်ဘုန်းမွှေးနာပစ်စွေးလော့။ ချီကျွေးနတ်လှ။ အောင်ဆုယူသည်။ ဘုန်းတူ ထွန်းပေါ်။ ခမည်းတော်ကို။ ပြောင်ကျော်ပျံ့လှ။ ငွေဘွင်နုသည်။ ဆင်ဖြူသခင်။ ဘိုးနတ်ရှင်နှင့်။ ထားတင်နန်းမ။ စိုးချမြတ်ဖျား။ ဘာဘုရားလှင်။ နှစ်ပါးစိတ်တူ။ ညွှန်လူနန်းငေး။ အိမ်ရွှေရှင်း၍။ လုံးရင်းအားအင်မြင်းဆင်မှု။ မတ်။ ဝန်းပတ်သင်းပင်း။ ထွန်းဝင်းပြောင်ပြောင်။ မင်းဆောင်မင်းရွက်။ ကျင်းပလျက်လှင်။ ပြုံးပြက်ထိန်ဖြာ။ ဝေ၊ သိင်္ဂါထက်။ ဆွတ်စာဖြူလှ။ သျှောင်မျက်ကွပ်နှင့်။ လျင်လျင်ရောင်ထင်။ ရှောင်ကျင်ကြော့ထွန်။ ဝေဂွန်လှံ

လည်။ ဗရိတ်ချည်လည်။ ထူးလည်ကျူးကျော်။ ဝတ်လုံးတော်မှု။ ပျိုတော်တို့ဆက်။ ဆေးရွှေခွက်နှင့်။ သေ။
ညက် ချောညီ။ အင်္ကျီကျည်းဖွယ်။ ကို သံသားကပ်နှင့်။ အောင်ရပ်မြတ်နိုး။ ဘုန်းစည်ခန်းက။ ပွင့်လန်းညွန့်
လူ။ ထွက်တော်မူသည်။ ပြိုင်တူနတ်တမျှတည့်လေ။ ဆိုခွင့်တည့်ဆိုရေးဖြစ်ခဲ့တေး။ လူတွင်း
တည့်ပိုင်ရေးလူမျိုးဝေး။ ။

၂၀။ မွေးဘာဘုရား၊ နုထွားဆင်ပြင်၊ အိမ်ရှေ့ရှင်သည်။ သဘင်စံခန်း၊ အိမ်တော်ဆန်းသို့။ ချည်သွန်
သက္ကရာဇ်။ တွက်စစ်များမြောင်။ တထောင်ပြည့်ပြီ။ ကိုးဆွဲတချစ်တုဂိဗ္ဗန်။ ယုဂန်တိဗ္ဗန်။ ကဆုန်ဆန်းပေါ်ပြည့်
ကျော်အထွက်။ ဆွဲတရက်ရွှေ၊ ချမ်းမြေ့သကြည်။ ပြောင်းရမည်ဟု။ ဘုန်းခြည်ရောင်ချက်။ ရုံးသို့ထွက်သည်။
ရွှေစက်လှိုင်းကျော်။ များစိတ်တော်ကိုထင်ပေါ်အလွှ်။ သင်းသင်းပျံသော်။ မျှော်ငုံဝမ်းသာ။ ရက်များစွာက။
အခုခြားခြား။ မင်းသားတသီး။ မင်းသမီးနှင့်။ မတ်ကြီးသည်ချော။ ကညာတခြား။ မတ်များကစ။ ကြီးမရွယ်အို။
အမျိုးအလတ်။ မလွတ်မကြင်။ အိမ်တွင်းပုန်းအောင်း။ သူကောင်းသူနပ်။ တည်ချုပ်မဲ့ညား။ ဝတ်စားတန်ဆား
ဖွေရှာလုပ်ဆောင်။ ထူထောင်ငှ်းယမ်း။ ကြေးပမ်းထူပူ။ ကြေးပင်ယူ၍။ ရွန်းလူရွှင်ပ။ ဝတ်စားကြလျက်။ သာလှ
မည်ခံ။ သံစုံနန်းရွှေ။ အကြွေလမ်းမပြင်တန်းကလည်။ စန္ဒီစဉ်လျှား။ ကျုံးနားတလျှောက်။ ထပ်လျှောက်တုံတုံ။
ကျော်ဘုံတံခါး။ ဝင်ခဲ့သွား၍။ နန်းရွှေသာဖျော်။ အိမ်တော်ရွှေရောက်။ အပေါက်မထင်။ တင်တင်ပြီးမျှ။ ကြည့်
ကန်ကြသည်။ ပိုးရွပျားပလူတည့်လေ။ ပုံတူတည့်မဝေးရှုပ်ရှက်ထွေး။ ကိုယ်ငွေ့တည့်ရှိန်ပြေးချောင်းချောင်း
ရွေး။ ။

၂၁။ မလင်းခင်မှီ။ မိုင်းရီရီက။ စောစောထ၍။ လာကြမျှော်လင့်။ တထင့်ထင့်လျှင်။ နေမြင့်လှတောင်း။
ပူရှိန်ပြောင်းသည်။ သောင်း၏။ ပမာ။ မသာမမှတ်။ အထွတ်ရည်မှန်။ နန်းရန်တည်ထား။ ဘုရားကိုသာ။ မျှော်ငုံခါ
ဝယ်။ ပူ။ နေဝါလယ်ချိုး။ မိုးကိုငိုသံ။ အစိုးရသို့။ ပည်းမျှတောင်လေ။ မိုင်းလုံးငေလျက်။ နေကိုထားကာ။ ပွင့်လျာ
နန်းထောက်။ ကြွလှာရောက်သော်။ ရွှေမှောက်ရပ်သွင်။ ချက်တွေ့မြင်၍။ ရှင်နှင့်ပုဏ္ဏား။ လူအိုများက။ ဘုရားလူ
ချော။ မွေးဘရာကို။ ဆက်ကာမညှိုး။ ရွှေသို့ပိုးလျက်။ တန်းခိုးလေးဖြာ။ ပြည့်စုံစွာသည်။ ခုတနာသတ္တ။ စုံတကွလျင်။
စကြာသခင်။ မျက်မြင်ထင်ရှား။ ဖြစ်စေသားဟု။ မြောက်စားချီးသောင်း။ ကြည်နှစ်ထောင်းသည်။ ဆုတောင်း
အကြိမ်ကြိမ်တည့်လေ။ အောင်ရာတည့်သံလေးကျူးရင့်စေ။ ပဲ့တင်တည့်ထပ်ပြေးတော်ရိုက်ကြေး။

၂၂။ အံ့ဘွယ်ဖြစ်လွန်။ ထွေလဆန်းလျှင်။ ဥဒါန်းစဉ်လာ။ ပြောပရာကို။ ဆင်းဝါရွှေလျော်။ ကိုယ်တော်
အနံ့တပျံ့ပျူးပျူး။ ကြိုင်နံ့မြို့သည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်သခင်နုထွတ်။ စေ့စေ့မှတ်လော့။ အမတ်သမီး။ မင်းသမီးက။
စသည်ပျိုငယ်။ လတ်ရွယ်တခြား။ တချို့များက။ စကားမည်မျှ။ မဟတတ်နိုင်။ သွားပါနိုင်၍။ အိုင်၍ ဖြင့်သီး။
တုတ်တုတ်စီးသည်။ အနီးတိုင်ဖူးစပ်ရှက်ကူး၏။ ပုံထူးတလည်။ တချို့သည်လည်းလိုက်မည်တခါ။ ဖွယ်ရာ မ
ကောင်းတယောက်ခေါင်းကို။ နှိပ်ထောင်းနင်းသွား။ ကျော်မိမှား၍။ ချောက်ချားသည်ချော။ တချို့မှာလည်း။
ပွင့်လျာထိပ်စ။ ထိပ်ထားလှငယ်။ ခဏလာတည့်။ တက်ပါလှည့်ဟု။ တည့်တည့်ခံချို။ ဆို၍ လက်ဝါး။ ရပ်မိမှာ။
၏။ ဖြစ်လားကျူးကျော်။ တချို့သော်လည်း အပေါ်တခြား။ တယောက်ပါးကို။ သွား၍ ပေးမှား။ နန်းမိမှား၏။
ရင်ကားပျိုပျို။ တချို့ရယ်မော။ ရင်ဝယ်လျှောလျက်။ အောလည်းပီတိ။ မောမချီ၍။ မသိလျှင်ဘူး။ မူးမူးသိဘိ။ မျက်စိ
မလှည့်။ တပ်တပ်ကြည့်လျက်။ ဖျက်ဖန်နောင့်။ နိမ့်ဆောင့်ကြိတ်ပွတ်။ အဝတ်ကကျူး။ သင်ပြီးကသာ။ ဖျာက
ထုတ်ချောက်။ မြေသို့ရောက်သည်။ ထပ်လျှောက်မရောင့်ရဲတည့်လေ။ အာသာတည့်စိမ့်ပြေးမပြေ
သေ။ ကိုယ်လုံးတည့်ချမ်းစေဖြာဖြာချွေ။ ။

၂၃။ အိမ်ရှေ့တမ်းခွန်။ ဘုန်းညွန့်သန်သည်။ နန်းရန်မှန်ကင်း။ ဝင်းတော်တွင်းသို့။ မယွင်းနတ်တူ။ ဝင်တော်
မူသော်။ ပြောထူခြား။ မိန်းမများက။ တိမ်းပါးညွတ်ခေါ်ကံ။ သည်းချားချောက်လျက်။ တအောက်မေ့မေ့။
စေ့စေ့ရှုပ်သွင်။ ထင်သည်တိုင်၍။ တင့်တင့်နှင့်ပြန်ခဲ့အိမ်ရာ။ ရောက်သောခါလည်း။ ပွင့်လျာရည်ထင်။ ရှင့်ဘခင်ကို။
ခဲက။ တပ်ရာကကြောင့်။ ယူတတမ်းယမ်း။ လွမ်းသည်မပြေ။ ဆုဝေသည်နောက်။ ပတောက်ပရစ်။

ကြွေးဟစ်ဆိုမှာ။ ထိပ်ထားထိပ်ထား။ ဘုရားသခင်။ အိမ်ရှေ့ရှင်ငယ်။ ဖြူစင်ညှိစိ။ ဣဒ္ဓပြည့်ပျို။ ပိုသည်မောကလှ။ ရွှေမှုတ်ညက်။ မဲရင်ထက်ဝယ်။ လျောင်းစက်အင်ပြည့်။ ဖြည့်ပါလှည့်ဟု။ ဆိုတည့်မိမှာ။ ပျော်ပါးစံခင်း။ သန့်ရှင်းမွေ့ရာ။ ရိပ်ငြိမ်သာနိုး။ ရှိခိုးတုံဝယ်။ မြေလက်သပ်ရွှေ။ ပြည်ရပ်ခန့်ဟန်။ ဖန်ဖန်ထွေပြာ။ လှင်ကစားရွှေ။ မေ့မှားယွင်းချွတ်။ မပျော်တတ်သော်။ သေးမြတ်ဆွေဝါး။ မြောက်သားမိတာ။ သေသည်ချသည်။ သေသက္ကာရတည့်လေး။ ကြံရည်တည့်ကြံသွေးရောရှက်ထွေး။ သည့်ပြင်ဘည့်ငြိမ်းချေးလဲ့လဲ့ပေး။ ။

၂၄။ ၊ စွဲဥပါဒါန်။ အလွန်ဖြစ်ညား။ တချို့များလည်း။ ရှည်လျားနေရက်။ သည်းချေပျက်၍။ ခဲခက်ဆေးဝါသမားလက်ချ။ စိတ်လျော့ကြသော်။ ဘာလုခုတိုင်။ စေ့ဆိုစသည်။ ရပ်တိုင်းလည်၍။ မတည်ကြည်ဘိရူးလျက်ရှိ၏။ သတိဝတိ။ ရှိ၍ရပ်တည်။ တချို့သည်လည်း။ ဘုန်းစည်မင်းသောင်း။ ရှင်အကြောင်းကို။ ထပ်လောင်းကြိမ်ကြိမ်။ မထိခံမဂ္ဂက်။ နေရက်ရှည်ဘက်။ ကြိုက်သံပန်။ ဖွေရှာထွေဆန်ပြောလှည့်ရွှေ။ ချစ်မှန်ရည်စားလင်သား။ နက်ပါ။ မနာလိုလှည့်ကြည်ပသိုဝင်။ ထွတ်ရှင်နက်။ အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းမှ။ ပြင်းပြင်းလွန်လွန်။ ပိုက်ကွန်မလည်း။ နေကျမှတ်သာ။ ထည့်ဖလားပ။ ဖွားဖွားမျက်မှူး။ ဆေးခန်းဆို၍။ ထိုထိုရှေ့နေပက်။ တင်မြှောက်ပတ်ခပ်ခုနစ်အိမ်ကြာ။ ထင်ရှားပေါက်ပြုရန်ဖြစ်ကြ၏။ ပြင်းပြမျက်ခန့်အလွန်တရာ။ တချို့မှာလည်း။ ဆရာခိဘ။ ဆုမွတည်ကြပ်။ မစပ်စေ့နိုင်။ ဆိုဆိုင်တရားလက်ဘက်စား၍။ လားလားရှင်းကွသဖြတ်စဲစွာသည်။ ရှည်ကြာခုတိုင်အောင်တည့်လေ။ နောက်အိမ်တည့်ထောင်ငွေမြင်သားမြေ။ မျက်ငြင်တည့်မဝေးရှိကြသေး။

၂၅။ ၊ သည်ပတတည်းဆိုစည်ပြင်လျာ။ ရင်ဝါဆန်းထူးလှနေကျ။ သည်။ ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ သခင်တို့မယ်။ ရှင်မြို့မယ်လေး။ ရင်ကျယ်။ ပျော်ခင်းသို့ရှိအင်းသို့။ ပြည်လင်းရေလှိုင်။ ဖောက်ဖြိုးဝင်သော်။ သဘင်မင်းမှ။ မနုယဉ်ထောင့်။ ရွှေလှေပေါ်။ နှင့်ပျော်ကြေင်းလှည့်လည်။ စမ္ပယ်မည်ကို။ နန်းချည်ရာထား။ ဘသည်းကြာမှန်သည်။ ပျော်ပါးချေ့ဖြည့်။ မောင်လိုလှည့်ဟု။ ယဉ်သည့်ထိပ်ဟင်ရုဘခင်ကို။ ဘိုးခင်နတ်တူ။ ခေါ်တော်မူ၍။ ပေပူမျက်ရှင်။ ရှောင်ကျင်လုံလည်။ ပရိတ်ရည်သည်။ ရောင်ခြည်လုပ်လုပ်။ ရှောင်ပေါင်းကြပ်နှင့်။ ချုပ်စပ်ဝတ်လဲ။ ဖိုးကုံးလျှံပတ်။ ခင်းဝတ်ပြီပြီ။ အင်္ကျီပေါ်မှာ။ ခါသလှုပ်ပါ။ ကိုယ်တော်သားနှင့်။ ကြားမထင်။ ဝတ်ဆင်ယင်လျက်။ နတ်ပင်ဇာန်။ မှန်၏။ ဇာတိဆိုမိမိမှာ။ ထူးပြားအသရေ။ မြဲတေရောင်မြိုး။ ဘောင်တော်ဦးဝယ်။ ကြည်နူးရှိလျက်။ အစုံရှက်၍။ ငြိမ်သက်တည်နေ။ ဣန္ဒြေနှင့်ပြစ်ပြေယ။ စီးလိုက်ရသည်။ ရွှန်းပရွှင်ပတ်ဖြိုးတည့်လေ။ ပြိုင်သူတည့်ဖက်ပေးနုယဉ်ကျေး။ မင်ရောင်တည့်ပွင့်မွှေးမင်းရင်သွေး။ ။

၂၆။ ၊ ဒေသရှုမည်ရတွင်ခေါ်။ လှုပ်နှင့်လျော်သည်။ ဆောင်တော်ရတနာ။ ဆိုက်ယည်သာက။ သိင်္ဂါရောင်ဝှန်း။ ရွှေဝေါကန်၍။ အလွန်ဖြည်းသ။ ညင်းညင်းခွါးသင်။ ချည်လျာနန်းခင်။ ရှင့်ဘမင်းကိုလှုံဝင်းရဝေ။ နန်းရိပ်နေသည်။ တရွေတအုပ်။ မင်းကိုလုပ်က။ သွင်ရပ်လှကျော်။ ဤတော်တတည်းမြင်သည်သမီး။ ရပ်သီးဝေးလံ။ နိုင်ငံဘကွင်း။ စိုးသည်မင်းတို့။ ရင်တွင်းသည်ကြာ။ စေတနာသမီး။ ပုံဖြိုးထင်စည်။ ကြည့်ကြသည်ကား။ သုံးတည့်ထွန်းပ။ ဖြုတ်ငံက။ ထပ်မျှတင်တင်။ တိုးဝင်မလောက်။ တယောက်ကိုင်ငင်။ တယောက်ဝင်သော်။ သည်တွင်ပင်သာ။ မျက်မန်ပါ၍။ အနာအရ။ ဆိုမိကြ၏။ သည်မှတပါး။ အနားပိုးပေါက်။ တောင်မြောက်ကြည့်ကြ။ ရှာမရသော်။ လျော်လှရပ်ဆောင်။ ပြည်ထောင်စေသား။ ရရာခါးနှင့်။ စပ်ကြီးလှည်းဖောက်။ သံဘိကျောက်နှင့်။ မိုက်ခေါက်ထုက်ဆီ။ ပန်ကြီးအာသာ။ စိကြာမျှ။ ဖြာဖြာထက်ပင်။ ကြည့်ကြချင်သည်။ ရှက်တင်တိုးမအားတည့်လေ။ အရာတည့်မရွေးအထွေးထွေး။ ဖြစ်တင်တည့်မင်းချေးခန့်မကွေး။ ။

၂၇။ ၊ ယုတ်ချက်တွန်းပယ်။ ဝင်တွယ်ဆွဲးကိုင်း။ ပိုင်နိုင်တခြား။ သားသားနှုတ်ချို။ ဆို၍တချို့။ နှစ်လှိုရှင်ပြု။ ခဏမျှသာ။ ကြည့်ကြရာတွင်။ အကာပျဉ်က။ ကြံတည့်ငေါ်လော်။ ပေါ်သည်မဟုံ။ မျက်ခုံးနု။ ရှု၍စူး၏။ ဆူးကိုနှုတ်ချ။ ဆွေးကုသွေးဆင်။ သင်းသည်အနာ။ အမာတင်ပွါး။ အသားရှုပ်တစ်။ အရွတ်ဖြစ်၏။ နှစ်ဆစ်ရှည်ပြဝ။ မျက်မွေးပေါက်ဖြိုး။ မဖောက်ပါးနှင့်။ အစွဲအနေးသက်သေသက်ကန်။ မှန်၏။ မယုတ်။ ဟုတ်စိန်ချပ်တည်။ ရောမည်၏။ ရည်၏။ သို့ပင်။ မျက်တင်ကင်လျှင်။ အထင်မသိ။ ခုတိုင်ရှိ၏။ ဇာတိလွန်လေ။ သင်္ချေကမ္ဘာ။ သမ္မာ

ပွင့်ကြောင်း၊ ရည်ချောင်း၍ သာ၊ စေတနာနှင့်။ ကြည်စွာပိတ်။ မောစိဝန်းကုင်း။ ဧတိပြင်ကို။ သန့်စင်လှစွာ။
 ဆောလျင်လာ၍။ ဆွမ်းအာဟာရ၊ လှူဒါနနှင့်၊ တောက်ပဝင်းဝင်း။ သုအဆင်းကို၊ ကြည်ရှင်းရှုကာ၊ ဣစ္ဆာမဲ့လှင်း။
 မရွှေ့ကင်းသည်၊ မင်းမင်းထိပ်စ၊ ရှင်အဓိပတိ၊ ပါရမီ၊ ကြောင့်။ ခုပြီးဘုန်းတော်။ တောက်ထွန်းပေါ်သည်။
 လှကျော်ငြိုင်ဘက်လွတ်ဘဲ ညှိလေ။ ။ ခြေလက်တည့်နီတွေးဆင်းချိပ်သွေး။ ဆိုရာတည့်ပြစ်သွေးမ
 ဝေ။ ။

၂၄။ ။ သည်ပဆင်ထပ်၊ ရင်အပ်နန်းပွဲ။ အံ့အေးစရာ၊ ရတနာဇာရာ၊ ရွှေဥရွှေခဲ။ ပုလင်းဇော်တ၊ မင်းလှတံ့နိုးထူး။
 ထိပ်ဦးနေရှင်။ သခင်တို့ဘွား။ နာမတ်သားလေး။ နုထွားပျိုထွတ်။ ရှုန်းယဉ်မြတ်သည်။ ရည်မှတ်နန်းလျှာ။
 ဥပရာလျှင်၊ စကြာပြန့်မှု။ တောင်တော်ဦးဝယ်၊ အေးကြူစရာ၊ စီလျက်ပါဟူ။ သာသည်ပျော်ခင်း၊ အလယ်ဝင်းက။

မပလ္လကချည်း။ ချာပည်းမှူးလျှပ်။ သူပလ္လကမှ။ မလှပလ္လက။ ပြာ၊ မလ္လကမြေ။ သာသေးဗုဒ္ဓဗြဟ္မ။
 လှေနှစ်သည်လည်း၊ မနည်းများပင်၊ ခေါ်ငင်အသံ။ စီစီကျံလျက်။ လှေနှံကိုဆွဲ။ အံ့တွဲ၏သို့။ တချို့နောက်ကျ။
 လှေမရသေး၊ ပြင်ပရူမှူးရေကိုကူး၍။ စူးစူးညှပ်သွား၊ တံခါးကိုဖျပ်။ ပျပ်ထောင်ကိုဆွဲ။ ကြည့်မရဲသည်။ မ
 မြီးလက်လွတ်ကာတည့်လေ။ ။ အံ့တည့်နိုးဝေးရှာပြန်သေး။ ။ လင်းနှိုတည့်ပုံသွေးလက်ချိတ်ကွေး။

၂၅။ ။ ဝင်းတော်ရံတား၊ တံခါးပေါက်စ၊ ဓမ္မများလှ၍။ ကြပ်ကြလှေချင်း။ မဆန့်လင်းသော်။ နောက်
 ကြွင်းလှေသာ။ တချို့များ။ ကျိုးစာခဲခက်၊ ဝင်းကိုတက်၍။ အုတ်ကြက်ဖြီးမျှ။ ကြည့်ကြစီလျှပ်၊ မိန့်မောစဉ်။
 ဝယ်။ တန်ဖျင်ဟောင်နား။ ကြိုးကြားမှာလည်း။ ထွေကာပူးတွဲ။ ရေထဲသို့ကျ။ ခိုက်ထိကြ၍။ စုတ်ယှသွေးယို။
 အလိုထိပ်တင်၊ တခေါင်လျက်၊ နာကျင်ရောင်ပူ။ ခိုက်မိန့်မှူး၍။ ရေကူးမတတ်။ လက်လွတ်သည်သူ၊ တချို့မူ
 လည်း၊ အလှူသော်မျှ။ အနိစ္စသို့၊ ရောက်ချလေဇဉ့်။ လာတည့်ယူငင်။ ဆယ်ခင်၍ သားခန္ဓာဇာတိ၊ မဆုံးရှိ၏။
 ခိုက်ထိရရှားပဲ့ရွံ့မှာလည်း၊ နှစ်ကြာရှည်ထောက်။ သည်၍ ရောက်အောင်။ ပုန်လျောက်ဖော်ပြ။ သက်သေချ
 သည်။ ။ တင်လှကျောက်ထက်စာတည့်လေ။ ။ ရောတည့်စိုက်ကွေးကွေးတွင်းရေ။ ။ ပုတ်လောက်
 တည့်ပုံသွေးမကသေး။ ။

၂၆။ ။ သည်ပြင်လည်းရှင်း၊ ရွှေစင်နိက္ခ၊ ပုံပွန်းချသို့။ အလှရောင်ဆင်း၊ ပြစ်မျိုးကင်းသည်။ မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ။
 ခွေးသေတို့သက်၊ ရွှေနားရွက်လေး။ ထွက်ချက်ခေါင်ချာ၊ စိုးလျာချည်ထပ်။ ဘနတ်ရှင်သည်။ ထွက်ဝင်တင့်နှိုင်း
 စမ္ပယ်တိုင်းပင်၊ ချုပ်ထိုင်းပုံပါ။ မဏ္ဍာရာဂ၊ အေးကြီးလှ၍။ မိန်းမတကာ၊ အရူးပါမှ၊ မူရာထူးပြာ။ အခြားခြာ။
 လျှင်းစည်လျားနောင်နှစ်၊ ပျော်ရာဖြစ်သော်၊ သစ်သစ်ဖန်ဖန်။ များလွန်စွာဘိုးထွေထွေရှိ၏။ သိရီရောင်ဝင်း။
 ရွှေနန်းတွင်းဝယ်၊ မကင်းတံး၊ မြီးစူးရလျက်။ ခဲလှရေကတ်။ ရာဇဝတ်ကို၊ မမှတ်သားနိုင်။ ကြီးခိုင်မေတ္တာ။
 ဖိတ်ရာဂကြိုက်၊ အလိုလိုက်၍။ ပုရပိုက်စာလွှာ၊ လျှောက်စာကုံးမြောင်း။ လက်ဆောင်ဆက်သး၊ လှလှကြီးစား။
 စကားရောက်ကြောင်း။ ကွေ့ချောင်းထွေလည်။ ကြိုတင်သည်တည့်။ လှည့်ပတ်ဆီဆ။ ပြုသမျှလည်း။
 ပြောပလောက်ဘိ။ သွယ်သွယ်နိသည်။ ။ သတိမထားနိုင်တည့်လေ။ ။ လက်တည့်ကျယ်ရေကိုယ်
 လှကွေ့။ ။ နားတော်တည့်ရှက်ထွေးမလည်သေး။ ။

၂၇။ ။ တည့်ည့်ညှိုးရှင်။ ရှင့်ဘခင်သည်။ ရွှေစင်ရောင်ဝင်း။ ရွှေနန်းတွင်းသို့၊ မပွင်းနတ်တူ။ ဝင်တော်မူ
 သော်။ ။ ငြိမ္မိသွား၊ ရော၊ ဝန်မှန်နန်း၊ စံပြနန်းစိုးတင့်။ တန်းခိုးပွင့်သည်။ ဘိုးရှင်ကိုယ်လုပ်၊ သွယ်ရုပ်လှေကျားထင်
 ပေါ်မြှောက်စား၊ မင်းပေါ်သည်။ ထိပ်ဖျားထိပ်ချာ၊ ဘနန်းလျာကို။ ကွယ်ရာဆီတည့်၊ ချောင်းနောင်းကြည့်
 လျက်၊ မလှည့်ဘယ်ညှ။ စားကွင်းစာကို၊ နှုတ်မှာငုံလိုင်း၊ လှေကြက်တိုင်းဖြင့်။ ရီခိုင်းမျက်စိ၊ တမ်းယမ်းမိလျက်
 မချိုးဝေ၊ ကြားထောင်းနေသော်၊ ပရမေထွတ်ထား၊ ဘိုးမင်းဖျားက၊ လက်ခံမကွာ၊ စေပလေ့။ ကြည့်၍မမြှော်။

ခေါ်တော်မူ၏။ မရတုံ့ဘဲ။ ဘင်းနွဲ့ရှည်ကြာ။ နောက်မှလာသော်။ ထွတ်ချာဘုန်းဂွန်။ မင်း၏မာန်
 ဒုတ်အင်းချနှင့်။ နုရထွက်ချက်။ ရိုက်ထည့်နှက်သော်။ သွေးထွက်ရှိစွတ်။ နှုတ်ခမ်းပြတ်၏။ ဆွတ်ဆွတ်ကျင်နာ။
 သည်အမာလည်း။ နှစ်တာရှည်လျာ။ တမ်းခွန်လွှားသို့။ ထင်ရှားစွာဘိ။ ခပင်ရှိ၏။ မှတ်မှီတခံ။ နီတျာကိုယ်မွေး။
 သဘောကျေးကို။ မြတ်လေးသာရွှင်။ လက်ညှိုးတင်၍။ ရှုမြင်စကား။ ကစားရာတွင်။ နန်းလျာတည်စ။ ရွှန်းယဉ်လှ
 သည်။ ရှင်ဘဘုရား။ ကြွသားဆီဝ။ မျှော်လိုက်ကြည့်သော်။ အပြည့်ကိုယ်လုံး။ ပတ်ကုံးနွဲ့မျှ။ တစ်ရာဝကြောင့်။ ယု
 ရမြတ်လေး။ လက်တွင်ကျေးကို။ မနွေးရင်ခွင်။ ချထားတင်လျက်။ ထင်သည်သတိ။ ကြိတ်နှိပ်မိ၍။ နမိနမြော။
 သဘောကပါ။ ကျေးနီတျာသည်။ ခန္ဓာပျက်ခကြ။ ဆုံးပခလ၏။ ထွေထွေထူးဆန်း။ ဥဒါန်းပြောရာ။ စဉ်လာ
 နောက်နောင်။ ဖြစ်ရစ်အောင်သာ။ နန်းလျာရှင်ဘ။ လှသည်ကျေးဇူး။ ဂုဏ်အထူးကား။ အကျူးအံ့ရာ။ များလေစွာ
 သည်။ မျှသာမှတ်နှင့်ဦးဘည့်လေ။ စက်တော်တည့်မှ။ မွေးမွေးပျော်ဘိသေ။ ကြိုးဘည့်ငင်နှေးသာ
 လေးလေး။ ။

၃၂။ ။ ထိပ်မွေ၏။ ကြက်သရေမြင့်ရာ။ ဒေးချင်းစာကို။ မှတ်ရာချေးလစ်။ သက္ကရာဇ်မှာ။
 တထောင်သာ၍။ တရားလည်းကျော်။ သံညပေါ်လျက်။ ခြောက်ခုတက်၍။ နတ်စက်လေလုံး။ လဝါဆိုဟူ။ နဂိုရ်
 ဆန်းစ။ သုံးရက်မျှနက်။ ရေးထအခါ။ ပြီးခြင်းရာကို။ လက်သံချို။ စီကုံးဆို၍။ ဗဟိုရ်နာရီ။ လှည့်ဆီခေါ်တွက်။
 နှစ်ချက်မြတ်တွင်။ ပြီးအောင်မြင်သည်။ မှတ်ချင်တည့်နောင်ရေးများလှသေး။ ။

ဒေးချင်းပြီးပြီ။ ။

LIFE OF AUTHOR.

ဇ ရှံမြို့စားဝန်ကြီးမင်းပဒေသရာဇာ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိစာတမ်း။ ။

ဝန်ကြီးမင်းပဒေသရာဇာ၏ မွေးဘွားသော ခုနစ်သက္ကရာဇ်ကို အမှန်မသိနိုင်။ သို့ရာတွင် သံသယ မှာနာ၍ အ
 သက်၇၀ ကျော်တွင် လွန်သည်ဟု ၁၁၉၀ ကျော်မှာ ရေးသော မှန်နန်းရာဇဝင်မှာ လာသည်။ ၁၁၄၀ ကျော်မှာ
 ချေးသော လောကဗျူဟာခေါ် အင်ရုံစာတမ်းမှာ ၁၁၁၃ ခုနှစ် ရှင်ဘုရင်နှင့် တကွ ဝန်ကြီးပဒေသရာဇာကို
 အဝက ဟံသာဝတီသို့ တင်ပို့သော ယုရလမ်းခရီးမှာ နာ၍ ဝန်ကြီးပဒေသရာဇာ လွန်သည်ဟု ပါသည်။ သံလျင်
 သည် အဝနှင့် ဟံသာဝတီစပ်ကြား ဖြစ်၍ စကား ၂ ခုစပ်ဟပ်ယူနိုင်သည်။ ဂေါ်စာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၃၄ ခုတွင်
 နန်းတက်သော အဝဘုရင် အင် မင်းလက်ထက်မှာ ပဒေသရာဇာကို အဝမြို့မှာပင် ဘွားသည်။ ။

ဂေါ်စာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၆၀ ပြည့်တွင် နန်းတက်သော အဝဘုရင် စနေမင်းလက်ထက်တွင် စုရေးစုကိုင်
 အရာသူကောင်းပြုခံရသည်။ ထိုအခါ ၁၇ ပင်ကဗျာများရေးသားသည်။ ။

ဂေါ်စာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၇၆ ခုနှစ်တွင် နန်းတက်သော အဝဘုရင် တနင်္ဂနွေမင်းလက်ထက်မှာ မန်းကျည်း
 ရုံရွာစားအရာနှင့် ဂေါ်တလာမှ အရာလက်ဝဲ ရွှေတောင်ဘွဲ့ခြီးမြှင့်သူကောင်းပြုခံရသည်။ ၎င်းနောက် တနင်္ဂနွေ
 မင်း၏ သားတော် စဉ့်ကူးမြို့စား အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းအချီတော်အရာ တနင်္ဂနွေမင်းက ၁၀၈၉ ခုနှစ်ထပ်မံခန့်ထားသူ
 ကောင်း ပြသည်။ ဗစဉ့်ကူးမြို့စား အိမ်ရှေ့မင်း၏ နားတော် သွင်းကိုလည်း ရေးသားဆက်သွင်းရ
 သည်။ ။

ဂေါ်စာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၉၅ ခုနှစ်တွင် နန်းတက်သော အဝဘုရင်ကြာသပတေးမင်းလက်ထက် လက်ဦး
 ဇ ရှံမြို့စားအရာနှင့် ဘယကျော်သူဘွဲ့ခြီးမြှင့်သူကောင်းပြုသည်ကိုခံရသည်။ ၎င်းနောက် ဇ ရှံမြို့စား အသည်ဝန်
 အရာအတွင်း ဝန်အရာများနှင့် မင်းရဲမင်းလှကျော်ထင်ဘွဲ့ခြီးမြှင့် သူကောင်းပြုခံရသည်။ ၎င်းနောက် ဇ ရှံမြို့စားအ
 ရာအသည်ဝန်အရာ။ အရာ။ ပဒေသရာဇာဘွဲ့နှင့် ခြီးမြှင့်သူကောင်းပြုသည်ကိုခံရသည်။
 ၎င်းနောက် နတ်ရှင်နောင်ဘွဲ့ခြီးမြှင့်သည်ကိုလည်းခံရသည်။ နတ်ရှင်နောင်ဆိုသည်ကား ရှင်ဘုရင်၏အပ်

ကိုဆိုလိုသည်။ ထိုဘွဲ့နှင့် ညီအောင်လည်းမင်းသားကြီးတို့အစီးအနင်း အဆောင်အရွက်များသနားတော်မြတ်ခံသည်။ မင်းသားကြီးတို့အစီးအနင်းများ အနက်ထင်ရှားသော အဆောင်အရွက်များတွင် သွားလာသည့်အခါ ဝေါပလာစီးခွင့်၊ ကျိုင်းရွှေချက် ၂ စင်းဆောင်းခွင့်များနှင့် ခြံမြင့်ခံရသည်။ ထိုဝန်ကြီးကတော် ၂ ဦးမှာလည်း အတူအညီဒေဝီတပ်သောဘွဲ့ ၂ ရပ်နှင့်ခြီးမြင့်ခြင်းခံရသည်ပြင် ရှင်ဘုရင်ကစာဆိုကြီးဟူ၍ လည်းခေါ်လေ့ရှိသည်။ ထိုဝန်ကြီးမင်းရေးသောစာများမှာ အောက်ဖော်ပြပါအတိုင်းဖြစ်သည်။ စာတမ်းအမှတ်အသားများမှာ မင်းဆရာဟူ၍ ၎င်း၊ ပဒေသရာဇာဟူ၍ ၎င်း၊ နတ်ရှင်နောင်ဟူ၍ ၎င်း၊ အမျိုးမျိုးအစားစားရေးသားလေ့ရှိသည်။ သရက် ၆ ဆက် ကမ္မာရာဇာနှင့်ရှုတ်ထွေးတတ်သည်။ ဘောင်ငူမင်းနတ် ရှင်နောင်နှင့်လည်းရှုတ်ထွေးတတ်သည်။ ဤအတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိ စာတမ်းလည်းဦးတင် (၂) ထံမှရသတည်း။

ရေးသောစာများကား။ ။ ၁။ တေးထွက်ခန်းပျို့။ ။ ၂။ ဆန္ဒပျို့။ ။ ၃။ ကျေးဇူးတော်ပျို့။ ။ ၄။ ယိုတယားသံရောက်ပျို့။ ။ ၅။ မဏိခက်ပျို့။ ။ ၆။ ကုမ္ဘာဘယပျို့။ ။ ၇။ သမုဒ္ဒဘောသပျို့။ ။ ၈။ သူဇာပျို့။ ။ ၉။ မနော်ပျို့သစ်။ ။ ၁၀။ ရတုစုံရေးအများ။ ။ ၁၁။ မင်းခန်းလင်္ကာ။ ။ ၁၂။ ထိပ်ဦးနေဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၃။ ထိပ်ဦးတင်ဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၄။ ထိပ်ပန်းဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၅။ စကုမင်းဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၆။ စလင်းမင်းဇချင်း။ ။ ၁၇။ ဥပုမင်းနတ်သံ။ ။ ၁၈။ ယသော်ရောက်ခြင်း။ ။ ၁၉။ ဆန်ပြန်တမ်းခြင်း။ ။ ၂၀။ မဏိခက်ဇာတ်။ ။ ၂၁။ ဆယ်အိမ်ခေါင်းဘွဲ့တန်းသမားဘွဲ့စသောသီချင်းအများ။ ။ ၂၂။ ဂိုက်ရွေးနည်းစသောမှတ်စုလင်္ကာအများ။ ။

ဇရုံမြို့စားဝန်ကြီးမင်းပဒေသရာဇာ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိစာတမ်း

ပြီးပြီ။

U BA THEIN. DIED 17th. MARCH 1923.

Another loss to Burmese scholarship has to be recorded. U Ba Thein, 2nd. Grade advocate of Kyaukse, died on 17th. March last at the early age of 57.

He was keenly interested in all branches of Burmese literature and also in the antiquities of the district where he had made his home. Besides various contributions to the press he some years ago published the *Ko Khayaing Thamaing*, a valuable collection of Sittans and other documents relating to Kyaukse District, more especially to the canals, with a historical introduction and notes. He had in contemplation a second edition to include additional matter.

He had also, after 10 years work, compiled a dictionary of archaic Burmese the manuscript of which has been found among his papers and which appears to be much more complete and better furnished with illustrations than any similar dictionary hitherto published. It is to be hoped that some press will be enterprising enough to purchase and print the manuscript.

In two obituary notices which have appeared in Burmese newspapers, while justice is done to U Ba Thein's literary accomplishments, the *Ko Khayaing Thamaing* is not mentioned. This omission may be the excuse for some description of its contents. It includes extracts from the *Hmannan* and other chronicles relating to Kyaukse, the Sittans of Mekkaya and Myittha towns, accounts of the construction of the various weirs and canals by Anorata and later kings, the duties of the villagers in connection with canal maintenance and repair, and reports of officials showing the rates at which revenue was levied, and giving valuable information regarding the titles on which land was held. We learn the names of the guards regiments whose members held allotments of land in the *Khayaing* and there is valuable material in the book for a history of the Burman army. Much information also can be collected as to the canal administration and the relations of the civil, irrigation and military officials. There is evidence, too, of the extraordinary mixture of races in the Kyaukse district due to the efforts of the kings to maintain the population and the outturn of paddy by successive settlements of prisoners of war—Shans, Siamese, Talaings, Arakanese and Indians.

U Ba Thein himself was a native of Thonze, but had been domiciled in Kyaukse for 30 years. He had a real love not only for the history of the district but for all its villages and rivers and canals. His house was on the bank of the Zawgyi river within hearing of the Zidaw weir. He had seen its reconstruction, and when the canal itself is remodelled and water again reaches Mekkaya as in the time of Minkyizwasawké it would be fitting to commemorate him by giving his name to one of the new distributaries. He himself would have wished to be remembered in the *Ko Khayaing*, and the association of his name with the canals is just the sort of memorial he would have liked.

J. A. S.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of the First Meeting of the Sub-committee of the Burma Research Society held on 16th March 1923.

PRESENT.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I.C.S.
Dr. Hunter U Tun Pe
G. H. Luce, Esq. W. G. Fraser, Esq.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the third meeting of the sub-committee held on 28th September 1922.

2. Elected as ordinary members : —

- (1) Saya Pe
- (2) Captain G. M. Medd.
- (3) E. T. D. Gaudoin, Esq.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the 1st meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College, Rangoon, on Friday 16th March 1923.

PRESENT.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I.C.S.
Dr. Hunter, C.I.E., G. H. Luce, Esq.
U Tun Pe W. G. Fraser, Esq.

1. The minutes of the 5th meeting of the Executive Committee held on 22nd January 1923 were confirmed.

2. Elected to the sub-committee :—Dr. Hunter, L. F. Taylor, Esq. and U Tun Pe.

3. Resolved to insert a notice in every issue of the Journal describing the activities of the Society and inviting applications for membership.

4. Resolved to arrange for the sale of the *Owādāhtū Pyo* at the two colleges and also by the Pyigyī Mundyne Press.

5. Resolved that the next Ordinary Meeting of the Society should be held in July.

6. Resolved to ascertain the cost of a set of *T'oung Pao* (2nd Series) and the cost of subscribing to that journal.

Resolved to invite exchange of publications with the following?—

- (a) Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.
- (b) Tijdschrift of the Bataviaasch Genootschap.

7. Resolved to allocate a sum of Rs. 500 for expenditure on the library from the date of the meeting to the end of 1923, in addition to the balance of Rs. 150 still unspent out of the sum of Rs. 500 sanctioned in 1922.

8. The Honorary Secretary reported that the entries in the competitions which closed on February 28th had been sent to the judges.

W. G. FRASER.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the 2nd Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College, Rangoon, on Tuesday 5th June 1923.

P R E S E N T :

J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I.C.S.,—(Chairman).	
M. Hunter, Esq., D. Sc., I.E.S., C.I.E.	Saya Thein.
S. G. Grantham, Esq., I.C.S.	U Tun Pe.
J. J. Nolan, Esq.	W. G. Fraser, Esq., I.E.S.

1. The Minutes of the 1st. Meeting of the Executive Committee held on 16th March 1923 were confirmed.

2. Resolved that the resignation of Mr. A. P. Morris of his seat on the Executive Committee be accepted and that he be appointed to the General Committee.

3. Resolved that the President should invite the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rutledge to become a member of the Executive Committee.

4. Resolved (a) to defer consideration of the proposal to purchase a set of T'oung Pao (2nd. series) and (b) to subscribe to T'oung Pao for one year.

5. Resolved that Messrs. Rodger, Maung Tin and Ba Han be invited to attend the Centenary Celebration of the Royal Asiatic Society as representatives of the Burma Research Society.

6. Resolved to request the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to consider the admission of the Burma Research Society to be an Associate Society.

7. Considered the awards of the judges in the competition recently held.

Resolved that they be published with a report by the President.

8. Resolved that an ordinary meeting of the Society be held on 20th July and that a paper should be read.

9. Resolved with reference to correspondence resting with D. O. No. 297—2E-108 dated 29th May 1923 from the Excise Commissioner, that the Excise Commissioner be informed that the Society regrets it cannot offer assistance in the way he desires, but suggests that he should consult Mr. G. F. Harvey with reference to the historical information he requires.

10. Resolved that P. O. Cash Certificates to the value of Rs 5,000 be purchased.

11. Sanctioned the entertainment of a peon for the Society on Rs. 17 per month.

12. Resolved that Mr. W. G. Fraser's resignation of his offices as Honorary Secretary and Treasurer be accepted and that Mr. G. H. Luce be appointed in his place.

13. Resolved that the President should address the Local Government with reference to Maung Tin's request for an extension of his period of deputation in England, pointing out that the study of Mss. which he contemplates if his leave is extended ought to yield results valuable for oriental studies in Burma.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

*Minutes of the 3rd meeting of the Executive Committee held at
University College on 24th August 1923.*

P R E S E N T :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung (in the Chair).

A. Cassim, Esq.

U Tun Pe.

G. H. Luce, Esq.

L. F. Taylor, Esq.

W. G. Fraser, Esq., Hony. Secretary.

1. Resolved that Honorary Treasurer be authorised to realise cash certificates purchased for Rs. 1,937-8 and to pay Clarendon Press bill for printing the "Glass Palace Chronicle."

2. Resolved that the Executive Committee considers it is not necessary to amend the rules as suggested by Mr. Furnivall by adding a rule that the President shall not hold office as such for two consecutive years.

3. Resolved that the resignation by U Tha Tun Aung of his membership of the Executive Committee be accepted and that he be appointed a member of the General Committee.

4. Resolved that a set of the Journal be presented to the London Library and that the library be put on the free list. The Honorary Secretary was instructed to ask for a copy of the subject index of the London Library in exchange.

5. Resolved that letter of 8th July from Mr. A. Rodger, stating that he hoped to accept the Society's invitation to attend the Centenary Celebrations of the Royal Asiatic Society, be recorded.

6. Resolved that 10 copies of Owadahtu Pyo be presented to U Po Sein who prepared the text for publication.

7. Resolved that sanction be given to expenditure by Honorary Editor not exceeding Rs 200 in connection with the preparation of Chinese numbers of the Journal. (The sum of Rs. 200 includes Rs. 100 already sanctioned by the Sub-Committee).

8. Resolved that U May Oung be appointed President of the Society for the remaining part of 1923 in place of Mr. Furnivall resigned.

9. Resolved that Maung Aung Than, Office of the Director of Publicity, be appointed a member of the Executive Committee.

10. Resolved that Mr. A. Cassim be appointed Joint-Secretary of the Text Publication Sub-Committee in place of Mr. G. H. Luce resigned.

11. On the motion of U Tun Pe, seconded by U May Oung, Mr. James Tapa was elected an ordinary member of the Society.

W. G. FRASER,

Honorary Secretary.

ORDINARY MEETING.

An Ordinary Meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at University College on 24th August, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung in the Chair. The following members were present :—

Messrs. L. F. Taylor, N. C. Krishna Iyer, F. J. Meggitt, G. H. Luce, G. B. Scott, A. Cassim, Maung Aung Than, Saya Pe, U Tun Pe, Saya Pwa, W. G. Fraser.

Mr. G. H. Luce read the following papers :

(a) "Story of the Migrations" by Major Enriquez.

(b) "Note on some authorities for the History of Burma", by

Mr. J. A. Stewart I.C.S.

which are printed elsewhere in the journal. After the reading of Major Enriquez's paper, L. F. Taylor commented on the paper and a discussion followed in which Mr. Luce and U May Oung took part. When Mr. Stewart's paper had been read, the Chairman briefly discussed the sources of information regarding Burmese history and spoke with high appreciation of Mr. Stewart's contribution to the subject. A hearty vote of thanks was then awarded to the authors of the two papers which had been read.

BY CIRCULAR.

The Executive Committee approved (in circulation) resolution 2 of the minutes of the 9th meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee and resolutions, 2 3, and 4 of the 10th meeting, and empowered the Text Publication Sub-Committee to proceed with the programme laid down in resolution 2 of the 9th meeting (see minutes pages 120 and 172 of Journal Volume XII).

The Sub Committee approved (in circulation) of expenditure not exceeding Rs. 100 for work done by a Chinaman in connection with the forthcoming "Chinese number" of the Journal.

The Sub-Committee has elected the following members :—

Rev. O. Hanson, Saya Pwa, Mr. E. T. D. Gaudoin, Capt. G. M. Medd, Saya Pe, Prof. F. J. Meggitt, Dr. H. B. Osborn, Mr W. A. Hertz. Mr. C. M. Surty, Saya Zan, Maung Thin, Mr. M. K. Roy, Mr. H. M. Bazett, Mr. James Tapa, Dr. Aung Tun.

W. G. FRASER,

Honorary Secretary.

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List of Recent Additions to the Library.

BY PRESENTATION.

- Gramophone Records of Languages and Dialects spoken in the Bombay Presidency—Translations and Transcriptions, 4 copies.
A Môn-English Dictionary, by R. Halliday, 1922, 2 copies.
Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, by W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden. 2 vols. (Presented by Mr. L. F. Taylor).
The Path of Purity, being a translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, by Prof. Pe Maung Tin. (Presented by the author).
Map of Buddhist India, by Maung San Shwe. (Presented by the author).
Epigraphia Birmanica, being Lithic and other Inscriptions of Burma, Vol. III, Part, I, 1923.
Burma Census Report, 1921, 3 vols.
Third Annual Report on the working of the Rangoon Development Trust for the year 1922-23.

Siamese books presented by the National Library, Bangkok.

- Pāli Gāthā in Praise of the Holy Discipline, by H. R. H. King Rāma IV, translated into Siamese by Patriarch Pussadeva.
A Manual of Meditation, by His Holiness Prince Vajirañña Vararasa.
Laotian Songs.
A Poem on the Tonsure Ceremony, by H. M. King Rāma V (Chulalongkorn).
Poetical Relation of a tour to Bang Yı Khan, by Khun Phum.
Record of the repairs made to the chapel of the Emerald Buddha during the reign of H. M. King Rāma III (Phra Nang Klao).
Phra Rathasena : a poem.
A Collection of Acrostic Verses.
Salāyatanavibhaṅgasutta : a sermon by the late Patriarch Pussadeva.
A Collection of Children's Songs composed for the Orphan-Asylum of H. M. Queen Sai Savalibhirom.
The Tiger and the Cow : a poem composed by Phra Mahā Rājaguru during the reign of Phra Narai.
A Collection of Songs for the Mahori Orchestra (from the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa and Inao).
A Collection of Chronicles, vols. XXII—XXV.
A Collection of Royal Questions, Parts I, III, IV.
A Sermon on the Consecration of Boundary Stones, by Somdet Phra Vanaratana of Wat Sudat.
A Treatise on Kite-Flying.
Dharmavidhinamaskāra, by H. M. King Rāma IV (King Mongkut); and Mettasutta and Byākatābyākatavatthu, by Pussadeva.
Letters of H. M. King Rāma IV (King Mongkut) 2nd. series.
Manners and Customs, Part XIII—Buddhism in Burma.

- Poems by H. E. the late Chaophya Bhaskaravongse.
 A Poem on the Victory of King Paramattrailokanâtha of Ayudhyâ over the Laotians of Chieng Mai in the XVth. Century.
 A Poem in praise of Their Majesties Kings Râma III and IV, by Khun Phum.
 Mahâdhammasamâdanasutta : a sermon by the late Patriarch Pussadeva.
 The Story of the Ploughing Festival, by H. M. King Râma V (Chulalongkorn).
 Poetical relation of Thao Subhattikârabhakti's Journey to Kanchanapuri, by H. M. King Râma V (Chulalongkorn).
 An ancient Treatise on Horses.
 Saranagamanûpakathâ : a sermon by Patriarch Pussadeva.
 Atthakkhanakhatâ : a sermon by Patriarch Pussadeva.
 The Festivals of the Twelve Months in Ancient Times.
 A Collection of Lullabies.
 Câmadevivam̐sa or Chronicle of Haripuñjaya (Pali Text with Siamese Translation).
 A Collection of Poetries, Parts I and V.
 The History of Phra Pathamacetiya by Chao Phya Dibakarawongs.
 Eulogic Stanzas inscribed on Panels at Bang-Pa-In on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of King Chulalongkorn's Coronation.
 Treatise on Fever by Phya Chandapuri (Klom).
 A Poetical Record of the Battle with the Burmese at Tha Din Dong by King Râma I.
 A History of Wat Pavarānivesavihara by His Holiness the late Prince Vajirañña Vararasa.
 A Treatise on Elephant Riding.
 A Commentary on Various Prayers.

Presented by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

- On the Extinction of the Mammoth, by H. Neuville.
 Glass and some of its Problems, by Sir Herbert Jackson.
 Two Types of Southwestern Cliff Houses, by J. W. Fewkes.
 On the Race History and Facial Characteristics of the Aboriginal Americans, by W. H. Holmes.
 A Constitutional League of Peace in the Stone Age of America. The League of the Iroquois and its Constitution, by J. N. B. Hewitt.
 History in Tools, by W. M. Flinders Petrie.
 The Background of Totemism, by E. W. Hopkins.
 Sun Worship of the Hopi Indians, by J. W. Fewkes.
 The Direct Action of Environment and Evolution, by Prince Kropotkin.
 The Fundamental Factor of Insect Evolution, by S. S. Chetverikov.
 Sexual Selection and Bird Song, by C. J. Hawkins.
 The Taxonomy of the Muscoidean Flies, including descriptions of new Genera and Species, by C. H. T. Townsend.
 The Bryozoa, or Moss Animals, by R. S. Bassler.
 The Exploration of Manchuria, by Capt. A. de C. Sowerby.

- The Origin and Beginnings of the Czechoslovak People, by Jindrich Matiegka.
- Geographic Education in America, by A. L. Brigham.
- Progress in National Land Reclamation in the United States, by C. A. Bissell.
- The Differentiation of Mankind into Racial Types.
- The Races of Russia, by Ales Hrdligka.
- An Economic Consideration of Orthoptera directly affecting Man, by A. N. Caudell.
- Natural History of Paradise Key and the Near-by Everglades of Florida, by W. E. Safford.
- The Present State of the Problem of Evolution, by M. Caullery.
- The Economic Importance of the Diatoms, by Albert Mann.
- New Archaeological Lights on the Origin of Civilization in Europe, by Sir Arthur Evans.
- Mine Safety Devices developed by the United States Bureau of Mines, by Van H. Manning.
- The Ralph Cross Johnson Collection in the National Gallery at Washington.
- Local Suppression of Agricultural Pests by Birds, by W. L. McAtee.
- Parasitism and Symbiosis in their relation to the Problem of Evolution.
- Daturas of the Old World and New, by W. E. Safford.
- The Origin of Insect Societies, by A. Lameere.
- Notes on the Dances, Music, and Songs of the Ancient and Modern Musicians, by A. Genir.
- Fire Worship of the Hopi Indians, by J. W. Fewkes.
- Opinions rendered by the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature (Opinions 52, 57 to 65, 66, 67, 68 to 77).
- Instances of Hermaphroditism in Crayfishes, by W. P. Hay.
- Description of a New Squirrel of *Sciurus Prevostii* Group from Pulo Temaju, West Coast of Borneo, by M. W. Lyon.
- New Genera of South American Fresh-water Fishes, and New Names for some Old Genera, by Carl H. Eigenmann.
- Notes on a Collection of Mammals from the Province of Kan-su, China, by M. W. Lyon.
- The Squirrels of the *Sciurus Vittatus* Group in Sumatra, by M. W. Lyon.
- Landmarks of Botanical History, by Ed. Lee Greene.
- Upper Yukon Native Customs and Folk-lore, by F. Schmitter.
- The Flying Apparatus of the Blow-Fly, by Dr. Wolfgang Ritter.
- Notes on American Species of *Peripatus*, with a list of known forms, by A. H. Clark.
- Two New Mammals from the Siberian Altai, by N. Hollister.
- A New Genus of Mallophaga from African Guinea Fowl in the United States National Museum, by J. H. Paine.
- Fifty-one New Malayan Mammals, by G. S. Miller.

- The Present Distribution of the Onychophora, a Group of Terrestrial Invertebrates, by Austin H. Clark.
- Archaeological Investigations in New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, by J. W. Fewkes.
- A Review of the Interrelationships of the Cetacea, by H. Winge.
- The Echinoderms as Aberrant Arthropods, by A. H. Clark.
- Opinions rendered by the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature.
- Harriman Alaska Expedition, Vols. I, XI, XIV (2 Parts).
- The Young of the Crayfishes, *Astacus* and *Cambarus*, by E. A. Andrews.
- The Apodous Holothurians; a monograph of the Synaptidæ and Molpa-diidæ, by H. L. Clark.
- Oceanic Ichthyology, a treatise on the Deep-Sea and Pelagic Fishes of the World, by G. B. Goode and T. H. Bean, and one Vol. of Plates.
- A Phylogenetic study of the Recent Crinoids, with Special Reference to the Question of Specialization through the partial or complete Suppression of Structural Characters, by A. H. Clark.

BY EXCHANGE.

- Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. II, Part IV, 1923.
- Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LII, 1922 (July to December).
- Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué, Nos. 1 to 4 of 1922.
- Bulletin Musique Annamite, par E. Le Bris.
- Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I (April 1923).
- Conservation Manual—A Handbook for the use of Archaeological Officers and others entrusted with the care of ancient monuments, by Sir John Marshall (1923).
- Journal of the East India Association, Vol. XIV Nos. 2 and 3 (April and July 1923).
- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (2nd and 3rd Quarter 1923).
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THE
GLASS PALACE CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS OF BURMA
(HMANNAN YAZAWIN).
 TRANSLATED BY
PE MAUNG TIN
 AND
G. H. LUCE,

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The *Glass Palace Chronicle*, the most important of the native histories of Burma, was compiled in 1829, by a committee of scholars appointed by King Bagyidaw of Burma, who based their work on earlier chronicles, inscriptions, and other ancient records.

The present translation omits the first two parts of the Chronicle, as they merely retell the story of Buddhism and of the Buddhist kings of Ancient India, and begins at the point where the story moves to Burma. The third part opens with the history of the three Burmese kingdoms of Tagaung, Tharehkittara and Pagan. The fourth and fifth parts of the present volume cover perhaps the most interesting period of Burmese history, that of the kingdom of Pagan—the city on the middle Irrawaddy, a hundred miles below Mandalay, whose noble temples and vast ruins still astonish visitors. The volume closes with the fall of Pagan (1287 A.D.), consequent on the invasion of Burma by the armies of Khublai Khan. It is hoped that the response to this publication will justify the Burma Research Society in continuing the translation and adding notes in subsequent volumes.

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(FOUNDED 1910.)

*For the Study and Encouragement of Arts, Science, History and Literature
in relation to Burma.*

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WORD-MAKING AND WORD-TAKING.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON MODERN BURMESE.

It is a great pleasure to be present once again at a meeting of our Society. But the pleasure is qualified by the fact that I have undertaken to deliver a lecture, especially because I must start with a confession that I know very little about the subject matter. I hope, therefore, that right from the beginning you will understand that I am here rather in the hope of gaining than of imparting information.

I wish to consider a few aspects of modern Burmese. I cannot claim to have made a serious study of the subject and can only venture to offer a few discursive observations, chiefly in the hope that they may suggest profitable lines of enquiry to those interested in the language. They have moreover at least this title to your consideration, that they relate to a subject of immediate practical importance in this country. Some of you, in childhood, may have played the fascinating game of word-making and word-taking. I know no game so well adapted to teach children spelling and to enlarge their vocabulary. This is how it is played. A certain number of card-board letters are distributed to each player, and out of these he has to make as many words as possible. He may, for example, have the three letters C, A and T and, by putting them together, makes the word *cat*. Another player who has an "R" can take over the word *cat* and make it into *cart*; then another one with an "E" may make it into *crate*, and still another adds R, changing it to *crater*, some one else by adding "E" and "N" changes it to *Recreant*, and probably it ends up as *Recreation*. The winner is the one who makes most words. That is a children's game, but it is entertaining and instructive. In another form every one of us, consciously or unconsciously and all of us collectively, play the same game throughout our lives. Every progressive nation, and Burma more than most, is continually enlarging its vocabulary both by word-making and word-taking. In two respects this process resembles the game that children play. Not only do the new words often assume strange forms, but the winning nation is that which makes or takes most words.

There are only these two methods in which a language grows. One is by making new words out of material already existing in the common stock; the other is by taking words from another language. Both these processes, but especially perhaps the latter, are very prevalent just now in Burma. This has already been brought to the notice of the Society by our learned Joint Editor, Professor Pe Maung Tin, in his "Note on the development of the Burmese language" published in our Journal for 1914. He remarks that "the problem is receiving national

attention; and native writers, roused by the awakening of the national spirit, are finding suitable terms for the new ideas imported from the west" We have all of us, I suppose, appreciated this vaguely for a long time, but for my part I must confess that I had not realised how far and how fast it is proceeding until quite recently. In the spoken language one is accustomed to encountering Anglicisms, and for some years we have heard on the football field shouts of အောက်ပြီ and ပေးသေးဘူး. Sometimes the Burmese equivalent of an English word is rather puzzling. I can remember, for example, being stumped by the word အတွန် which the lad who used it tried to make clearer by saying အတွန်ငွေ. It was a long time however before I realised that he was talking about an advance of money. Still, in the colloquial, one can be prepared for anything. But it came to me rather with a shock the other day when in a short Burmese novel of 50 pages ခပ်လှော် by မိန်သောတ I found 9 or 10 English words most of which are hardly yet at Burmese costume. I quote these, with their context, in Appendix I. I said 9 or 10 and I have only given 9. There was another phrase which puzzled me completely ဒီကနေ့တော့ (ဝါး) ငှားလေးကို ... You will notice that (ဝါး) like (ဆိုတာ) is in brackets and I took it for another English word that I could not identify. Reference, however, to our Professor of Oriental Studies resulted in the explanation that it was merely the ordinary word (ဝါး) *chcek* ဒီကနေ့တော့ဝါးကလေးကိုချလိမ့်မည်. But why the author saw fit to include it in brackets I cannot say. The use of English words seem rather characteristic of this writer's style. You do not find them used to the same extent in novels by P. Monin and Shweleikpya who, I understand, are the favourite authors of the present day. But among the advertisements published in the same book I noticed ကျောယာမင်းမိုလင် ဘင်ဂျို-ကျောဘွင့် and another 'English' word that I have never met in English ဘင်ဂျိုလင်. There was also the horrible word ဘွိုင်ဆိုလင်, *violin*, for which I should have thought တရာ would be a sufficiently close equivalent. You will notice that, in the words of Pe Maung Tin, this native writer "roused by the awakening of the national spirit" is doing his best to find suitable Burmese for new ideas imported from the west. But I do not know how many will feel that he has been successful.

Some of these words taken individually have an interesting pedigree. Banjolin has, possibly, an English equivalent indicating a cross between a banjo and a mandolin. Banjo itself has travelled about a good deal. It represents the Burmese version of the English word *banjo* that the Americans took over with the instrument from negro slaves who could approximate no more closely to *bandurria*, a Spanish word ultimately derived from the Greek *pandoura*. ဆိုတာ again comes from the Arabic *suffah*, a bench that was probably not unlike the ordinary Burmese ဆုတ်. Still these derivations have very little bearing on Burmese. If we can trace a Burmese word back to English or any other language we can well afford to leave its previous history to the philologists of that language. Let us consider then a few words that have been taken over, either directly or indirectly from languages other than English. We have in Burmese another Arabic word မာရ် that is more easily recognisable

if pronounced as it is written *arak*, which brings out its affinity with the Arabic *araq* and the English word *arrack*, independently taken from the same source. This word may have reached Burma from the Malay but in view of the early predominance of Arab traders in the far east it may well have been taken directly or at least through the Talaing *areak*. Malay words seem less common in Burmese than might be expected. The only word I know that can be attributed to this source is ကြိတ် given by Stevenson as the Burmese word for the Malay *kris*; although I have never met the term myself, even in Meigui where one would naturally expect to find it. Another word that may have been brought in by the early traders is သတ္တလံ which Stevenson conjecturally derives from the Persian *suglat*. Then there is ဓနုတ် of Spanish origin, which I found in the မေါတူဂီဓနုတ် and should not have understood, except for a marginal comment by a later writer explaining it as ဘုံး *bomb*. Here again English and Burmese have borrowed the same word independently. Another word that both languages have taken over is သံဘန်, attributed by Stevenson to a Chinese origin.

The mention of *sampan* reminds me of a word used in the Delta for a small open boat with a flat bottom that is rowed in the European fashion. This is known as ဘောက်တူ which is the kind of word that a Burman might easily make out of the French *bateau*, and the fact it is rowed in European fashion supports the derivation. This conjecture is strengthened by the evidence of Symes in his Embassy to Ava who tells us that in 1795, when ship-building was an important industry in Rangoon, "all the models came from France" (Symes "Mission to Ava" 1800, p. 459) Bengali traders have furnished the Burmese vocabulary with the word ဓာတ် for a ship's mate and other words that have been attributed to Bengali are တူလီ တိုက် pronounced ရိတ် *a yard*, ချီ *wheat* and ဝတ္တာ *a grant of land*. Here, by the way, we have in common use a Bengali English compound to form one Burmese word ဓနုဝတ္တာ. Some Indian words such as ဒေဝါဇီ bankrupt and နာဇီ bailiff perhaps date from the earliest days of the first annexation when in Aracan some of the records, both civil and criminal, were written in Persian. According to Saya Thein, the word for a Railway Station တူတာရန် also has an Indian origin, from *godown*, and he claims, I believe, personally to have observed the acclimatisation of this word.

There must, of course, be many other words derived from the languages of people with whom the Burmese have come into contact. On the whole, however, until quite recently Burmans saw very little of the outer world so that they have not had much chance to assimilate new words and, for that matter, have rarely had new ideas calling for the creation of new words. The only people with whom they have been in close contact are the Talaings and Siamese and various hill tribes. I do not know of any Burmese words taken from the Siamese. It is a different matter, however, as regards Talaing. Both languages have many words in common and it would be difficult to say which language has borrowed

from the other. There is, however, a presumption that trading terms, and probably military terms, ordinarily reached Burmese through the Talaings who, from their position on the coast, were more in contact with foreigners. Probably many words common both to Burmese and Talaing were taken from the Pali and though the genius of the Burmese language which gives new formations, so far as possible, a monosyllabic appearance, leads to great difficulty in tracing the origin of words there can be no doubt that Pali is responsible for a very large proportion of the Burmese vocabulary.

But with Pali we reach the second branch of the subject. We have considered a few illustrations of word-taking. Many words from Pali have become so Burmanised that they must be regarded rather as illustrations of word-making. Here, however, I must go cautiously for I can only claim an amateur's acquaintance with Burmese and have forgotten the little Pali that I at one time endeavoured to acquire. Speaking as an amateur, however, some of these words have interested me as appearing in Burmese in two forms and thus corresponding with the definition of a doublet as a pair of words with different significance but of the same derivation. One notable feature of the doublet in Burmese however, is that in many cases the Pali word retains its original form, although often used in a specialised sense. This gives the doublet a practical value as an aid towards tracing the origin of words. If certain monosyllables can with a high degree of probability be referred to certain Pali words which may superficially bear little resemblance to them, we have a hint that may help us towards tracing the origin of other Burmese words in Pali, and an accumulation of examples may enable us to lay down rules for the phonetic changes undergone by Pali words when acclimatised in Burmese. For example we have မိတ် and မေတ္တာမေတ် (sometimes spelt မိတ်) and မေတ္တ. Similarly we have ဗိတ် from citta, သိမ် from sima, and သိပ္ပံ from sippa. These examples suggest a possible connection between သိမ် title of a book, or address of a letter, and လောက and, according to Maung Po Hla in his Student's Guide to Burmese spelling, လိပ် should be written လိပ် if the ordinary spelling were not sanctioned by long usage. In appendix II I give a short list of such doublets.

Similarly among words taken from English some retain—approximately—their original pronunciation, as, for example ယူနိုက်တက်စတိတ်, while others are modified to sound like words of native origin as with ဘိုဘို suggesting a connection with စာဘို. I have heard ထိုင် for taxi, and မီးချပ် I take to be a Burmanised form of matches. Some times you find doublets. Stevenson for example gives ဗလီ as the general term for ball although nowadays ဗလီ rarely if ever means anything but billiards while ဘောလုံး has become the usual term for ball. Despite these various ways of constructing words partly or wholly out of foreign elements, the ordinary method of word formation is and will, I imagine, always be to build up compounds such as လက်ကိုင်ပေါ့မျက်နှာသုတ်ပါဝါကုလားဆိုင်။

Here at length we reach the aspect of our subject that is of practical importance at the present day. There can be little doubt that in Burma

we are on the threshold of a conflict between those who advocate word-making and those who advocate word-taking. Are we going to follow the principle illustrated in ဓာတ်ဆွား for tram and မီးရထား for train or the alternative method of adopting the original word as မော်တော်ကား our motor car. For example it will shortly have to be settled whether we are to say ဘရော့ဒ်ကတ် *broadcast* or some such word as အသံကြွသည် or အသံလွှင့်သည်. Burma is fortunate in having Pali to fall back on : သမ္မတ္တ for republic and လေရှင်ပြန် for aeroplane were acclimatized in Burmese before they were born. For abstract ideas it is probable that a Pali word will be used whenever one is available. On re-introducing the Patama Byan Examination the Local Government expressed a hope that it might be the means of forming in the future the quarry from which may be hewn the terms required for the expression of modern ideas in law, medicine, science and philosophy for which the Burmese language by itself is inadequate. Stevenson, in the preface to his edition of Judson's Dictionary, commenting on this aspiration, suggests that "a felicitous blending of both languages will probably be found adequate for this purpose, as again and again one is struck by the neat and pithy phrases of the combined languages. For instance, the concise apophthegm တေဇောဓာတ်မှဝါယောကြွ contain a great scientific fact and illustrates the cause of land and sea breezes in a nut shell".

But when Messrs. Duroiselle, Stewart and Walsh made the first serious attempt to use Burmese as a medium for modern science in the pamphlet issued as Occasional Paper No. 2 of the Agricultural Department they found that, as a rule, Pali compounds were useless (J. B. R. S. Vol. VI p. 22). In reviewing this pamphlet, U Shwe Zan Aung stated his preference for Pali compounds over Burmese formations but in practice when he could find no generally accepted Burmese equivalent he advocated transliterations, *e. g.*

ပိုတသိယမ် ပိုတင်ဒီယမ်
ဆာလ်ဖျူရပ် ဆာလ်ဖျူရိတ်

In the technical terms of modern science I doubt if transliteration can be avoided. Words so formed look ugly and barbarous in Burmese, but then many of them, when newly coined, were ugly and barbarous in English. Most Englishmen, however, and still more, I suppose, the majority of Burmans will prefer to restrict transliteration within the narrowest limit. The boycott of the university was a matter that roused angry passions, but I would wish that all parties would agree not only to boycott but to bury the word ယူနီဘာစီ and for my part I shall never feel that a lad has been properly educated who says that he comes from a ပိုက်ကုတ် ကောလိပ်ကျောင်း. Such matters, however, can safely be left to the national good taste and common sense. The Burman novelist, as we have seen, can invent terms for the material goods that are imported from abroad; it should be possible, likewise, to invent terms for non-material conceptions. Unfortunately little has been done so far to invent new words of this kind. I remarked at the beginning

of this paper that the winning nations are those which invent most new words. This remark needs qualification. New words imply new wants. But the progress of a nation depends on the nature rather than on the number of its wants. When a Burman goes into one of the large stores to buy a shirt he must call it either a ရှပ် or an အင်္ကျီ and a fountain pen is either a မုခ်မတောင်းဘဲ, or a မေ့မိလို့. Every time a novelty is imported to be sold in the shops and markets, the language is enriched with a new word. But there are no shops or markets for ideas. Perhaps the vernacular press is the nearest approach to such a market, but its range is limited. To the translation of non-material conceptions there are obstacles other than the difficulty of inventing appropriate terms; it is necessary to find suitable books to translate and sufficient funds to remunerate the translators. But all these difficulties would disappear if we could create a market, if we could induce people to demand and buy and read the books. Given such a demand it would be easy enough to find people capable of inventing possible equivalents in Burmese for all conceivable subtleties of thought, and we could leave the best words to survive by natural selection.

But there are one or two subordinate though very important aspects of the problem that I should like to touch on. One is the question of punctuation. Traditionally, as you are all aware, Burmese writing continues without any break between the words and with only an infrequent and rather haphazard use of || the နှစ်ဦး and | the နှစ်ထပ်. Even the first popular novel, မောင်မိုးဝတ္ထု written in 1904 was a solid mass of print broken at rare intervals into paragraphs. To my mind, one of the most striking features in the growth of the language since then has been the great advance in this respect. In a modern novel the following signs are freely used :—

|| || () — | ||

while phrases are spaced where in English one would ordinarily require a comma. There is very little, then, to choose between facilities for punctuation in Burmese and English at present but the Burmese system needs to be standardised. Moreover, an insufficiency of stops is one of the defects of English and it is much to be desired that Burmese should go on better than English in this respect.

This reform has made Burmese infinitely easier to read. The educated Burman no longer slowly puzzles out each word, reading aloud with little reference to the meaning, and pausing every now and then to see how far what he has been reading makes good sense. With the page logically spaced he can read Burmese almost if not quick as readily as an Englishman can read English, provided however that the Englishman reads every word. But then an Englishman very rarely does read every word; in poetry or in prose that has a rhythm worth following he ought to do so but when he reads merely for the sense it is sufficient for him to glance over the page. That is possible in English because a capital letter is used to begin each sentence and because the small letters are readily distinguishable. But in Burmese the absence of capitals and the

uniformity of the characters render it almost necessary to read every word. Here again we can see what may be the earliest stage of a most desirable reform. Recent publications often show differentiated characters and a bolder type in the titles of works; if this process can be adopted for the body of the text the reader will be saved much time and trouble and both reader and printer will profit at the expense of the people who import spectacles.

I feel that I should apologise to those present for having asked them to follow me along a train of random thoughts suggested by the chance reading of a Burmese novel. As I remarked at the beginning, I am only an amateur, and I fear the paper has not reached the high standard of scholarship on which the Society is beginning to insist and which, fortunately, it is able to command. But I have one practical suggestion to lay before you. As you are aware, the Society is interested in the preparation of a new Burmese Dictionary. Stevenson tells us in the preface to his great work how greatly he was disappointed in his hope of throwing new light on Burmese etymology. No great advance in that direction can be made until we know more about old Burmese. But unless we make a beginning we shall make no advance at all. I would like to suggest, then, that members should jot down from time to time, etymological notes together with such authority as they can produce to support their conjectures, and submit these conjectural derivations to the Society. Some of them might and doubtless would be rather fanciful. But some would be sound and helpful. Take for example the word ခေတီ။ This might easily be thought a recent coinage from English during the late war, but its occurrence in the ခေတီတိုက်ခေတ် demonstrates that it was originally taken from the Portuguese. A Committee could be appointed to examine such derivations and to publish any that could provisionally be accepted. In Appendix III to this paper I have made a start with a few conjectures. If the foregoing suggestion be approved all that will be needed is for this list to be kept up to date by new additions. The editor of the proposed dictionary would then be in a much better position than Stevenson was in respect of derivations.

In conclusion then I would like to suggest that a small committee be appointed to encourage etymological research, to examine any conjectural derivations brought before it, and periodically to publish in our Journal lists of words with their provisional derivations and words with interesting analogies in other languages.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

Appendix III. Some Conjectural Derivations.

Burmese word.	Probable source.	Equivalent original.	Remarks.
အတ္တန်	English	Advance	only heard in colloquial
အပုဒ်	Pali	Pada	Cf. ပါဒ
အရက်	Arab	Araq	Cf. English arrack, Talaing areak
အရုပ်	Pali	Rūpa	Cf. ရူပါ
အယ်ဒီတာ	English	Editor	
အာလူး	Hind.		Potato (Potato chop အာလူချပ်)
အောက်	English	Out	Used in football for out i.e. of play
ကပ်	Pali		ကပ္ပိယ
ကပ်	Pali		ကပ္ပာ
ကလောင် (တံ)	Hind.		Pen (holder)
ကြိတ်	Malay		Kris (? This would not seem to have been heard of since Stevenson)
ကံ	Pali	Kamma	
ကူလီ	Hind.		Coolie
ကော်လိတ် (ကျောင်း)	English	College	
ကိုင် (pron. ရိတ်)	Hind.		Yard
ခေတ်	Pali		ခေတ္တ
ချေယာမင်း	English	Chairman	
ဂရန်	English	Grant	ပရန်ပတ္တ
ဂရာနတ်	Span.	Granada	from Portuguse Vugares
ဂေါ်ရာ	Hind.		White, ghora
ဂိုး	English	Goal	Foot Ball
ဂျာနယ်	English	Journal	
ဂျုံ	Hind.		Wheat
စတိုင်	English	Style	
(ဆိုဖါ)	English	Sofa	From Arabic <i>suffah</i> ဆုတင်
စိတ်	Pali	Citta	
တယ်လီဖုန်း	English	Telephone.	
ထိုင်စီး	English	Taxi	Rare
ဇောလီ	Hind		Bankrupt
နာဗီ	Hind	Nazir	Bailiff
ပစ္စည်း	Pali		ပစ္စယာ
ပင်ဂျီ	English	Banjo	
ပတ္တာ	Hind		ပတ္တာဂရန်
ဇလင်း	English	Film	Kinema
ဖောင်းတိုက်	English		Fountain (pen)
ဖိုတို	English	Photo	

Appendix III—Continued.

Burmese words.	Probable source.	Equivalent original.	Remarks.
ဗလီ	English	...	Ball
ဘင်း	English	...	Band
ဘိုင်စကုဟ်	English	Bioscope.	....
ဘူဝင်အိုလင်	English	Violin	....
ဘောက်တူ	French	....	bateau
ဘေလစ်	English	Bailiff	....
ဘုတာရုံ	English	....	godown
ဘိုအုပ်	English	Book	....
ဘဲ	English	Bell	....
မိတ်	Pali	....	မေတ္တ
မာန်	Pali	....	မာန
မုတ်	Pali	....	မုဋ္ဌော
မင်ဒိုလင်	English	Mandoline	....
မာလိန်	Hind.	....	Mate
မောတောကား	English	Motor car	....
မဂ္ဂဇင်း	English	Magazine	....
လိပ်	Pali	....	လက္ခဏာ
ရစ်	Pali	....	ရာဇ
သိမ်	Pali	....	Sima
သက္ကလပ်	Persian	....	Suqlat
သံပန်	Chinese	....	Sampan
ယူနီဘာစတေ	English	University.	....
ဟိုင်းစကူး	English	High school	....
ဝါရံတာ	English	Verandah	....
လန်ချား	....	....	Chinese ?
ရှပ်	English	Shop	....
ရှပ်	English	Shirt	....
သမ္မန်စာ	English	Summons	....

DOM MARTIN 1606-1643.

The first Burman to visit Europe.

BY

M. S. COLLIS

IN COLLABORATION WITH SAN SHWÈ BU.

It is the object of this paper to explain who Dom Martin was, why as an Arakanese he had a Portuguese name and how it happened that he paid a visit to Portugal. The story is extraordinary and romantic, but were I to plunge into it without some sort of a preliminary summary of the political situation in the Bay of Bengal at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the result would be unintelligible, a flux of kings, priests, noblemen and pirates, the Arakanese fortuitously appearing here, the Moghul there, the Portuguese everywhere, the whole having the complexion of a cinema drama. In consequence I must trespass upon your patience and preface as briefly as possible his adventures with an historical survey.

For the purpose of this view, I select the year 1610 A. D. Readers of my previous studies in Arakanese history will be aware that in that year the Arakanese empire was at the height of its destiny. Razagri was king and his territory stretched from the eastern mouths of the Ganges delta to the delta of the Irrawaddy. In his employ or under his protection were certain groups of Portuguese. Of these, one consisted of the Portuguese mercenaries in his home army and navy, chiefly gunners and engineers; another of traders who had been allowed to build a settlement at Dianga, near the city of Chittagong, on condition that they helped to defend the Chittagong frontier against the Moghul.

The Moghuls had by 1610 taken over the administration of Bengal and in consequence their territory marched with Chittagong. They were Razagri's most serious pre-occupation. Portuguese also lived under their protection and at Hugli, on the river of that name, maintained a trading settlement. Besides these groups of Portuguese, the mercenaries in Arakan, the traders at Dianga and at Hugli, there was in the Bay a further group of Portuguese who lived at Sandwip Island within some thirty miles of the Chittagong river. As this group plays an important part in this history, it must be described in some detail.

King of this island was the famous pirate, Gonsalves Tibau. This man had come out to the East in 1605 as a soldier. In 1607 he had accumulated sufficient money to enable him to purchase a small ship, which he laded with salt and in which he sailed to Dianga to trade. By a piece of bad luck he happened to put in there on the very day that Razagri was punishing the Portuguese for some treachery or other. As a result, his ship was confiscated and his two years savings were lost. Completely

ruined, he gathered round him others who like himself had been reduced to poverty, turned pirate and preyed on the Arakan coast with such success that by 1609 he had a well equipped sea force of 40 sail and 400 men. With this he attacked the island of Sandwip, then occupied by one of the Moghul's men, and took it, proclaiming himself King. It was a rich island inhabited by Hindus. Moreover being situated on the mouth of the Megna, it enabled him to erect custom houses and collect dues from trading ships. Piratical excursions were also undertaken into the Delta rivers of the vicinity. By these means he soon acquired funds and is stated in 1610, the date of this survey, to have had a force of a thousand Portuguese and eighty ships with cannon. It must be insisted that Tibau's sovereignty was real. The Viceroy of Goa had no control nor aspired to any control over him. By 1610 he had become so prominent and important a figure in the Bay that Razagri, who was contemplating a brush with the Moghul in the matter of a frontier dispute, invited Tibau to co-operate with him on the naval side. It is sufficient for the purpose of this paper to say that Tibau, to whom the control of the Arakanese fleet had been given, turned round at the last moment, allowed Razagri's land force to be taken at a disadvantage and routed by the Moghul, himself seized the Arakanese fleet, murdered its officers, enslaved its crews and in the general confusion that followed harried the Arakan coast. Razagri returned to Mrauk-U and we can sympathise with him if he took the view that Gonsalves Tibau was the most underhand black villain that any gentleman could be fool enough to trust.

Such is a summary of the political situation in the Bay in 1610 and with so much clear in the mind's eye it is possible to advance upon the story of the subject of this paper.

In 1610 Razagri had appointed his younger son, Min Mangri, Viceroy of Chittagong. A son or a brother of the Arakanese kings was usually posted to that charge and there was nothing unusual in Razagri's choice except that Min Mangri was not on good terms with the heir to the throne, Min Khamaung his elder brother. This latter was a wild young man. As I have noted elsewhere, in association with the poet Ugga Byan he attempted three times to assassinate his father. Min Mangri urged, probably with much truth, that an individual upon whom family ties lay so lightly, would make short work of him, his detested brother, when he came to the throne. At the very least Min Mangri saw himself deprived of his Viceroyalty. He therefore cast about for an ally, some one who would lend him support when the inevitable blow fell, some one who would perhaps be strong enough not only to save him from his brother but to put him in his brother's place. The obvious person to fulfil these requirements was the pirate-king Gonsalves Tibau. Min Mangri therefore sent an embassy to him, suggesting a treaty of alliance. The proposal was admirably suited to the immediate needs of the Prince of Sandwip. That worthy, after his seizure of the Arakanese fleet and his harrying of the coast of Arakan, was in the worst odour at Mrauk-U. Min Mangri's proposal was in effect to provide him with a strong friend in the

enemy's camp, one to protect him from the vengeance he feared and who with good luck might facilitate further lucrative raids. In short he accepted the offer. It was decided to seal it by the marriage of Min Mangri's daughter with Tibau's son. Min Mangri had three children, two daughters and a son. In this year of 1610 his son was four years old. It was this son who afterwards became known as Dom Martin and went to Europe. But I must not anticipate. We are now engaged in describing the nuptials of his elder sister. It was agreed that on her marriage she should take the Catholic faith, for Tibau, though a ruffian, was very careful to observe the forms of his religion. Manrique, whom we follow here, states that in this affair the swashbuckler derived his greatest satisfaction from the feeling that he was the divine instrument in saving a soul from damnation. This point need not be pressed. Suffice it to say that he selected as emissary to Chittagong Father Rafael of Santa Monica. This friar was to convert the princess to Catholicism and afterwards conduct her to Sandwip. Father Rafael spoke Arakanese fluently. He was also much loved by the country people, to whom he appeared a saint. When he came to a village, he used to paint a red cross on the foreheads of the children who pressed up to kiss his hand. The parents recognising this as some holy symbol allowed it to remain until obliterated by the weather. Such is the amiable picture of the ecclesiastic sent by the pirate-king of Sandwip to further his political machinations. That Father Rafael was a genuine holy man is borne out by the fact that Gonsalves found it very difficult to make him fall in with his ideas of how a Portuguese envoy on so important a mission should conduct himself. The Religious would have much preferred to stroll into the city of Chittagong incognito or recognised only by the poor and the children. This did not suit Tibau's conception of the entry of a matrimonial embassy. But when Father Rafael was asked to sail up the Chittagong river in a galley with flags flying and bands playing, he flatly refused. The pirate then resorted to a stratagem. Father Rafael started from Sandwip in a common sort of boat accompanied by one catechist. After he had left, ten of the best galleys, with embroidered awnings, musicians and well dressed gentlemen on the quarter deck, proceeded by another route and reached the Chittagong river before his arrival. There they waited, anchoring a little below the jetty. When his small boat came up, the captain of the galleys boarded it and delivered to the Father a letter from Gonsalves, begging him to enter Chittagong in state. Father Rafael was about to refuse, when he noticed that the jetty was crowded with the local nobility and gentry, that the bands had struck up, that the artillery had commenced the salute and that an immense mob behind was clamouring to know what the delay was about and why the Portuguese ships did not approach. Under the circumstances the Father perceived that his original intention of landing from his little boat had become ridiculous and yielding with the best grace possible, he went aboard the captain's galley. This was the signal for weighing anchor. The galleys advanced towards the jetty, the crew rowing with a calculated rhythm, the soldiers standing at the salute while the band played the martial airs of Portugal. Father

Rafael of Santa Monica landed. The waiting nobles received him with great ceremony; the City Magistrate was presented to him; in a body they moved in towards the street. There eleven elephants were waiting. The creature with the gilt howdah was for the Father. He was led up to it by the City Magistrate, who with the accepted gestures intimated that it was a present from the Viceroy. At the same time he gave the Father a parasol and told the elephant to kneel. The public reception on the jetty had been very trying for the Father though he had carried it through, returning salutation for salutation. But now the kneeling elephant and the gilded parasol overcame him. He could not be induced to mount. Thanking the City Magistrate profusely, he firmly said he could not parade through the City on that beast, and calling his catechist he began to walk. This made the Portuguese captains, for whom other elephants had been provided, look blank and it scandalised the City Magistrate. But there was nothing for it; all had to fall in on foot behind the Father and in this manner they made their way towards the palace. Yet the priest walking made a more vivid impression on the populace than had he been seated in a howdah; his action was in accordance with oriental ideas of how a holy man should behave; and the Viceroy coming to meet him as far as the gate on the third circumvallation, received him with the ceremonies prescribed for the reception of saints.

On entering the palace Father Rafael was introduced to the Viceroy's three children, the eldest being the princess whom he had first to convert. The youngest, as already mentioned, was a boy of four years old, the Viceroy's heir, grandson of King Razagri and the subject of this paper.

Father Rafael asked the princess whether of her own free will she wished to become a Christian. To this she replied with reserve that she desired first to hear expounded the Catholic dogmas and asked for time to listen to the Father's arguments. Whereupon the Viceroy summoned the Chief Eunuch and ordered him to admit the Father at any hour into the princess's apartments. "Thanks to this ample permission and to help from the above" explains Manrique, the Religious soon silenced the princess's objections. He continued however, to expound and now that he knew she was won over he had no scruples in describing in detail the tortures of the demand. "All those who die unbaptised are damned" he added. This frightened the princess, who burst into tears, asking him to baptise her at once. The Father pretended to be in no hurry and spoke of a baptism on her arrival at Sandwip. But she thinking of hell's flames and now thoroughly alarmed, cried "Supposing I was to die on the voyage!" and without an instant's delay told one of the girls to bring in a can of water, there and then forcing the Father to baptise her. A few days later Father Rafael conducted her to Sandwip where amid great rejoicings she was married to Tibau's son. This sealed the alliance between Min Mangri, Viceroy of Chittagong and Gonsalves Tibau, King of Sandwip. The former now felt that he could at least resist his brother Min Khamaung, if he was unable to supplant him. Tibau acquired tone and influence; increased his exactions on ships entering the Megna,

accumulated treasure and dreamed of a future sack, perhaps assisted by Min Mangri, of Mrauk-U itself.

When Razagri heard of this marriage and realised that his younger son was now allied with the ruffian who had treacherously seized his fleet, harried his coasts and who certainly must be supposed to harbour further designs against himself, he became uneasy. He had every reason to be. The Arakanese MS. histories relate that some eighteen months after the events described Min Mangri broke out into rebellion against his father, declaring himself an independent ruler, no doubt with the intention as the next step, of seizing with the assistance of Tibau the throne of Mrauk-U. So it happened that in 1612 Razagri sent an army against him under the Crown Prince Min Khamaung upon whom he could depend to operate with industry, as it was his own inheritance that was threatened. Chittagong was besieged. Min Mangri had secured from Gonsalves Tibau the services of four hundred Portuguese, who were placed at points of vantage on the walls. The leager dragged on. After four months the citizens were starving and lost heart. They sent a message to Min Khamaung to say that they would be glad to surrender the city to him but that this could not be effected, because the Portuguese forces had taken control of the operations. Certain efforts were then made to deflect the Portuguese. These failed and Min Khamaung ordered a more violent assault. The defence began to waver and to stiffen his men Min Mangri himself paraded the walls at the head of his staff. Unfortunately becoming involved in a mêlée, he was struck by a musket ball and mortally hurt. They carried him into the harem, after he had abjured the Portuguese to continue the defence, as the fall of the city would mean the murder of his children. These, perceiving that the Viceroy's death was imminent and that it would be followed, in spite of their efforts, by the surrender of the inhabitants of Chittagong to their liege lord, the King of Arakan, decided to apprise Gonsalves Tibau of these things and invite him to contrive some way of saving the young prince and his sister. Tibau received the intelligence, but he did not wish openly to be involved in the rescue of the children. His alliance with Min Mangri had not borne fruit and with the death of that Prince he would again be politically isolated. In such a position he did not desire the embarrassment of the Viceroy's heir, who, a child of six, without a state and proscribed could be of no service and might draw to him the inconvenient attack of the King of Arakan. On the contrary he had no wish to abandon the children, who were his son and daughter-in-law; moreover at some future date it might be convenient for him to have an heir to the Arakanese throne up his sleeve. The trusty friar, Father Rafael of Santa Monica, was therefore summoned, and directed to enter the beleaguered city and evacuate thence the young prince and his sister by artifice. The Father was ready enough to go as he scented two new converts. Disguised as a mendicant, he made an entry which was as private as his earlier arrival at that city had been public, and discovering himself to the Portuguese officers, was taken to the palace. The Chief Eunuch, acting on old instructions, made no difficulty about admitting him into the seraglio, where he found the

Viceroy in articulo mortis. This somewhat dashed the Father, for he hand counted upon him being at that balance, where, sufficiently conscious to hear his exhortations, he would be sufficiently near his dissolutions to desire to comply with them. He hazarded indeed, a question or two, hinting at the consolations he was able to dispense. But the Prince was too far gone to apostosize. He died a pagan.

The women immediately set up a lament, but Father Rafael had sufficient presence of mind to compose them. It was essential, he pointed out, to keep for a while the Viceroy's death a secret. If the courtiers heard wailing, it would be over the city in a moment that Min Mangri was dead and the Arakanese would come pouring in before he could get the children away. The ladies saw the sense of this and the court dancing girls were ordered to sing their drollest ditties. Suspicion quieted, the the Father made his preparations. That night taking the children he escaped with them down a subterranean passage to the sea, where a galley was waiting. Embarking on it, they held on past Sandwip till Hugli, the Portuguese settlement, was reached. Here within the Moghul dominion they were safe from their uncle's vengeance, safer than they would have been at Sandwip.

Meanwhile Min Khamaung had entered Chittagong without opposition and after attending his brother's funeral immediately called for his nephew and niece. When they were not forthcoming, he suspected Tibau, but it was not until afterwards that he learnt they had escaped to the Moghul. Foiled in this, he finished his business and returned to Mrauk-U, where later in the year he succeeded his father.

At Hugli the young prince began his education at the convent of St. Nicholas. The Prior reported his case to the Viceroy at Goa and it was decided on no account to press him while still a child to become a Catholic. But funds were made available to give him the training of a Portuguese nobleman. His sister was taken into the house of one of the leading citizens of the town and there cared for in the same manner. From six to thirteen the young prince remained in the convent. The Fathers selected for his perusal Catholic devotional works and histories of the heroes of Portugal. As time went on his reading of the lives of the saints and of the great men of Spain and Portugal, of the conquest of Peru and Mexico and of the fabulous voyages of the mariners, his close association with the leading gentlemen of Hugli and the personal tuition he received from his master, Father Antonio de San Vincente — all these influences combined to make him feel that to become himself a Portuguese nobleman was the most magnificent ambition in the world. He longed to emulate the great captains and he realised that if ever he was to enter their company he must first be enrolled as a member of their faith, in which indeed he had become by reading and suggestion a whole-hearted believer. Inspired by this double motive, one Sunday in 1619 when the community came out after vespers, he went to the Prior and told him the time had come for him to be baptised. The Prior in pursuance of

his careful policy would not immediately agree but after the matter had been further discussed by the Fathers of the convent of St. Nicholas, a feast day was selected and with great pomp and magnificence the prince and his sister were baptised. She was given the name Petronilla and he was christened Martin, an old family name of Portugal. As Dom Martin, the Portuguese noble, he is known from this date.

It is now necessary to glance for a moment at Sandwip and Arakan to see how the political situation there had changed during the seven years spent by Dom Martin at Hugli.

The fall of Chittagong had changed the fortunes of Gonsalves Tibau. As long as Min Mangri was Viceroy, the pirate-king was assured of a dominating position at the head of the Bay. With his death and the appointment of a new Viceroy strictly under the control of the King of Arakan, his position was threatened. He realised that it was a fight to the death between him and Min Khamaung, the King. As he was certain that the Arakanese would choose an opportune moment to send a strong force against him, he planned to forestall their attack and by some startling and particular exploit cause them to decide to leave him alone. With this object in view he proposed in 1616 to sack the capital Mrauk-U itself. As this was beyond his powers alone, he sent an emissary to the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeromyno de Azevedo, representing to him that a sudden onslaught upon Mrauk-U by the combined fleets of Sandwip and Goa would probably be successful and that as Mrauk-U was the richest city in the Bay, much treasure might be expected. This proposition illustrates the quality of the Portuguese eastern empire in 1616. It was clearly hastening to its end when a pirate-king could enter into negotiations with the Viceroy and plan with him to make a sudden descent upon a city with which Portugal was at peace. Dom Jeromyno accepted Tibau's proposal and sent a fleet consisting of sixteen ships under Dom Francisco de Menezes Roxo. The rendezvous was the mouth of the Kaladan river, the present Akyab harbour. Tibau arrived with fifty ships and the combined fleet of sixty vessels proceeded up the river. It was the month of November, the beginning of the cold season, and as is the case at that time of year, the weather was calm and bright. Mrauk-U lies fifty miles from the sea and the final approach to it is a network of narrow creeks. The Portuguese project was in fact ludicrous. Mrauk-U was impregnable from such an attack by ships. The Portuguese had not the smallest chance of success and their plan must have been conceived in complete ignorance of the terrain. They were not to get very far. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Urritaung Pagoda the Arakanese fleet attacked, assisted by certain Dutch vessels which happened to be in the port. The engagement was hot and long. To begin with the Portuguese had the advantage of the tide, which was flowing up and assisted them in pressing the attack. But towards evening Dom Francisco, the Viceroy's admiral, was killed by a musket ball in the forehead and with the turn of the tide the Portuguese broke off the battle, headed for the open sea

and returned to Sandwip. The Viceroy disgusted with so ignominious a failure would not hear of a second attempt and withdrew his ships. Some of Tibau's own men, seeing that he was now isolated, deserted him. Min Khamaung followed up his victory. A strong force was sent to Sandwip. The island was taken. Gonsalves Tibau escaped the massacre but he was a ruined man and appears no more in history.

Such were the events which had occurred during Dom Martin's seven year novitiate at the convent at Hugli. Their effect was to make him entirely dependent upon the Portuguese of Hugli for his future. His relative Tibau, his elder sister who had married Tibau's son, the resources of Sandwip, interest with the inhabitants of Chittagong, all had gone. His uncle Min Khamaung was firmly established on the throne of Mrauk-U. In such circumstances it is easy to perceive why he turned his mind away from his own country which offered him no prospects and as time went on began to concentrate it upon carving out a distinguished career among the Portuguese. As stated above he was thirteen years of age when he became a Catholic. Shortly after this the Hugli Fathers, who now began to regard him seriously as one of their nation, decided that for a youth of such promise Hugli was too restricted a sphere and wrote to the Viceroy suggesting that he should be invited to Goa and there presented at the Viceregal court in conformity with his rank. This was sanctioned and accompanied by his beloved master Father Antonio de San Vincente, he went to the capital of the Indies. There they lodged him in the convent of Our Lady of Grace, but he also frequented the court and by mixing with the noblemen in the Viceroy's suite, he completed his education. He seems to have been a young man of open and engaging manners, magnanimous and high spirited and after five years residence in Goa, at the age of eighteen he found his taste for the profession of arms had grown so strong that he begged the Viceroy to give him a commission in the Navy. This request was granted; he left the convent of Our Lady and began his service as a cadet under the personal supervision of that old master of the military art, Captain Freire de Andrada, General of the Straits of Ormuz. This important event in his life took place about the year 1624, two years after his uncle Min Khamaung had died and his first cousin Thirithudhamma had succeeded to the throne of Arakan.

For three or four years the young Arakanese prince served with the Portuguese navy in the Persian Gulf. He rapidly distinguished himself and Manrique observes that in his numerous actions he proved himself so capable a soldier that even old Portuguese veterans were known to call him a brave young man.

In 1627, when he was twenty-one years of age, the Portuguese found themselves seriously threatened in the Straits of Malacca. The King of Achin, that strong native state in the north-west of Sumatra, laid siege to the town of Malacca. The Portuguese power in the Indies had been rapidly declining since Portugal in 1581 was united to

Spain under Philip II. The interests of the smaller state were subordinated and the Spanish wars in the Netherlands resulted in the Dutch molesting the Portuguese in eastern waters. Simultaneous trouble in the Brazils further embarrassed them and they were unable to send sufficient men and ships to the east or to replenish the armament of their fortresses. If the King of Achin should be successful against Malacca, the Straits would be closed and Maçao in China cut off. It was therefore of vital importance to the continuance of the Portuguese power that Malacca should be relieved. It appears that Dom Martin had returned from Persia and was in Goa at the moment. His record had been brilliant, a great emergency existed, and in spite of his extreme youth he was given the rank of Captain and the command of a ship by the then Governor, that valiant Bishop, Dom Luis de Britto. Here was an opportunity for the young prince to distinguish himself. The Portuguese fleet consisting of thirty sail was commanded by a remarkable nobleman of the name of Dom Francisco Coutino del Sem. As it approached Malacca, it was met by the Achinese fleet of sixty galleys, two deckers mostly and well provided with artillery. In spite of his inferiority Dom Francisco decided to give battle and hoisting the banner of Portugal, emblazoned with the five wounds of Christ, he raised the cry "Santiago" and led the van into action. Each of his vessels was laid alongside one of the enemy. The Portuguese swarmed up their sides under cover of a barrage from their arquebusiers and in spite of a savage resistance by Turkish, Persian and Khorassian mercenaries, succeeded in seizing and burning the majority of the Achinese fleet. In the hurly-burly of this battle Dom Martin bore himself bravely. The enemy ship engaged by him was burnt, while he himself sustained a lance thrust.

It might be supposed that such brilliant services to the crown of Portuga! by an Arakanese prince would have been reported to the King. That he was specially mentioned in despatches seems to have been the case, but Philip IV, King of the united peninsular, was in the hands of Castillian ministers, who concerned themselves little with Portuguese victories or defeats. In consequence he knew only what they saw fit to communicate and does not appear to have been informed of Dom Martin's eminent services.

This lack of notice from Portugal did not dishearten the prince. After the battle of Malacca in 1627 he joined the fleet of Dom Alvarez Botello and with him sailed those seas, being again engaged with the Achinese at Malacca in 1629, against the English and Dutch in Singapore in 1630, remaining on until his Admiral was killed in the explosion of a captured Dutch vessel while attempting to save Dom Antonio Mascarenhas, one of his friends. These details show that Dom Martin was serving with men of great qualities, where the standard of valour and conduct was high, and when we find it recorded that he conducted himself in all these events in a manner that evoked the commendation of his comrades and superior officers, it may be assumed that he was a very remarkable man. For ten more years he continued to serve the Portuguese as a naval

captain. These were years when their powers continued to decline and when their fleets were engaged with the Dutch and the Cingalese, sometimes in victory, but more often in defeat. By 1640 Dom Martin was thirty-four years of age and had had sixteen years active service in Persia, in Ceylon and in the Straits. He had seen fighting from Ormuz to Jacatra and he must have been recognised as a veteran commander. But events destined profoundly to affect his future had been occurring both in his own country of Arakan and in Portugal and it is necessary now to glance at these.

As already stated, about the time Dom Martin went to Goa, his first cousin, Thirithudhamma succeeded to the throne of Arakan. In earlier studies I have described Father Manrique's meeting with Thirithudhamma's children, the scene by the tank in the palace precincts when the elephants squirted the crowd and when the Father presented the younger prince with a toy dog. The strange murder of the King has also been detailed, with the death of his eldest son, the disappearance of the other and the usurpation of the Chief Minister, Kuthala, as Narapatigri. These events occurred in 1638. Narapatigri thought he had exterminated the legitimate line of the kings of Mrauk-U. But he had forgotten Dom Martin, who on the death of his first cousin's children, became the legal heir to the throne. Narapatigri may have known of the existence of Dom Martin and thought he could safely be ignored. This, however, was not Dom Martin's view. As soon as he heard that the throne of his fathers was occupied by a usurper, he began to cast about in his mind how to recover it. The turn of events in Portugal two years later gave him his opportunity. For several years the Portuguese nobility had become more and more dissatisfied with the union of Portugal with Spain. The interests of Portugal had been entirely subordinated. By 1640 the state of affairs in Portuguese India was desperate. For this and other reasons the nobility conspired to break away from Spain and crown as their king the Duke of Braganza, descendant of their legitimate line. The Spanish Government was successfully driven out in December 1640 and the Duke of Braganza a fortnight later crowned king as John IV. From the point of view of Portuguese India this revolution had great importance. It meant that an effort to restore Portugal's position in the East would be made. Dom Martin saw this as his opportunity. If he could get to Portugal at this moment of enthusiasm, explain who he was, recount the long record of his services to that state and suggest the great advantages that would accrue to all parties if he by Portuguese aid drove the usurper out of Mrauk-U and assumed his ancestors' throne as an ally of Portugal, ready to place at its disposal the resources of Arakan, its long coastline, its excellent harbours, if he promised to hound down the Dutch, to come forward with treasure and men, would he not be making an offer likely to be accepted, an offer also that would permit him to make payment for all the kindnesses given, the honours heaped upon him by the Portuguese, an offer that would procure for them the very salvage of their eastern Empire? Such was Dom Martin's plan and, probably in the autumn of the year 1641, he embarked incognito for Portugal. It

appears that the Viceroy for some reason not stated was averse to his going and he had to leave secretly, badly provided with clothes and other necessaries. His old schoolmasters, the Fathers of the convent of Our Lady of Grace, had done their best for him and it was arranged that on landing at Lisbon he should go straight to the headquarters of the mission, where he would be received by certain Fathers who had known him in India and who would make arrangements for him to meet the King.

The long voyage by the Cape was successfully accomplished and he arrived at Lisbon probably in the spring of 1642, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. As arranged, he presented himself without delay at the head convent of Our Lady of Grace, where he was given a lodging. There he met one who had been his greatest protector in Goa, his revered friend the Reverend Father Coutino. This Religious and others he had known in India took him to the cell of the Head of the Order and so he was gradually introduced to influential people. Father Coutino placed certain funds at his disposal for current expenses, but before he could be presented to His Majesty John IV. it was essential that he should be properly dressed and that when he went to pay his respects he should be equipped in all points like a prince from overseas. As the good Fathers had rescued him from death in infancy, brought him up, made him a Catholic, seen him turn into a *hidalgo* and watched with pride his career as a Captain in the Navy, they were naturally anxious for him to cut a good figure at the royal audience, and after a certain interval they were able to interest on his behalf John of Alencastre, a collateral of the House of Portugal. This nobleman fitted him out. It must be remembered that masculine fashions in 1640 were expensive and before Dom Martin was suitably accommodated with silk doublets and hose, a plumed hat, buckled shoes, gauntlets and jewelled rapier, charger and page, Alencastre must have drawn liberally on the family revenues. At a favourable opportunity Father Coutino mentioned him to the King and he was received in audience. The details of what transpired on that occasion have not been recorded, beyond the general statement that the King promised to further the Prince's aspirations in Arakan. It is easy to divine that between these two must have existed a natural bond of sympathy. The Braganza had just succeeded to the throne of his country, a maritime kingdom comparable in extent to Arakan, and which for sixty years had suffered what was known as "the Captivity." He could understand the feelings of the dispossessed heir, and his heart must have prompted him to give Dom Martin a favourable reply. In addition to such private inclinations, there were, as have been explained above, strong reasons of state why Dom John, whose ambition was to restore the estates of Portugal in the East, should desire to have upon the throne of the second strongest kingdom in the Bay of Bengal a prince versed in his needs and devoted to his interests. Hence the chronicler's observation that the King and Dom Martin arrived at a complete agreement is readily understood. The latter remained in Portugal until the next sailing season. He continued to lodge in the convent where the

King from his own purse provided him with all the funds he required. During these months the details of the help to be given him were elaborated and when he sailed it was with the full assurance that the arms of Portugal would assist him to the throne of his ancestors. But he was never to reach Goa or Arakan. He died on the voyage out.

In the face of this sudden termination of a singular career, two questions arise. Could Dom Martin have succeeded in defeating the usurper Narapatigri with the help of the Portuguese and if so, how would this event have altered the course of Arakanese history?

In the first matter, the Arakanese MS. histories are emphatic that Narapatigri was a most unpopular sovereign. It is recorded that the violent extinction of the legitimate dynasty with the murder of Thirithudhamma and his son shocked public feeling; that large numbers of the upper class fled from Arakan to Chittagong, which though still legally part of the kingdom had made itself independent, that the county-side became infested with bandits and that trade came to a standstill. Under these circumstances, if Dom Martin had landed in Chittagong at the head of a well equipped Portuguese force, had declared himself Razagri's grandson and the legitimate heir to the throne, at the same time calling upon those who had fled from the tyranny of the usurper to join him and march on Mrauk-U, if on entering Arakan he had proclaimed to the people that he came as a deliverer and commanded them as their rightful liege lord to rise against and put to death the abominable traitor who had slain their king, there is little doubt that he would have entered Mrauk-U in triumph.

But in regard to the second matter no such certainty exists and the mind is amused among alternative speculations. Could a Catholic and one who was by education a European have formulated a policy agreeable to the inhabitants of a Buddhist state of the seventeenth century? On the contrary, could not such a man with his wide experience of the world and military affairs have arrested the national decline, prevented the loss to the Mughol of Chittagong in 1666 and so strengthened the dynasty as to have enabled it to resist with success the onslaught of the House of Alaungpaya in 1784 and maintain its independence, perhaps till the present day? To these questions there is no answer or the answer is dim as dreams, for it is as difficult to alter the past as to foretell the future.

When Dom Martin lay dying on board the Portuguese vessel, which he had hoped was to carry him to the threshold of a kingdom, but which had brought him instead to the threshold of death, very well may he have reviewed the vicissitudes of his career, Chittagong besieged, his father's mortal wound, the flight down subterranean passages to a fresh existence at Hugli, very well may he have seen in retrospect his conversion to a foreign faith, his entry into a foreign navy and the long years of his service at Goa, Ormuz, Malacca till the birth of a new hope drove him

to Lisbon, to the king's presence and now to this last sickness on ship-board, and in his weakness, so musing over thousand dangers and disappointments, well may he have felt that, were he to live, his fortunes in Arakan might be even more curious and extravagant, so that lacking the heart to face a new cycle of adventures, he may have turned with relief to death.

JOURNAL DU VOYAGE DE SIAM

Fait on 1685 & 1686.

Par M. L' ABBE DE CHOISY.

This curious and interesting old book was published in Paris in 1687, with a preface by the printer, the substance of which is as follows : "Here, reader, is a journal of a voyage to Siam. These are familiar letters to a friend without any intention of publication. But having been happy enough to recover them, I represented to him who had written them, that as I had a copy, others might also have them and any day he might have the unpleasant experience of seeing them badly printed and mutilated. These reasons touched him : and he has permitted me to give you this journal which I hope you will receive agreeably."

His diary opens on the day he embarked, the 3rd March 1685, and he gives an account of some of his fellow travellers in the "Oiseau." This was a war vessel of His Majesty the King of France, "with 46 pieces of cannon". M. le Chevalier de Chaumont, as Ambassador, commanded all : M. de Vaudricourt is the Captain of the vessel ; the Captain of the frigate acted as first lieutenant, on board the "Oiseau," while the frigate was under the charge of Lieutenant Joyeux. The "Oiseau" had forty six cannon, while the "Maligne," as the frigate was named, carried 24 cannon. Of the remainder of the people on board, we are given but scant information. Incidentally we gather that there were several priests on board, probably missionaries going out to the East to serve in the missions there. The author of the account of the voyage given, himself became ordained as priest when in Siam. He had apparently been considering this for some time, and meanwhile made himself useful to the Ambassador, more especially in Siam.

The origin of the diary seems to have been a promise made to a friend in France that he would write to him every day, a promise which he carefully kept, though the length of his daily letters varied greatly. Sometimes he writes quite long accounts to his friend ; at other times he has only some remarks on the weather, which he writes all the same. On 20th March he writes "M. de Vaudricourt will not enrich himself this voyage : so many of his fowls and pigs die ; but he has made such ample provision that it is difficult to believe that we can come to want..."

Again on the same day he writes "Our Ambassador prays God three quarters of the day ; . The Jesuits and the Missionaries either regard the stars, or meditate."

On 16th April the "Maligne" fired a cannon to let us know that she was in difficulties. He adds "this vessel is very delicate and makes us lose much time. Life is a mixture of good and evil. We should go

much quicker without her, but we should go entirely alone." The Maligne was extricated from her difficulties, and on 22nd April the diarist indulges in the following rhapsody. "We have sung with pleasure, Alleluia! May the fowls be plump! May the sheep be fat! Time goes very quickly: here we are already at Easter, and at 15 degrees 49 minutes. In all good faith I have not been bored for a moment. The term approaches. These great events are going to arrive. We will know soon what is going to arrive. A King embraces Christianity: a million of souls follow his example: there is perhaps what we are going to see: there is at least what we are going to try. Was there ever a more beautiful design: and could there enter the heart of man an idea more noble a thought more magnificent?" On 24th April he tells us that they have heard all the preachers on board except Father Tachart, but the sailors have heard him often. He catechises: he is always with the sailors, keeps them from swearing, makes those who have fallen out with each other embrace, and proposes prizes for those who do best. To do that every day is worth more than preaching once a year."

On 13th May we are told of the conversion of two Calvinist sailors. Father de l'ontenei made the exhortation to them. They were the only two Huguenots on board; and to tell the truth they were well predestinated, for if their religion had been known at the start, they would not have been taken on board. They could not resist the reasoning of Father Tachart who had discovered them and instructed them; and to the good example of Monsieur l' Ambassadeur."

On 31st May they arrived at the Cape. It had taken them nearly three months to do that part of their journey, and apparently they ran a considerable risk of being shipwrecked there. They were afraid to enter the harbour on the evening of their arrival, so waited until the following morning, with the result that they had the most dangerous and fatiguing day of the voyage. The wind fell suddenly as they entered the harbour, and they found themselves quite near a rock towards which the current carried them. Eventually they anchored, and were visited at once by two ship captains and the Fiscal of the Cape, who came to ascertain who we were, and to deliver compliments to the Commander and to offer any thing in their power to give.

The entry for 1st June is interesting. Condensed it runs much as follows. There are at the roadstead of the Cape four ships which carry a Commissary-General who goes to the Indies on behalf of the Dutch Company to visit the places, and to give order to all. He is named M. le Baron de Reede, and has sovereign authority, even to change the Governors. He has sent this morning a gentleman to M. the Ambassador to present his compliments. His vessel carries the flag of an admiral. Thus do the Dutch in the seas of India and from the time they pass the line, they carry the flag, even if only a small merchant vessel. M. the Ambassador has sent the Chevalier de Fourbin to present his compliments to the Commissary and to the Governor. Then follows an account of

the salutations from the various ships, which were all scrupulously returned. "Our sick, our Jesuits, and our Missionaries have gone on shore. I shall go tomorrow in good company; for it is said that there are on the mountain certain lions of a bad temper and savage elephants very impertinent."

On 2nd June he went ashore where he was struck by the Dutch orderliness which prevails everywhere. All our young men went hunting. The Dutch had furnished them with horses, with dogs, and some Dutchmen went with them to lead them to the best places. The lions and the elephants have moved into the jungle since the country was inhabited. The monkeys, however, remain near and come to steal the fruit as it ripens. First they place, on the rocks or on trees, sentinels, which give a cry of warning when they see any people about. The bravest baboons enter the gardens and pass the melons from hand to hand. They retire on three legs each carrying a melon in one hand. When pursued they lay down the melons and defend themselves with stones. The hunters of the party had been regaled at a country house some distance out of the town. They brought back roebuck and partridges. The writer and other less adventurous people contented themselves with fishing, and were quite satisfied as their fish was admirable to eat.

On 5th June he writes: "I have been this morning to visit the Commissary-General. M. the Ambassador is imprisoned in his character; but I who am without consequence, I have been to thank him for all his kindness which he has for the French. He received me graciously. He is a man of 60 years of age, who resembles the late M. de Navailles: a good physiognomy, with much wit. He spoke Portuguese and I French. We had no need of an interpreter. . . . The conversation did not halt; it had fallen almost always on the King, of whom he knew all the great qualities, as if he had passed his life at Versailles. He said to me 'Your King speaks like the Holy Scriptures: he says, and all is done. You tell me that he is all the days four or five hours at the Council; as for me I believe that he is there always, to see how he leads his neighbours.' " They had taken tea several times when M. de Saint Martin entered. The rest of his account is best given in his own words. " "M. de Saint Martin is a Frenchman, Major General in command of all the troops of the Company in the Indies. He comes from Holland and returns to Batavia. These two men (the Commissary-General and M. de Saint Martin) are in close union. Over thirty years ago, being then young, poor, useless and brave, they embarked, the musket on the shoulder, on a vessel which went to the Indies. Since that they have risen by degrees to become the first employees of the Republic. They had a friend who had commenced as lowly as themselves, who died two years ago as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. They intend to raise a magnificent monument, with an inscription explaining the fortune of the three friends. M. the Ambassador came to walk in the garden incognito; there he met the Dutch General; great compliments, great civilities on both sides.

Pure hazard led to the interview ; both parties were very much pleased to meet. I was their only confidant."

On 7th. June they started with a good wind, but the Maligne had difficulty in following us, though she had prided herself on going quicker than the Oiseau. "The sick have recovered, thanks to their six days on shore. The rest of the equipage is a little fatigued : the poor men have done in five or six days what the Dutch would have taken three weeks to do. They have scarcely slept, they will repose at Bantam." On the following day the writer gives an account of the origin of the Dutch establishment at the Cape. "In 1651 the Dutch established themselves there, and bought of a King or Captain of the people of the country about two and a half miles of land at the place where vessels were most sheltered. It cost them only some tobacco and some brandy. They built first a wooden fort, where they placed twelve or fifteen pieces of cannon. But four or five years after, they built a fortress of stone, well fortified, in which they placed more than sixty pieces of cannon. There are neither outworks nor ditches and that is good only against the people of the country, who have no weapons except poisoned arrows. There are more than 100 houses within a musket shot of the fortress, all clean and white after the Dutch fashion." Then he goes on to say that the natives are called Hottentots, because in their language they often use a word like that. The Dutch are gradually advancing in the country, which they buy with tobacco. They have already made at ten leagues from the Cape a colony where there are 80 families settled. They send expeditions into the interior of the country to acquire information. I conversed with a man who had gone on journeys of exploration. He told me that he had advanced more than 100 leagues, finding every where the same people, wandering with their flocks.

On 17th June there was trouble with the sailors. Since leaving the Cape the sailors had received brandy instead of wine. This seems to have been given to one man in each mess, with the result that he drank the whole allowance himself, thus leaving none for his messmates and becoming quite drunk himself. To remedy this the brandy was mixed with their water. The sailors naturally objected to this, but we are not told how the affair ended.

On 18th June he indulges in dreams of the future. He congratulates himself on his progress in Portuguese, and even in Siamese, which he began to study on the voyage. Regarding this he writes, "In eight days they will give me themes ; and if it pleases God on arriving in Siam, I will understand part of what is said to me : Custom will do the rest. If it is necessary to return this will all be merely time lost. But my heart tells me that I shall remain. I have not gone out to return. The King of Siam is too good a man to send me back ; and if I can speak his jargon, I have so many things to say to him, and so amusing for an inquisitive man like him, that he will be only too happy to retain me."

On 3rd July he writes; "Do you not remember to have read the history of the good man Arosca Roitelet, the Australian? We are not far from his country. He received so well Captain Gonnevillle: I believe that the grandson of his grandson, for it was 150 years ago, will receive us still better. I believe it is better to avoid the Australian Coast. The good man Arosca gave his son to Gonnevillle to bring him to France on condition that he should be brought back in 18 moons with two pieces of cannon with which he could frighten his neighbours. Gonnevillle broke his word: Arosca is still waiting. It will be better for us to go to Batavia where we shall be as well received as we were at the Cape." After this bit of fooling he complains of the wind being adverse and wonders whether they will arrive in the current year.

On 6th July he gives us some information about himself, which we were left without hitherto. "I study as much as I like. The Siamese gets on well, and I begin to talk to the Mandarin. But on the whole I am resolved to accept what God wishes with me. If I remain in Siam, I believe I will not be bored during two or three years; and if I don't remain I shall always have the satisfaction of having made a good voyage. I shall have learned many little things. I shall scarcely have offended God during two years. Alas, perhaps they will be the two best years of my life! How could any one offend God on this vessel? One speaks only of good things, one sees only good examples. The temptations are at three or four thousand miles from here. Frankly we have no great merit in living inoffensive lives. It was already resolved before leaving Paris to give myself entirely to the Church. I see the good of the altar: is it not necessary to serve the altar? I hope that God will give me the grace to take Orders in Siam, and at the hands of those good Bishops, successors of the Apostles. That will bring me happiness; and when I had in my head only this design did I not do well to make a journey of twelve thousand leagues? I am in the humour to talk; but nevertheless it is necessary to quit you. Another time we will talk again on this matter: the subject is not exhausted." A curious comment is given on 29th July, which is worth reproducing as it is a criticism on one of the missionaries on board. "Father Gerbillon preached on hell, with much spirit. He said many good things; but with a little too much vehemence, which he will learn to moderate in China. For there one does not preach, one speaks good sense, one reasons justly; and when the Chinese see a preacher, who cries aloud, they begin to laugh and say: At whom is he aiming, whom does he want to fight? and does he want to persuade me by showing that he has given way to his passions, and that anger transports him?"

On 16th August they arrived at Bantam, where they found the missing *Maligne*. It was curious that two ships should lose sight of each other and then meet again two months later. M. Joyeux told the Chevalier de Fourbin that he had sent to Bantam for permission to lay in a stock of water and provisions; but the Dutch had refused, saying that the King

of Bantam did not wish strangers to put foot in his kingdom; they themselves were merely auxiliary troops and had no power: all they could do was to give some refreshment to the party who had come ashore, of which they made them a present. They also sent on board the *Maligne* a bullock, some fowls and citrons. The Chevalier de Fourbin came back at once to lay the case before the Ambassador, who sent him back at once to Bantam to demand at least water and refreshments, being resolved to put up tents in an uninhabited island for our sick. We would anchor in the Bay of Bantam, but two good leagues from the town. The frigate would anchor alongside of us. It is said that the old King of Bantam has managed to send one of his sons to England, knowing that the English only could put him on his throne again. Apparently the Dutch had established another son on the throne, who ruled under their directions. Disgusted with the treatment received in Bantam the Chevalier de Fourbin was sent in the ship's boat to Batavia to ask there for the supplies which had been refused at Bantam. He returned in triumph. The General had accorded him more than he had asked for. We were allowed to send our sick on shore; to lay in water, wood, and all sorts of refreshments. In this we recognised our friends at the Cape; but let no one speak to us of Bantam.

On 24th August he writes as follows;

"There has arrived here a Dutch vessel which left Amsterdam in month of December last. It was becalmed for two months on the line and was not able to visit the Cape of Good Hope on account of the bad weather. The Captain, two pilots and forty-five sailors were thrown into the sea. Judge of our good fortune in having made almost the same journey in five months without evil or grief; we are not accustomed to these long navigations, and on whom the changes of climate should make more impression." On 26th he gives us further information regarding the past history of the town. He says that more than a hundred years before the time he writes, the English took the town of Jacatta from the Emperor of Mataram, and burned it; they built a house with a wretched little fort. The Dutch came in the year 1617; and under pretext of putting their sick on shore, they landed cannon and destroyed all the English, and established themselves in their place. There follows a long account of the Dutch possessions in the East, where at that time they were practically the leading European Power. It is a curious fact that having got the start in the exploitation of the East they did not retain it. The writer of the journal winds up his account as follows; "The Dutch Company has in the East a hundred and sixty vessels, carrying from thirty to sixty pieces of cannon; and in time of war they could easily add forty more."

On 23rd September they had arrived at Siam but had not got into the harbour yet. The Ambassador wrote to the Bishop of Metellopolis asking him to come on board to confer on all things. "It is not a question now of the entry; But it is necessary that the entry should be

worthy of the greatest King of the world." It was necessary, of course, that the Ambassador should not be let into any action which might in native eyes reduce the dignity of the King of France. On 25th September we are told that the Mandarins went ashore in a Siamese boat. They got a salute of five cannon shots. They were delighted to see Siamese faces once more. The old Mandarin wept like an infant because he had learnt that his grandmother was dead. Next day the Chevalier de Fourbin came on board bringing with him a French silk merchant who gave us good news. The King favours the missionaries and the French in all things. He refused to hear the Portuguese, who sent him an Embassy to request him to banish the Vicars Apostolic. The King seems always uncertain of the part he ought to take in religion. On 28th September we are told that the chief of the Compagnie Françoise came on board with the Captain of a French ship which is at Siam. We were delighted to see Frenchmen. He told us that the Bishop of Metellopolis started at the same time as he did coming to see the Ambassador. He did not arrive, however, until the following morning. The writer describes him as a man looking 60 though he is only 45 years of age. The writer goes on to say that the result of his conversations with them is that he thinks he will return to France with M. le Chevalier de Chaumont. The conversion of the King is not likely to be immediate. He favours the religion, he loves the missionaries, he builds churches for them, but he is still a long way from seeking baptism. Then he goes on to say, "Here are two Mandarins of the royal household who come to pay their compliments to the Ambassador. They said that the King had been transported with joy to learn of the good health of the King of France."

It is interesting to consider the time spent on the journey. They sailed from France on the 3rd of March 1685, and arrived, not actually in Siam town, but near enough to anchor, and to receive visitors from the town, on the 22nd. September. They had thus been fully 200 hundred days at sea. Even after the 22nd September various other delays hindered their landing. Not only had the ship to be brought right up to the harbour, but there were other things to be considered. It is only on 1st October that we hear that the King of Siam, hearing of our arrival, sent one of his Great Mandarins to prepare a place for the French Ambassador. For the next few days they seem to have remained on board the ship till they could land in proper style. At last on 8th October they did this. Two Mandarins sent by the King, complimented the Ambassador in the name of the King, and begged him to land. Two hours later we had left, under a salute of fifteen shots of cannon. The Ambassador, the Bishop and I entered the King's boat which was all newly gilded. All the other members of the party filled other boats. They seem, however, to have returned to the ship, as by the entry in the diary for 10th October, we are told that "when we left this morning, the two fortresses saluted with all their cannon All the houses of the Ambassador are painted red; another great and singular

honour . . . We passed this morning between two wooden forts, one of which saluted us with six shots of cannon and the other with eight." On 11th. October he mentions having found a Dutch and an English vessel, both small and badly constructed; the Dutchman saluted them with nine shots of cannon and the Englishman with five only. At dinner two "Opras" (we are not told what they were) came to visit them; also General of the troops on the frontier of I'egu, and twenty Mandarins came to visit them; also other great and small Mandarins.

On 13th October, we are told that the King of Siam had assembled all his grand Mandarins, and had told them, by M. Constance that they should not be astonished if he did unheard of things to honour the Ambassador of France. He knew that the King of France excelled all other Kings in power and merit, so he could not give too great marks of respect to his Ambassador. At this some objected saying that similar honours had never been paid to the Ambassadors of China, nor to those of the Great Mogul, nor to those of the King of Persia. M. the Ambassador called the Mandarins who were with him and asked how the King of Siam received those other Kingdoms. He himself explained the mode of reception in France. The Mandarins explained that the manners of the Orient were quite different, but they could not speak without the orders of the King. The Ambassador asked that some one should be sent with power to make arrangements for the interview. He was informed on the spot that His Majesty had ordered M. Constance to see the Ambassador and to arrange everything with him.

On 14th October we are told of a visit to the Ambassador from the seminary of Siam and the college of Masprend. The diarist says; "It is a long time since I have seen any thing which touched me so much. One saw at the head a dozen priests, venerable by their beards, and still more by their modest behaviour. Forty young ecclesiastics followed varying from twelve to twenty years of age, of all nations, Chinese, Japanese, from Tonkin, Cochinchina, Peguans, Siamese, all in cassocks. I could have believed myself to be at the St. Lazare seminary. A Cochinchinese haranged in Latin very well; Tonkinese did the same even better. All these will become priests; there are already many in orders. They write on philosophy and theology as at Paris; and when any are found capable, they are sent, each to his own country to preach the faith, and they make more converts than the missionaries of Europe."

By 18th October all the necessary arrangements have been made for the visit of the Ambassador to the King. There is no necessity for describing the carriage of the letter to the King's palace. The Ambassador took off his hat on seeing the King; and after entering the hall made a profound reverence in French fashion. I was on his left and made no reverence because I carried the letter of the King. We walked to the middle of the hall between two ranks of prostrate Mandarins. There was among them a brother in law of the King of Cambodia. The Ambassador

makes a speech, probably in French, which the King would not understand. The letter is too long to repeat here, but the concluding part of it will suffice to give an idea of the whole. "That the most agreeable news he could carry to the King his master was that his Majesty persuaded of the truth would get instructed in Christian religion; that would cement for ever the friendship between the two Kings; that Frenchmen would come into his States with more enthusiasm and confidence; and that in fact his Majesty would assure for himself, by this means eternal bliss in Heaven, after having reigned with so much prosperity as he does on earth." The Ambassador then showed His Majesty some of the presents which were in the room. Then M. Constance, who had served as interpreter, prostrated himself three times without speaking and explained the harangue in Siamese. Then follows an absurd dispute about the mode of handing the King of France's letter to the King of Siam. Eventually the Ambassador took the matter into his own hands, and handed it to the King who had to stoop to receive it. The writer comments on the matter as follows: "This posture of the King of Siam refreshed my blood; and I would gladly have embraced the Ambassador for the action which he had made. But not only did this good King stoop so low to receive the letter of the King: he raised it as high as his head, which is the greatest honour that he could give. He said afterwards that he received with great joy the marks of esteem and of friendship of the King of France; and he was almost as glad to see the Ambassador as he would have been to see the King of France himself." The translation of the letter into Siamese took place next day. The letter had been brought from one house to another with the same pomp as on the day of the audience. There were present in the hall forty Mandarins of the Council, the Barkalon, M. Constance, M. de Metellopol, M^r Abbe de lionne, and M. Vachet.

On 28th October we are told that the King has appointed three Ambassadors to go to France: these are men of the first quality and they will be accompanied by twelve Mandarins. The writer goes on to say: "We have been at the High Mass at the Seminary. I am no longer astonished that the Missionaries do so much good in these countries: their bearing, their conversation, all in them inspires the desire to serve God. It is true that so far, they have not much gain to show in Siam. The Siamese have gentle spirits, and don't like disputing, and who mostly believe that all religions are good. There are however, fifteen or sixteen Missionaries dispersed through the country, and all have Churches, more or less great according to the number of new Christians. It must be said also for the justification of the Missionaries in Siam that they have only been ten or twelve years in the country; whereas in Tonquin and Cochinchina they have been more than 25 years. Moreover in these latter places they found that Christianity had already been established by the Jesuits, who were the first apostles. I believe I have read somewhere that Father Alexander de Rhodes, on quitting Tonquin, claimed to have left more than a hundred million Christians. They say that there are now two hundred millions, and sixty millions in Cochinchina."

On 6th November we are given the history of M. Constance who had helped them all so much in their dealings with the King, instructing them in all the little things necessary in interviewing the King, and guiding them in all their dealings with the people of Siam. "This man has a grand soul. He is a native of Cepholania, born of parents noble and poor. At ten years of age he entered an English vessel, and passed through all the degrees of the service. Afterwards he made commerce in China and Japan, and after having been wrecked, he attached himself to the Barkalon of Stam, who finding him of spirit and capacity for the affairs, brought him to the notice of the King; and after the death of the Barkalon, without having any charge, he did them all. The King several times wished to make him a grand Chacri, which is the first charge of the State. He always refused, telling the King that these great honours would make him useless in the King's service."

The following entry on 12th November should be of special interest in Burma. "The Government of Tenasserim costs more than it is worth, owing to the fortifications which the King had to make in the island of Mergui, at the entry of the port of Tenasserim. All the people are slaves, and obliged to work for the King. There are certain provinces, which pay the tax in silver, or in merchandise, and by that are exempt from the statute labour."

On 13th November there follows a long disquisition on the claims made by the Portuguese to the sole right to send missionaries to every part of the East. It seems that this claim is based on a concession of Pope Alexander the sixth, giving them the sole right to send missionaries to those Eastern countries which they actually hold, such as Goa. Apparently the Archbishop of Goa had sent to Siam a vicar to represent him there. This vicar by his disobedience had been excommunicated by the Pope, but he went on in his own way. A man who had been married by him, thinking himself not properly married, was married again by one of the French missionaries, whereupon he was excommunicated by the Portuguese priest. Not only was he excommunicated but all his relatives also. M. Constance heard of this and sent to have him arrested for having excommunicated a man belonging to the King and who was on the point of embarking on a long voyage, without at least advising the King or his Ministers of his intention.

On 14th November we are told that news has come from Tenasserim that the Ambassador of Persia has arrived there with a large following. I should have been glad if he had arrived here before we leave. It is said in the books that the Persians have the French air: we should have made an alliance with them, and they would have given us Persian wine to drink on the voyage. We are told further that the King of Siam, since he declared war on the King of Golconda, has armed six vessels, three of which are commanded by Frenchmen, and three by Englishmen. Further we are told that the Portuguese are now so feeble in the Indies, that the worst is feared for them. The Governor of Daman writes the same thing.

On 26th November we are told a curious story about a King of Pegu. He demanded a white elephant from the King of Siam. When this was refused he threatened to come with an army of two hundred thousand men. He came, besieged the city, entered the palace of the King, prepared two stands of equal proportions in front of palace, one for himself and the other for the King and with great ceremony made his demands, which were really commands, he demanded six white elephants, which were handed to him. He said he had much affection for the King of Siam, and loved his second son, whom he asked to have transferred to him for his education. Thus with much civility he took all he wanted and returned to Pegu with immense riches, and with an infinite number of slaves. He did not touch the pagodas, being a good Buddhist.

On 9th December we are told that the author is a deacon, and on the next day he was made a priest. His remarks on the subject are as follows; "Here I am a priest. What a terrible weight I have put on my back. It will be necessary to carry it; and I believe that God who knows my feebleness, will lighten its weight, and will conduct me always by the way of roses."

On 16th December we are told that "the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava, who obey the same King, are at war with Siam. Last year the Peguans carried away seven or eight hundred Siamese."

The writer had referred several times to his missing papers which he had searched for several times, but without finding them. He writes; "O God be blessed, I have just found my missing papers. M.^r Eveque, who is here, was not troubled about them. They were in a box which I had emptied three times without finding them: I don't know how that came about."

On 22nd December they actually get away from Siam. The entry in the diary for that day begins thus; "We raised the sails two hours after midnight. The rest of the Mandarins have not come: we will do very well without them. Three Ambassadors, eight mandarins, four secretaries, and twenty valets will suffice to give an idea of the Siamese nation."

The voyage back to France was not very eventful. They reached Brest on the 18th June, so the voyage home was somewhat shorter than the outward one. They spent about three months in Siam, and, no doubt enjoyed themselves there but it is difficult to see what advantage France expected to get from such a costly trip. They had taken a number of handsome presents from France to the King of Siam, and the latter must have spent a fortune in the return presents he made. The diary is full of these presents, but I have omitted most of the details of these, and have tried rather to bring out details of life in the East over 200 years ago: also any references to Burma more especially. The main object of the journey seems to have been an idea that, if sufficient pressure were put upon him, the King of Siam would be converted to

Christianity, and that the bulk of his subjects would follow his good example, and that the French would have the main say in the direction of affairs in Siam.

On referring to Dr. Anderson's book, entitled "English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century," I find there are some references to this French Embassy, from which I annex a few short extracts. "French influence, however, was supreme for the time being. The Siamese mandarins seemed to have become infatuated with their newly-made friends, in whom they had such confidence that they even went the length of asking the ambassador to request the French King to send some of his troops to Siam for defence against the Dutch, who had become masters of the Peninsula of Malacca, and whom they dreaded would invade their kingdom. This message was carried to France by M. le Chevalier de Chaumont, who left Siam on 22nd December 1685, accompanied by some new Siamese ambassadors, who were graciously received on the 1st September 1686; and so gratified was Louis XIV by this second embassy, and with the request it carried, that he caused a medal to be struck in commemoration of this auspicious event." Then follows the following statement that "before the Chevalier de Chaumont had left Ayuthia, another ambassador had made his appearance at that court, not aiming, however, at political supremacy for his King, but intent, as the Sultan of Acheen and the ruler of Golconda had been, about seventeen years before, on the conversion of his Siamese Majesty, to whom he brought, not the Bible, but the Koran. His master was the Shah of Persia."

These are the historical facts, but the main interest in the diary of M.^l^e Abbe de Choisy is the revelation of a man of the seventeenth century, who took part in the embassy, and at the same time left a diary, in which he reveals very much of the private life and thought of his time. I trust that the extracts from that diary may interest others as much as the book itself has interested me.

J. STUART.

“ MY RAMBLES ”

AMONG THE RUINS OF THE GOLDEN CITY OF MYAUK-U.

By

SAN BAW U.

Chapter VI.

In a northerly direction from the town, if one tramps along the road which is hemmed in on both sides with jungle, the flowers that bloom everywhere fill the surrounding air with fragrance. The only sounds that one hears are the cooing of doves and the crowing of jungle fowl, marred sometimes by the loud noise of angry vulgar herdsmen.

One goes past a hill called Haridaung about 200 feet high, on the top of which is an elegant little stone pagoda by the side of a well matched *Thein* and a high palm-tree. The two pole-staffs on which flutter *Tagun* and *Koka* flags by the aid of the gentle breeze from the south and the trees and shrubs that grow on the side of the hill give it the appearance of a complete Buddhistic scenery and form an excellent subject for the painter's nimble brush. At the base of the hill on the West one notices a large-mouthed pit in which 1,000 heads of strong able-bodied men of the metropolis of Myauk-U city, were said to have been buried during the horrible massacre that followed the occupation of Arakan by the Burmese; and also a Nat-shrine, where resides a girl-nat by the name of Ma Pru, who is said to be a cousin of Ma Myauk-U. The pagoda was built in accordance with the science of Yadaya about the year 923 B.E. (1562 A.D.) by King Min Zaw, who reigned from the year 918-926 B. E. The behaviour of some refractory Indian chiefs led to its constructions on a hill, as its name implies, of Indian origin and significance; and as India was controlled by Rohini planet, the science of Yadaya was made to play in influencing and controlling those chiefs, who of their own accord came in the very next year to Myauk-U and paid their annual tribute to the king. King Min Zaw was however deposed from the throne later by the popular vote of the people for his mal-administration.

A few minutes after, the famous Shithaung pagoda (temple should be more appropriate) on a low hill called Pakaung-daung, built in the year 897 B.E. (1535 A. D.) by King Min Bah, in which are enshrined 84,000 stone images of Buddha after the fashion of the great Asoka, appears to the view. As one goes up the flights of stone staircase of the first gate, an inky black jungle-crow above from a tree close by caws insistently; a moment later, its mate comes flying and perches upon the same bough, and then they both take to their wings. Also a few parrots up a high tree speak to one another in their sweet language for a time, and they too take to their wings and fly away with the speed of meteoric velocity.

On the left of the first gate one sees an upright heptagon stone pillar about 9 feet high, by the side of a square column 4 feet \times 4 feet of the same height composed of large stones. On the right a square massive stone column of similar size inscribed on three sides with archaic Indian characters of three different languages, which still require to be cyphered by experts stands like a sentinel. Close by, a partly damaged large slab of oblong stone and smaller pieces lie crumbling about the place in a disorderly manner. Careful examination however reveals that they once occupied the top of the gate. Its damaged condition evidently suggests not only the action of time and weather but also thoughtless vandalism.

Next, one observes on the first terrace the stone tomb of King Min Bah, the builder of the temple, surrounded by those of his descendents. The prototype of the former, in which are enshrined his ashes and bones on which are placed a few stone images of Buddha, is similar to the central dome of the shrine. The tomb of his successors are of different and various shapes and are more or less in irreparable ruins. One gradually and windingly goes up the base of a towering hill on the east and reaches the second terrace by a flight of ruined stone staircase through a stone archway. The top part of this gate has collapsed and gone though an oblong stone-slab about 7 feet long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and by 8 ins. thick bridging the two stone walls on the top still remains to this day. Then, one enters the third gate made of strong well-baked, red ancient bricks arched with stones on the top. The arch of this gate has also collapsed, though the walls remain.

Quaint figures sculptured on both sides of large slabs of stone placed between tiny brick-pagodas in an uniform row of the second outer brick-wall at the south of the shrine, attracts one's attention and fills one's heart with a peculiar feeling of enchantment; it recalls to mind the story in the Arabian Nights' entertainments of the talking bird and the prince, who revived to life by sprinkling the enchanted water over the stone-figures of princes and other distinguished personages and their steeds, who were said to have been magically turned into stone, and stood on and at the base of, the hill for ages.

Then the quadrangular Court-yard in front of the shrine is reached where stone images of Godama lie about promiscuously. Some of these are headless, some armless and others buried under debris. The Court-yard is enclosed by four stone-walls topped with bricks; these walls have uniform niches in a row, in which are seated back to back on brick *Palins* or thrones, cross-legged stone images of Buddha bending slightly forward; also, on square stone *Palins* that jut out on the ground between and below these niches and again in the niches above. The front part of the main temple has seven receding rows, the one higher than another, on which are perspectively seated stone-images of Godama of various sizes and heights. The majority of these are much disfigured through long exposure to wind and rain. This is called Myinmho. A gilded

colossal stone-image of Buddha facing east serenely sits on a beautifully sculptured *Palin*, into which one is ushered by a narrow passage of stone walls through an arched entrance of rare design. The temple is made of large blocks of stone topped with ancient bricks and has a fine terrace. Above and at the centre of this terrace rises a large dome-like pagoda on the top of which is a perpendicular metal-rod about 8 feet high, surround by 26 smaller ones.

Then with the help of a good light one enters the shrine and finds oneself under vaulted corridors and a maze of passages going round the temple. The outer corridor is in ruins, the middle and the inner ones are still in a good state of preservation. The outer wall of the middle corridor is of brick and has a uniform row of arches, in which are sitting Buddhas back to back. The inner wall, all of stones is friezed and sculptured with figures of various animals and human beings in poses of all varieties like the catacombs of Egypt; such as, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, bulls, stags, deer, horses, camels, tigers, sambhur, tapers, leopards, dragons, lizard fishes, fowls, ostriches, doves, parrots, crows, wrestlers, boxers, *biloo*s, monkeys etc. The more noticable and important features are the figures of Thagyamin at the south-east or Tuesday and north-east or Sunday corners of the temple. The one at the south-east corner rests upon his throne mounted on a Biloo, which again rests upon a double-bodied Chin-the or leogryph. The names in Burmese characters သုဏ္ဍဝါ သုန္ဒရီ သုမာလာ သုဘတ္တိ *Thu-pa-pha*, *Thu-nandā*, *Thu-mālā* and *Thu-batta* inscribed on the side of the chariot below their feet are crude and indistinct, but have recently been cyphered by a Burmese expert-reader of inscriptions as indicating his four queens surrounded by their attendants. It is to be regretfully recorded here that these have also not escaped the hand of vandals, who respected neither the art nor the law. The other one at the north-east or Sunday corner with his four queens on his right and left, ride on three *Erawan* elephants resting on a Nagā or mythological serpent; his chief attendant *Withagyon-nattha* (Visvekananda) on a chariot drawn by horses surrounded by his martial attendants take up the rear. The four Hindu Gods Sandi, Parami, Sopi and Maha Peinne, Lokabala nats or Directors of this world's destiny, the last of whom is Genesh, that well-known deity with the human body and head of an elephant, are located at the north-west or Wednesday corner. The south-west or Sunday corner is specially reserved for the figure of king Min Bah, the dayakā of the temple, in his regal robes mounted upon a Biloo which rests on a double-bodied Chinthe. His chief queen Mibaya Saw May takes up the position on his right, as is apparent from her robes supported by two pages and the crown on her head; his left being occupied by his Crownless Myauk-nya-zan Mibaya, the queen of the northern palace. The members of his court and a pair of well-draped white elephants take up other positions on both sides. It may be remarked here that King Min Bah was born on a Saturday and his figure was purposely located at this corner.

The stories of Kinnara Jataka; of King Udeinna of the country of Kōsanbi represented by the queen Kethani Mibaya under the claws of

the monster eagle on the fork of a large banyan tree; of the princess Ma Shwe U under the paws of a tiger and other quaint and mythical beings are prominently depicted on the walls. Hewn in rock are the three rows of *chirag* lamps one above the other. Also half-buried in the ground are the four stone figures of Wathondare or the Goddess of the Mother Earth squeezing out water from the tress of hair.

The inner corridor is dark, though the building is perfectly ventilated. As one enters its entrance, double rows of stone Buddhas sitting close to one another on a low winding platform are noticed on the right and tiny niches minus their occupants on the left. The walls of the innermost corridors made of bricks are damp and somewhat soft. They have large niches containing many stone buddhas of different sizes. Bats have made this corridor their home and one's entry into it startles them and they begin whirring over one's head.

This chapter should not be closed without making some general observations on the shrine. From the nature of the building, its prototype, position and the marks of hinges of heavy doors at its entrances and gate-ways, it not only breathes the air of the mediæval age but was undoubtedly one of the fortresses forming a link in the chain of fortifications constructed by the King of Arakan and as a place for the coronation of the kings; as well as a place of refuge for them in times of danger. The original art and exquisite workmanship displayed are objects of admiration not only by the general public but also by most skilful modern engineers. It is a unique and strong monument, but a century of neglect has given time to the growth on it of shrub-jungle and trees, whose roots made in-roads so damaging that the building was leaking very badly and was at one time given up for lost. But destiny had willed otherwise. Only recently a society for the preservation of decayed ancient monuments was formed and 18 pagoda-trustees were legally appointed and repairs taken in hand by them with the help of the Government. Though second to Mahamuni in point of reputation, the monument is the first of its kind, and in its workmanship and design it vies with the famous Anandā and Gawdaw-palin of Pagan. The social and political history of Arakan also cluster around it; and the Arakanese people believe that with its repairs a new era of their prosperity has dawned.

Chapter VII.

The last chapter having dealt with the description of Shithaung Pagoda, it is but appropriate to give an account of the life of its builder, King Min Bah, who is one the most prominent and outstanding figures in the history of Arakan. When the people have almost forgotten the greatness of their forefathers and the deeds achieved by them, and there is the almost entire absence of writers on the history of Arakan owing to the difficulty of access to the palm-leaf manuscripts it is no small task to portray the life of such a king. King Min Bah was a soldier of remarkable ability and, during his father Min Hla Raza's (Shee-sha's) reign

from the year 863-885 B. E., we first find him serving as a military commander. At that time the rebellions of the Thets (Saks) of Parein and of others occurred; these he successfully quelled, when he was entrusted with the task of putting them down. For this he was rewarded with the enjoyment of the Yattaw-din-gye revenue as a special favour; and allowed to reside within the precincts of the palace. He rapidly rose and we next find him Myoza or Governor of Sandoway in the reign of King Thazata who raised him to that dignity partly through the influence of his sister, one of his favourite queens. He was very pious and was a strict abserver of the ten kingly duties. As a king he was kind to all, loved his subjects as he loved his own children; they also loved him as their own parent and spoke well of him either in or out of sight; in fact his was a reign of peace and prosperity. When he ascended the throne in the year 893 B.E.-1531 A. D., the Arakanese nation was at the height of its power and glory. He found himself amidst wise ministers and councillors backed up by a powerful army; and above all, his prime minister Anada-theha or Maha-pyiññya-gyaw (Renowned Wisdom) who was at the helm of state. Soon after his ascension wonderful portentous events took place foreshadowing his future greatness, such as, the unprecedented falling of meteors and stars in the firmament of the sky, violent storm and earthquake followed by entire darkness of the country caused by falling of extraordinarily heavy rain for seven days and nights. He was also a great organizer, possessed of keen thoughts and foresight and was fully awake to the dangers that surrounded his country. The Pyus on the east, the Talaings on the south and the Indians on the north were the principal menacing factors to the safety of his kingdom. He especially heard of the prowess of that dashing soldier-king Tabin Shweti of Taungoo, who was expected to make his sure descent one day upon Arakan. His timely fortifications of the city of Myauk-U and its suburbs embracing a wide area, which entailed a full 70 days journey by land, confirmed his piercing foresight as was proved by the events that followed; and his achievement is not only prominently recorded in history, but also traditionally preserved for 400 years in a trite well-known verse: *စောမွန်ပုဂံမြို့မင်းတည်ရွှေမြောက်ဦး*. (Sawmon was the founder and Min Bah the fortifier of Golden Myauk-U). Traces of his fortifications which still stand to this day are objects which are gazed at by historians and antiquarians with wonder. Like Akbar, the Great, he is known among his people as Min Bah Gri or Min Bah, the Great. As a prince he bore the name of Baw-Saw-theeri and his full coronated title was Theeri-thuriya-sanda-maha-dhama-raza.-Zawbauk Shah.

The first most important act he did was the emancipation of the Arakanese from the thralldom of Bengal, and to recover the twelve states contained therein ceded by King Sawmon about the year 790 B. E.-1428 A. D. in consideration of the help rendered by the Sultan in regaining his throne. The public opinion at the time that the gratitude owed to the Sultan had been sufficiently repaid by the previous 10 kings for a period of 104 years and that no blame whatsoever could be attached to a people who sought their freedom from a foreign yoke was unanimous.

The result was that in the year 894 B.E. 1532 A.D. war was declared against the Emperor of Delhi (Humayun). Three armies consisting in all of over 400,000 men, by three different routes, *viz.* (1) up the Kaladan river (2) by Maungdaw and (3) by the sea, marched towards Delhi. In the decisive action that took place at the town of Kaniha in Chittaung, the Crown Prince Moorathein (Moorad Singh) with 10,000 men were surrounded and captured. The Arakanese army then marched up to and encamped at, Dacca. The negotiations that followed resulted in concluding the Treaty of Peace at Delhi whither King Min Bah himself went and got married to princess Pethidā (Pesita) the daughter of the Emperor of Delhi; and thus the two countries were soldered and united into one by the construction of gold and silver roads. The second important event that occurred was the invasion of the Portuguese into Arakan in the year 896 B.E. with a fleet of gun-boats, which first attacked the out-post at Kewe-de, a place lying between Akyab and Rethidaung. The fleet went up as far as U-yin-bok near Myohaung but they retired to a place called Mre-mian where the Arakanese gave battle and were finally driven out to the sea. He then built Shithaung Pagoda where he crowned himself Emperor.

Then the last event was the most determined, unsuccessful invasions of Arakan by Mindara Tabin Shwedi for three successive years, namely 906 B.E. 907 B.E., and 908 B.E. As was expected previously, Tabin Shwedi sent an army composed of Burmese, Talaing and Shan troops to Arakan. It attacked Dwara-wadi (Sandoway) which was defended by its Myoza or Governor Aung Hla, a cousin of King Min Bah with the result that the invading army was defeated. Tabin Shwedi on learning the unfavourable news, got awfully exasperated; and the next year 907 B.E. himself came with a large army and again attacked Sandoway. The result was the same as the previous year. The Arakanese army followed up the defeat and turned it into a rout. Then in the year 908 B.E. Tabin Shwedi made his third and last effort by collecting all his available men, attacked and captured Sandoway. Flushed with victory he and his army both by land and water rushed up and finally encamped at Laung-gret without knowing that the food-supply had been cut off by setting fire to the standing paddy crops at the line of advance. The Arakanese defended themselves from the fortifications of Myauk-U. All remained in suspense for sometime until a part of the Arakanese army went and drew out the Burmese troops, when the first battle was fought at the island of Pokre-gyun (now Popyu-gyun) in the Lemro. The Burmese army which was repulsed turned to the east and attacked the town of Ra-naung, where the defenders again repulsed them. The Burmese army then turned to the west and drew up extending from Maung-swe to Daing-gyi island. There, a pitch battle was fought, and Tabin Shwedi being out-manouvered was finally surrounded and captured. Tabin Shwedi then sued for peace, his life was spared, and in acknowledgement of his defeat he gave to King Min Bah rich presents and a princess of Prome, who was subsequently raised to the

dignity of Myauk-nya-zan Mibaya or queen of the northern palace. Tabin Shwedi who was accompanied by his younger brother Bareng Naung throughout was however not allowed to depart before he was taught a sound lesson by Maha-pyiñña-gyaw, into whose hands the whole matter was placed by the king.

When King Min Bah was about to become king the public opinion expressed in the following verse :

ကြယ်ငလှသုံးယံ။ ရှေးကတည်း။ အကြံကောင်းခြင်းသံတွဲမင်း။ ပေလင်မယ်လဲတော်သလင်း။ သံတွဲမြွေဟောက်
အစွယ်ပေကြံ။ လက်ကောက်ဝတ်လောက်ပြီ။ မြောက်ဦးရွှေနန်း တောင်သာစွမ်း။ နဂါးမောက်ကြီး ဖြန့်လိမ့်မယ်။
was recited by children all over the country.

Min Bah apparently took the hint, and when king Thazata died, he with 30 fighting boats marched up to Mrauk-U where he was declared king without any opposition.

A MARRIAGE CUSTOM AMONG THE AHKAS AND MYINCHAS.

The description given here is not pretended to apply to all the customs of marriage among the Ahkas. Only one of the customs is described here and it applies to marriage when the parties to it belong to different villages. It usually happens this way. A party of young men usually three (for that appears to be the necessary number) would come to a village where there are eligible maidens. They may be accompanied by an elder, but he does not seem to belong to the party. He comes on his own account to visit friends. At night all these young men will join the young men of the village and will go out to a place appointed for young people to sing love songs and dance. The maidens form a party and the young men form another and they sing in reponse, men together and women together, their customary songs. The two parties stand facing each other and as the young men sing they make dancing steps towards the maidens while their hands are joined, those of one's with those of another's. They come very close to the maidens and step again backwards and the song ends as they regain their starting place. The maidens sing and make similar dancing steps moving towards the young men in a row and after making the approach retrace their steps backwards while singing and end the song as they regain the starting place. They may continue this exciting, pleasurable amusement until midnight when this public interview is closed and the parties may go out two and two for a tête-a-tête interview or what-not. The visitors may amuse themselves this way several nights while one of the young men is making up his mind as to which of the young women he would have for his wife. After this decision he may or may not have an understanding with the girl where and when they should meet by daylight. For courtsey's sake we are to accede that the meeting is by mere chance. She may have been going out to the field for work and she may have both male and female companions. These three young men come out from somewhere or may be accompanying the party out of the village on their way home. But just as soon as the girl is outside the village gate-post, two young men suddenly take hold of the girl's arms, one on each side, and the lover comes from behind and takes hold of her by the waist. Poor girl! she raises a hue and cry, struggles to free herself, attempts to sit down or takes hold of some plants but all to no purpose. She is dragged away by force, but the strangest part of it all is that none of her companions (if she had any) would attempt to help her. They may laugh and jest but not help. Why? If a girl is seized in day-light outside the village gate-post by a young man assisted by two companions it is understood that marriage is intended. A forced marriage? Even should the father and brothers of the girl be present at the spot they have no right to consider the affair as an outrage or to assert their disapproval to the match. Because this takes place *outside the gate-posts* of the village.

So the gate-posts hold an important position in the Ahka village life. They do not only decide matters connected with abduction but also act as a board of health against encroachments of disease as well as promoters of prosperity. The girl is taken to the home of the bridegroom. She is well guarded to prevent her running back home, that is if she was really unwilling. In any way hunger would tame her into submission. Fortunate that this people have never heard of hunger-strike. The first-mouthful of rice taken by her when served by the prospective mother-in-law makes her the wife for better, for worse.

What about the elderly man from this young man's village who went on a visit to some friends in the bride's village? As soon the news spreads in the village that a maiden has been caught and dragged away by three young men the elderly man goes and calls on the father of the bride, arranges about the compensation money to be paid to the father, fixes the date on which a feast is to be given to the villagers, the expenses to be borne by the bridegroom etc., etc.

This custom of the Ahkas compare well with the custom among the Myinchas among when the writer spent five months in the year 1916. The courtship is carried on by lamplight or moonlight while the bride is usually engaged in spinning. They sing their love-songs and when tired of poetry and music may come down to matter-of-fact prose. When the two young people agree with each other they usually try and find out the attitudes of the elders concerned and see that they gain their approval. But the strange part of the story is when everything seems to be in their favour and the path of true love seems smooth they must make the path rough in order to make love true. The young man fixes the day and time when his sweetheart should be just outside her own door. It is illegal (not the custom) to go inside a house and drag out a girl. He sends two confederates about that time who find the girl outside the house and take hold of her by the arms, one on each side and drag her away to the house of the bridegroom. The poor helpless girl cries and cries for help. But a strange deafness has fallen on the villagers and none seems to hear. But they are not blind. They look and smile but do not seem to appreciate that the girl is in grave danger. However, as the girl is dragged into the house of the groom the crossing over of the door-sill makes her his legal wife. This may take place any time in the year but generally it happens between the beginning of the rains and the next harvest. After the harvest marriage feasts are given by one family after another. The feast generally consists of rice, pork, bean-curd, the three indispensables.

The writer asked some of the young wives why if they loved the young men and were willing to be their wives they should pretend the contrary and struggle and cry for help. "Well" they said, "we have to keep up with the tradition. For it is a shame for a woman to be spoken of as willingly going to a man's house out of a desire for a husband."

With the Ahkas it may be a real practice of the motto, "might is right" in many cases. But with the Myinchas it is pure and simple keeping up of the old custom. Both of these customs may have been the remnants of more barbarous times when wives were prizes and men contended in open fields for the hand of a woman; when the battle was to the swift and strong and "none but the brave deserve the fair."

We read in Manukye damathats about four kinds of wives. The wife that is given in marriage by her parents. The wife that has taken a husband of her own free will. Besides these two there are သန့်ရှေးယား and ဖမ်းရမယား. The first of these two is explained as a woman seized during a battle, a war prize, taken as wife later on. The term ဖမ်းရမယား is self-explained. Was this class of wives recognized among Burmans in the old days? Was abduction, now criminalized by the Indian Penal Code, a legitimate method once among Burmans for procuring a wife? These questions must be left to the Archaeological scholars to answer.

As to the two tribes whose customs are described here the writer is quite sure that they belong to the Tibeto-Burma family and their dialects are akin to the Burmese. Their customs allow the taking of this ဖမ်းရမယား။

With regard to the သန့်ရှေး wife the writer was never satisfied with the explanation connected with fight or battle. The Pwo Karen word -- "thong" and the Shan "hsong" သန့် meant "to lead." It appeared to him that the word simply meant "a wife that was led" as in the customs described above. But a little effort in the way of research confirms the popular interpretation. The word is derived from the Chinese -- "Hsuing," martial.

BA TE

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

The above heading, which I have chosen for the subject of this paper, is neither a misnomer nor a paradox, but a veritable truism inasmuch as the ancients were able and well qualified to read signs, omens and prophetic sayings correctly, and to interpret or evolve a true hidden meaning thereof by their own deductive and inductive methods while we, of the modern times would assign them to the realms of mystery and the unknowable, and would even perhaps placard the credulous as being superstitious to the core.

It has been said of Jivaka Pandit, the Royal Physician to King Bimbisara of Rajagriha and Physician to Lord Buddha, that there was not one plant or tree on the face of the earth which he could not utilise as a medicinal herb for the cure of the ills to which human flesh is heir ; and it has also been said that there is always a meaning attached to every notable sign, omen, prophetic saying, widespread praise, uproarious news, phenomenal event or occurrence ; but that such meaning is only known to the wise who can fathom the depth of the future by a correct reading thereof. The fault of an incorrect reading lies rather with the person who reads than with the sign. Therein those ancients, who were able to read the signs correctly and who could prognosticate the omens accurately, are really to be admired for their power and ability to tackle these abstruse questions. Such power of deduction and induction from very scanty materials, when properly analysed, does not seem to require the help of a supernatural gift or an extraordinary foresight ; and the oft-repeated charge against the ancients that they delivered their prognostications after the fulfilment of the prophecy has no foundation whatever.

One of the surest sources of acquisition of wisdom in this and other directions is undoubtedly the past experience ; and the present signs can always be read more or less accurately in the light of the past experience ; and that seems to be the guiding principle of the ancients who were supposed to be endowed with supernatural powers, but who foretold by their simple method of deduction and induction.

It was not only in Burma that the ancients were accredited with the power of prognostication of every notable sign ; this power or wisdom of the ancients prevailed largely in almost every country the world over, and was early appreciated by the learned and the wise. This appreciation was, however, carried to extremes ; and the ignorance and blind credulity of the masses were responsible for the pretensions of the self-appointed prophets of old who were looked upon with such awe and reverence that the crafty prophets began to claim a supernatural gift, and to impose upon the credulous masses. Beginning from the medieval ages, the people had openly and secretly questioned the pretensions of these pseudo prophets, and went to another extreme by discrediting

wholesale all the prophets and their prognostications ; and the dire result has been an almost complete disappearance of the art of prognostication or augury.

Until the close of the last century, Burma could boast of many such wise men who were able to read the signs of the times. It is to be feared that this art may be lost to the future generations if the present attitude of indifference and incredulity be permitted to take its baneful course.

The following is the English version of an old Latin Rhyme composed, most probably, many centuries ago, by one who was able to put into a versified form the (superstitious?) beliefs of the people of England at the time of his writing. Perhaps there are still many who would watch the sky on St. Paul's Day to see if the prophecy of the ancients will come to pass in the year following :—

“ If St. Paul's Day be fair and clear,
It does betide a happy year ;
But if it chance to snow or rain,
Then will be dear all kinds of grain ;
If clouds or mist do dark the sky,
Great stores of birds and beasts shall die ;
And if winds do fly aloft,
Then war shall vex the Kingdom oft.”

The condition of the sky on St. Paul's Day, accepted by the people of England as an omen, auspicious or otherwise, is what the ancients of Burma would call a NAMEIK.

In Burma the ancients believed, and a good percentage of the moderns still believe, implicitly, in what are known in Burmese as (1) *Thaik*, (2) *Tabaung*, (3) *Ateik*, (4) *Nameik*, (5) *Bawo*, (6) *Oba*, (7) *Kolahala*, (8) *Mingala*, (9) *Sane* ; but there is a dearth of persons who can read and interpret them correctly as the cultivation of the art is no longer encouraged and appreciated.

- (1) *Thaik* is a contraction of the word *Thaiksa*, a prophecy recorded in most cases in metrical composition—the authorship and date whereof are not generally known or given.
- (2) *Tabaung* means a short song or verse to which wide currency and popularity are given by actors and children.
- (3) *Ateik* is a Burmese corruption of the Pali word *ATITA* and means “the past.” In this context it means “the past event” from which a hidden meaning may be read.
- (4) *Nameik* is another Burmese corruption of the Pali word *NIMITTA*, and means a sign visible to the naked eye or in dreams.
- (5) *Bawo* is a phenomenal occurrence.
- (6) *Oba* means widespread praise.

- (7) *Kolahala* is a Pali word and means "an obstreperous or uproarious news," whether true or false, good or bad.
- (8) *Mingala* is the Burmese mode of pronouncing and spelling the Pali word MANGALA, and taken to mean happiness, joy, auspiciousness, pleasantness, propitiousness.
- (9) *Sane* (spelt Sani:) means news collected or information gathered during the day or the night in various methods which seem very peculiar and "passeth the understanding", of the moderns, and which subject is more interesting than any of the abovementioned.

Now I shall proceed to bare open the pages of history and tradition handed down to us to show how, in the past, the ancients interpreted the notable signs, omens, prophetic sayings, widespread praises, uproarious news, phenomenal events and occurrences.

(1) **Thaik.**

There are various kinds of *Thaik* known as *Paya Thaik*, *Thagya Thaik*, *Rishi Gavampate Thaik* *Nga Hman Gan Thaik*, *The Brahmin Zagaru's Thaik*, *Nat Set Yaung Sayadaw's Thaik*, *Bonmiya Thaik*.

The *Paya Thaik* (prophecies of Lord Buddha) are to be found in nooks and corners of the *Tripitaka* and mostly in the *Paya Thamaings* (histories of *Cets* or pagodas). The *Thamaings* contain stories inventively woven by their authors in order to give a hoary sanction to the edifices to which they refer; and may therefore be considered as having a very little historical value.

In the *Sutta Pitaka* Lord Buddha is said to have prophesied, while passing the village of *Pataliputra* (the modern *Patna* in India), that the village shall in the near future (from that date) develop into a Royal City, and that prophecy came to pass when the village was converted into a Royal City by *Asoka*, the Buddhist Emperor of India. This is one of the instances called *Paya Thaik*.

Thagya Thaik is a prophecy uttered by a human being, such as a child, a mad man or an actor, at the inspiration of the *Thagyamin* (*Indra*), the King of *Devas*, so that the people may be forewarned of the coming event. Perhaps the human author, not wishing to proclaim his identity, caused the circulation of his *Thaik* clothed in enigmatical phrases through the medium of children, madmen and actors in those dark days of despotic rule when newspaper and free speech were entirely unknown for the simple reason that he would be criminally punished, if his identity were known, inasmuch as his prophecies related mostly to political events which he thought would happen in the near future.

The *Rishi Gavampate Thaik* and *Bonmiya Thais* refer generally to the finding of treasure troves and to alchemy for converting base metal into gold and silver.

The Brahmin Zagaru and Nat Set Yaung Sayadaw were very learned astrologers, and gave the world the benefit of their calculations.

Both these wise men have prophesied that Burma would be very prosperous in 1247 B. E. (1685) the year of annexation of Upper Burma, and so it was: but their prophecy (နန်းစံလည်းကု၊ဦးလျှော်တုံရွှေဘုံဘဝကူးလတန်၊) to the effect that Burma would lose its ruler in 1255 B. E. (1893) proved to have been miscalculated. Burma lost its ruler eight years prior to the date fixed by them. The Brahmin Zagaru flourished during the reign of Thalun Mintayagyi and Nat Set Yaung Sayadaw flourished during the reign of Wunbe Inn San Mintayagyi (about 960-990 B. E. = 1598-1628 A. D.).

Nga Hman Gan was the son of the Brahmin Astrologer to Anawratha who ascended the throne of Pagan in 379 B.E. (1017). His calculations and predictions were believed to be very accurate. Tradition says that he wagered with his own father (whom he did not then recognise as such). When choosing the site of a new palace his father, the royal astrologer, predicted that at midday a kite shall fly over the site and drop a fish which shall land and rest at the spot pointed out by him and that the new palace should be erected on the spot. Nga Hman Gan indicated another and a different place saying that the fish dropped by the kite shall land at the spot indicated by the royal astrologer but that the fish shall finally rest in another place indicated by him. At midday a kite did fly over and drop a fish which landed at the spot indicated by the royal astrologer, but it rolled and rested at another spot indicated by Nga Hman Gan. So Nga Hman Gan won the bet.

Zagaru and Nat Set Yaung Sayadaw have given us certain rules whereby we may read the past and present signs. These rules will be treated of in their appropriate places hereafter.

During the reign of Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin (911-943 B.E. = 1549-1581 A.D.) an Arakanese Astrologer, called Uggasawgyi, aged over 80 years, informed the King that he had discovered a Thaiksa which runs as follows:—

ထီးဒေါင်းကာတောင်၊ ညောင်ပင်းကြိုရင်း၊ တံရာနင်းသည်။ ဆောင်းတွင်းနှင်းခေဝေ၊ နွေသို့လည်းရောက်၊
နန်းသစ်ဆောက်သည်၊ နှစ်ယောက်မင်းများနောင်၊ တောသမန်တောင်ကျည်။ နန်းလည်းမြောက်ဆောင် ဆောက်လတန်း
ဘိုးဘော်တောင်ပါး၊ ပက်ကာနားက၊ စ၍မြို့ကြီးတည်လာရုံ၊ ရခိုင်ရိုးခြင်း။ အနောက်မင်းလည်းရောက်လတန်း၊ တန်ခိုးကြီး
ရွာစံနေ့သျှာ၊ မဟာမုနိရောက်လာရုံ၊ တရုတ်ကလား၊ နှစ်ပြည်သားလည်း၊ ဝင်စားစက်စုံမိုလတန်း၊ ဆွန်ဆင်မွန်။ ရေ
ဝက်လည်း၊ ခိုလှီးစွန်းသိကြား၊ ဆက်လာရုံ၊ စကြာတွင်ခြား၊ သို့သည့်မင်းလည်း၊ မြေးရင်းမြစ်ညွှန်းပွားလတန်း။

The following English rendering is a free translation of the above Thaik:—

“Towards the south of Htipaungga and at the foot of the large banian tree shall rest an army whereat, when the season changes from the winter to summer, shall be erected a new palace; and after the reign of two rulers, at Taungthaman and Taungkyi shall be erected six palaces

when a large city shall spring up towards the south of (the palace of the first King's) grandfather : when Arakan will be subjugated : when the ruler from the west shall arrive : when a powerful and a glorious Image of Lord Buddha will arrive : when the builder of the city, the King, shall live long and unperturbed by enemies : when the Chinese and the Indians, citizens of two countries, shall take refuge (in the country) when elephants of the Saddan species will be offered by the ruler of heaven : when the King shall be known as an emperor who shall beget grandchildren and great grandchildren."

Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin then summoned the astrologers and the learned monks, and questioned them if the prophecies contained in the above Thaiksa would be fulfilled after more than a hundred years of his reign. Then he had the Thaiksa recorded for the benefit of his successors.

In 1143 B.E. (1781 A.D.) Badonmin, popularly known as Bodawpaya ascended the throne of Ava when all the prophecies contained in the above Thaiksa were fulfilled. It was during his reign when a new palace and a new city were built at the place indicated in the above Thaik and which city is now known as Amarapura : when the great bronze Mahamyatmuni Image was brought over from Arakan : when Arakan was subjugated, conquered and annexed to Burma : when trade facilities were afforded to the Chinese at Bhamo and to the East India Company. He ruled for 38 years and left surviving him grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He lived to the ripe old age of 75 years. The Hmannan History (the authorised edition) says that Bodawpaya left 61 sons, 61 daughters, 102 grandsons, 106 granddaughters, 30 great-grandsons, 51 great-granddaughters.

It was during the reign of Bodawpaya that two scholars known as U Paw and U No flourished and were made ministers by the King on account of their erudite learning. The latter was also known as Ayudaw Mingala (Royal Auspiciousness) because of his ability to interpret accurately the meaning of the signs, omens, prophetic sayings, widespread praises, uproarious news, phenomenal events and occurrences ; and also because of his ability to collect the news by means of the method known as Sanê.

When Bodawpaya's ancestor Alaungphra's dynasty was about to be established at Moksobo a thaik appeared as follows :—

ဆင်းကို ဟင်္သာ ဆင်းလတန့်။

ဟင်္သာကို မုဆိုးလေးနှင့် ခွင်းလတန့်။

Into the Fishery the Hansa shall fly,

The which the hunter with bow shall destroy.

The wise men of the time read the above Thaik as meaning that the ruler of Hanthawaddy or Hansavaddy (the Talaing country where Hansas, a species of ducks, abound) shall descend into Ava or In-wa (the mouth

of the fishery) when the man whose dynasty is to be established at Moksoho (Man Hunter) shall destroy the Hanthawaddy invader. True to this Thaik the Nyaungyan dynasty established at Ava was extinguished by the Talaings who were in turn exterminated by Alaungphra as testified by History.

(2) Tabaung.

Tabaung is a short song or verse which children and actors sing with great vivacity and vociferousness. In 1113 B. E. (1751 A.D.) Maha Dhammarajadipati, known also as Hanthawaddy Yauk Min, the last of the line of ten kings of the Nyaungyan dynasty who ruled at Ava, was annexed to Hanthawaddy.

In the following year a Tabaung appeared in the guise of a song known as *Ai*(အဲ) which was very widely sung by children and actors. The Tabaung says that a Friday born embryo king shall rule Burma and gives details of the direction from which the embryo king shall appear. The Toungoo Raja, who was appointed Viceroy of Ava, summoned U Aung Ze Ya as the readers of the Tabaung were definite in their prediction that the Tabaung referred to none other than U Aung Ze Ya, and questioned him if he intended to foment a rebellion against the Talaings. U Aung Ze Ya replied that the prediction was the work of his enemies, and so he was exonerated and sent away. Soon after, U Aung Ze Ya, assuming the title of Alaungphra, fought against the Talaings and won almost all the battles and ultimately established his dynasty at Moksoho, the modern Shwebo. The Tabaung in extenso is to be found at page 4, Volume 4, of Thuthodita Mahayazawingyi published by the Thudhammawaddy Press of Rangoon.

When Alaungphra's dynasty was about to disappear a Tabaung was widely sung in the year 1239 B.E. (1877) just one year before the death of King Mindonmin as follows :—

တုးအောက်ကတိတွန်။

လူလွန်မသာ။

ပူဆီကျော်အလယ်အက်နဲ့။

ပြည်ဖျက်မဲ့သာ။

Underneath the log hissed the earthworm,

The son of a supernun;

The fried pancake with midpart cracked,

He shall cause the Kingdom wrecked.

The prediction contained in this Tabaung came to pass as history testifies. The meaning of the Tabaung may be interpreted and was interpreted at the time, as follows :—

Mindonmin is spelt in Burmese as Mintonmin. In ordinary parlance *ton* means termination, disappearance, extinguishment; but the pun thereof is log or any heavy piece of wood. Beneath the *ton* or after Mintonmin, a Saturday-born prince shall proclaim himself King and

shall rule the country. He is that person who is the son of a nun of the royal blood (supernun); but as the fried pancake cracked in midpart, he shall be the author of the wreck and ruin of the country. King Thibaw's mother became a nun not long after his birth. Thibaw was the only Saturday-born prince at the time whose royal mother became a nun. So the readers of the Tabaung fixed Thibaw as the would-be successor of King Mindon; and Princess Supayalat, on the death of her royal father, chose Thibaw as her spouse and ascended the throne.

(3) Ateik.

The Burmese word Ateik or Ateit comes from the Pali word ATITA and means an event, a happening, a sign which occurred in the past indicating a future event which may be predicted from such a past event.

For example the Ocean Liner Titanic, from the moment of its christening in the Dock, indicated by its name an Ateik that it shall be destroyed in the future in spite of its gigantic size. It was the christening which *ipso facto* indicated an Ateik self-predicting its destruction as, in reading an Ateik in this instance according to the rules applicable thereto, we must necessarily follow the Greek mythology which says that Titan, in spite of its gigantic size and enormous strength, was defeated by Zeus and thrown into Tartus and doomed eternally in the infernal region.

Another example is the naming of Maung Lwin as Prince Mindon or Minton when he came of age. Mindon is a title given after the town of Mindon (spelt Minton in Burmese). When he ascended the throne as Mindonmin, the wise men of Burma predicated that dynasty of Alaungphra would come to an end immediately after his reign as his title "Minton" means literally THE END OF THE LINE OF KINGS. This prediction came to pass when his son and successor King Thibaw was dethroned by the British and his Kingdom annexed to other British possessions.

Instances such as the above are called ATEIK which had already taken place indicating future events which may be divined from the ATEIK. The ATEIK is generally confounded with NAMEIK; but the above examples will distinguish it from NAMEIK.

(4) Nameik.

Nameik includes Lekkhana and means simply a sign which may be either ominous or auspicious and seen either with the naked eye or in dreams.

Zagaru and Nat Set Yaung Sayadaw have prescribed the following fixed rules *inter alia* for reading and interpreting the following signs:—

- (1) If the right eye brow shakes, you will receive presents.
- (2) If the left eye brow shakes, you will quarrel.

- (3) If bees make a hive at the front part of your house, leave the house. If not, you will come to grief.
- (4) If bees make a hive under the floor of your house, you shall be prosperous.
- (5) If you dream that you saw the sun, the stars or the moon, you shall be glorified.
- (6) If you dreamt that you wore footwear, you shall fall sick
- (7) If you dreamt that you saw clear crystal water, you shall be happy and successful in your endeavours.
- (8) If you dreamt that you saw a dead man, you shall be victorious.

The dreams dreamt on Saturday nights alone may be taken as applying to one self. There are various causes which lead to dreaming. Indigestion, continued illness and like causes will bring on uneasy and frightful dreams. They betoken nothing. Concentrated mind on any subject may bring on a dream on that subject. This too betokens nothing. But if a healthy person dreamt a strange dream, than it may be safely concluded that it appeared to him as a Nameik indicating a future happening of an event to him.

- (9) If a snake lies crosswise in front of you on a road, you must abandon the journey. If not, you will come to grief.
- (10) If you trip and fall or if you by accident strike your head against an object or if some untoward thing happens to you just when you are about to start upon a journey (either short or long) you will meet with a great misfortune if you do not desist from going upon that journey.

U Aung Ze Ya saw a resplendent light like an aureola issuing forth from his right arm before he became King assuming the title of Alaungphra. It was interpreted by his Sayadaw (Spiritual Teacher) that he would be victorious in his arms. His father dreamt a dream that he (U Aung Ze Ya) went up riding on a lion into mid air and alighted after a while and worshipped at a shrine. This dream was taken as a Nameik indicating that he would be raised above the level of the populace; and that he was sure to become a King.

The Buddhist Scriptures say that on the birth of Prince Siddattha, his father King Suddhodana of Kapilavastu, invited eight renowned astrologers and asked them to read the Nameiks of his son. Seven of them, by seeing the Lekkhaṇa or signs on the face, hands, palms, body and feet of the infant, predicted that it would become either a Universal Monarch or a Universal Teacher of gods and men while the eight and youngest of them predicted definitely that the infant would become a Universal Teacher. The prediction was fulfilled when the Prince attained Buddhahood.

(5) Bawo.

Bawo comes from the Pali word BHĀVATI and means in its general acceptance "a happening". In this context it means a phenomenal

occurrence, such as the appearance of a strange comet, the burning of edifices without any apparent cause, the earthquake of an unusual character, the falling of planets in great quantities, resplendent lights and aureolas issuing forth from images of Lord Buddha and pagodas, notable objects being struck by lightning, appearance of strange animals of the forest in towns, or any other phenomenal occurrence,

Just when Alaungphra was about to die, thirteen objects were struck by lightning simultaneously at Shwebo, the Capital City; the banian trees of the Capital Town blossomed forth into flower; the clouds appeared like a mast; smoke was visible with the naked eye from some planets.

When Singumin was about to be dethroned, in the year 1143 B. E. (1781), myriads of butterflies flew over the capital towards the north; a wild elephant went up to the top of the City wall and fell down from it and died instantaneously; the sky suddenly changed from blue into crimson red. Happenings such as the above are called Bawo.

(6) Oba.

Oba is a widespread praise of individuals, a class of individuals or of Government.

Any kind of praise, whether true or exaggerated, is taken as a good omen which is sure to bring good luck to the person or persons so praised widely. Just before the annexation of Upper Burma the praises of the British Government were widely sung both in Lower and Upper Burma while the despotic government of King Thibaw was decried. The immense popularity enjoyed by the British Government and its continued just rule, which created a widespread Oba, brought in its train the annexation of Upper Burma which was acquiesced in by the whole country with the exception, of course, of a few royalists.

(7) Kolahala.

Kolahala is different from Oba in that it embraces both good and bad news; but such news must be spread far and wide and in an obstreperous manner.

In the year 326 B. E. (964 A. D.) there appeared a widespread Kolahala to the effect that a Minlaung (an embryo king) shall arrive at Pagan. Most probably the people got tired of the Taungthugyi (the Gardener King) who ruled for 33 years under the title of Nyaung-U Sawrahan and who became exceedingly unpopular at the tail end of his reign. The astrologers fixed a certain date as the day on which the Minlaung would appear. On that date the Kunzaw Kyaungbyu Prince, the son of a former deposed king, who was serving the Taungthugyi *incognito* in his capacity as supplier of betel leaves, wishing to see the arrival of the Minlaung, started early in the morning from his home in order to reach the City early, carrying a bundle containing his morning meal. On the way he met an old man who wanted him to take his horse to the City. He refused saying that he wanted to get to the City early in order to see the Minlaung arrive. The old man urged him to take

the horse along with him and to go riding if he wished to reach the City all the quicker. He thereupon undertook to take the horse and came along riding on it. The people were watching like him to see the Minlaung arrive. As soon as he came to the middle of the City the people began to say that the Minlaung had arrived on horseback. The people and the ministers met him receiving him as a befitting royal master and led him into the palace and anointed him King. The Taungthugyi King, hearing of this, got annoyed and said that no one should ever ascend the throne during his lifetime. Thereupon he was struck dead on the spot by some unseen force, most probably by an anarchist in hiding.

One thousand years before the birth of Lord Buddha, there was a Buddha Kolahala (say the Buddhist Scriptures) to the effect that a Samma Sam Buddha would appear in the world to preach the four noble truths in order to deliver mankind to the State of Nirvana. Since then generation after generation of men carried on the Kolahala, expecting, longing, desiring to meet a world deliverer until Lord Buddha appeared when the prediction contained in the Buddha Kolahala was fulfilled.

We have it also in the Buddhist Scriptures that a Kalpa-ending Kolahala forewarning the coming destruction of the world will appear one hundred thousand years before its destruction by fire, water or wind as the case may be.

(8) Mingala.

The Burmese word Mingala comes from the Pali word MANGALA and denotes joy, happiness, auspiciousness and includes sights, happenings, words and actions of a joyous, happy or auspicious character. Seeing of things such as flowers in the morning pleasant to the eye, and hearing of things such as joyous songs and pleasant tidings acceptable to the ears are things of the Mingala type. These Mingala signs are *ipso facto* things denoting a happy augury to the person who sees or hears such things.

The opposite of Mingala is Amingala or Dumingala. Never should one indulge in Amingala or Dumingala.

In the year 268 B. E. (906 A. D.) Nga Kwe, known in history as Sale Nga Kwe, dreamt a dream that he took out his entrails and surrounded the City of Pagan. As this dream was a very strange one, he went to the royal astrologer to ask him the meaning thereof. During the absence of the astrologer he arrived and related to his wife the strange dream. The dame simply told him that he would live long and would be prosperous as any other ordinary man. On the arrival of the astrologer his wife told him as to what took place in his absence. The astrologer at once cut off the top knot of his wife and threw it into the street when it was struck by lightning for its possessor foretold a half truth amounting to an Amingala or Dumingala as the dreamer was not an ordinary man. He at once set out in search of Nga Kwe and found him. He then told him that his wife had predicted to him an Amingala and asked his pardon; and made known to him the real Mingala or joyous

meaning of the dream saying that he (Nga Kwe) would become King of Pagan in a short time. The prophecy of the astrologer came to pass as Nga Kwe became King ere long.

Pleasant sights, pleasant news, pleasant speeches and all things pleasant have from time immemorial been accepted as Mingala up to this very day inspite of the Teaching of Lord Buddha that the real Mingala are those taught by him in the Mangala Sutta.

(9) Sane.

Sane is news collected in a peculiar way. The person sent out to collect the Sane goes out sometimes in the daytime and sometimes in the night. Sane may be collected from the street or from houses or from individuals. The Sane collector generally goes to the house of a couple, neither of whom had married previously as it is believed that it is only from such couples correct Sanes may be obtained. Persons previously married are supposed to hide the truth from each other, and to make known to each other only what is not true as each disbelieves the other.

The time chosen at night is the sleeping time. The Sane collector goes out holding in his right hand flowers or green leaves of Thabye trees.

When Bodawpaya was about to march his army into Siam for invasion, he sent out Ayudaw Mingala to collect Sane. Ayudaw Mingala went out and brought back a song sung by a girl near the Siamese bazaar at Amarapura, and accepted it both as a Tabaung and a Sane. It runs as follows :—

ဘာမထီ။ မချီလျှင်နေညွန့်မျိုး။ မိုးရခေါင်က။
တသာကီ။ စာမရှိချီလွှက်လွှင်။ ရတက်တော်ပူဗျာဠေ။ တွေ့ရနေဝံ့တ။
Unheeding, yet not marching,
Shall come to the Sun race the suzerainty ;
But should his Majesty march,
Regret shall be his reward.

Bodawpaya desisted from his project ; and in consequence Siam sent in its quota of presents to Amarapura by a way of an acknowledgment of its suzerainty.

On the 11th waning of Tagu 1180 B. E. (1818 A. D.) King Bodawpaya fell very ill while camping at Shwebo after his return from Thihtaw Pagoda. He asked Ayudaw Mingala to go out and collect Sane as he felt unduly uneasy over his illness.

Ayudaw Mingala went out and brought back as a Sane the following old time song sung by a woman while rocking her child to sleep :—

သွားတော့ယခံဆံပြန်တော့ခေါင်းတံ။ ပန်းတွေအေးရာနှင့်။
ရွှေညာကလာသည့်ရက်တွင်း။ စစ်ဘက်လို ရှိ။ အညာဆိုသီဟတောသို့ကိုလူချောသွားရှာလေ။ သားတို့
ဘဝေး။ လွမ်းမိုလ်းရယ်တို့။
ပြေပိုင်လေး။ ထိုင်ဟန်ပိုင်ဟန်နှင့်။ အညာဆန်ခေါ်အစုန်ကယ်။ မိုလ်းချုပ်လို့သွား။
Issuing forth with hair, egad !

Returning, albeit with bristling whiskers, a bald head ;
 The day when upcountry he leaves,
 The battle waged results in defeat ;
 To the Thihataw upcountry,
 Proceeded the child's father, my beauty ;
 The rain of longing showering,
 The morbid love towering ;
 While with dejection thus seated,
 The gloom of nightfall succeeded.

Ayudaw Mingala U No interpreted the Sane thus collected as meaning that the illness of his Majesty, who had a thick growth of whiskers, was of a serious character ; that His Majesty should return to the Capital with as much haste as possible ; and that the illness should be treated with the best remedies possible. U No knew that the case was a hopeless one as the sane gave too direct a meaning which needed no interpreting.

Not long after Bodawpaya reached the Capital he succumbed to the illness.

While Bodawpaya was taken seriously ill, Ayudaw Mingala also fell ill. U No (Mr. Wakefulness) sent out his uncle U Shwe Cho to collect Sane. U Shwe Cho went out at about the sleeping time and brought back the following Sanes : —

He heard an old man recite a meditation formula in Pali thus : —
 “ Maranam me dhuvam marissati ” meaning “ The death which shall overtake me is a certainty ”.

At another place U Shwe Cho heard a Brahmin astrologer teaching his Burman pupil astrology and explaining to him the meaning of “ Sankhan Thonnya ”, the exhaustion of the lucky stars.

At the third place U Shwe Cho heard a woman singing thus : —

နိုးပါနဲ့ကွယ်။
 သားငယ်ချစ်သွေး။
 မိခင်ကိုဒုက္ခပေးတယ်။
 အိပ်ပေမောင်ရွေး။
 Wake not,
 My son, my lustre of gold ;
 To thy mother thou art a bore,
 Sleep, my youngest soul.

U Shwe Cho related what he heard to his nephew. U No then collected his children and relatives and preached to them the law of impermanency and departed this life, never to wake from his last sleep as his Karma had exhausted.

MORE ABOUT PHAULKON.

It is but the outer fringe of Burmese history that touches Constantine Phaulkon. But it does just touch him; he is an attractive figure and, although he has already been introduced to the members of this Society¹ on two occasions a few more notes about him may not be considered out of place. He was, as some readers may remember, a Greek who after an adventurous career entered the service of the King of Siam in 1675 and by 1683 had risen to be "Grand Vizier or Chief Minister to the King of Siam." It was in 1683 that he appointed Samuel White to be "Scabunder (Port Officer) of Tenessery and Mergen." That is how Phaulkon touches Burmese history.

The following notes about him are taken from "The Voyage to Siam," an account of the French embassy to Siam in 1685. The French had made their first appearance in Siam in 1662 in the person of the Bishop of Berythe. Other missionaries followed and their optimistic reports on the favourable dispositions of the Siamese inspired Louis with the hope that to the many triumphs of his reign might be added the conversion of Siam. At that time Louis himself was feeling good. In 1605 Madame de Maintenon, whose discreetly regulated piety allowed her to be at once the mistress and confessor of the King, was rewarded for her virtue and her frailty by the condescension of the King in seeking the blessing of the Church upon their union. In the same year he despatched a diplomatic mission to seal the labours of the professional missionaries in Siam by achieving the conversion of the King. This mission was also charged with making scientific observations especially in relation to geography and astronomy. The Jesuits were then the leading scientists in Europe and six Jesuit priests were sent to conduct the scientific observations. One of these was Father Tachard, to whose account of the mission we are indebted for the information about Phaulkon given in these pages.

Now-a-days it would seem strange enough to choose six reverend fathers to make scientific observations but it appears even stranger that the man chosen as head of the mission in its religious aspect was at the time of selection chiefly distinguished as libertine and had not been ordained a priest.¹ This man was M. de Choisy who although not yet in holy orders accompanied the embassy as missionary coadjutor to the ambassador. He, also, wrote on his return an account of the Voyage to Siam which is better known than the work of Father Tachard. By a whim of his mother de Choisy had been brought up as a girl and until the age of 18 never wore male costume. When he put aside the manners and clothing of a girl he retained an inclination towards female company,

(1) *From China to Peru*, Vol. VII, p. 27; *Samuel White*, Vol. VII, p. 241.

(1) *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. VIII, Part III p. 1, *The Abbe de Choisy*.

which the nature of his education allowed him to put to good, or bad, account. He was a general favourite with the ladies and at 22 it occurred to him that he might obtain their favours with less trouble if he resumed female dress. For nearly ten years he continued to masquerade as a woman until put to shame by a public rebuke on his effeminacy administered in the presence of the dauphin. On the principle, as he himself avows, that a man can only do justice to one passion at a time, he abandoned the pursuit of women for the pursuit of wealth and indulged his love of gambling with such assiduity that in a very short time he had lost his whole estate. A severe illness turned his thoughts in a more serious direction and at length, being qualified as a rake, a gambler and a penitent, he was sent to receive the King of Siam into the bosom of the Church before he had himself received powers to admit him. Such a choice would seem strange now, but in those days every thing could be forgiven to a man of rank and Father Tachard thinks it sufficient to remark of M. de Choisy that he was "well known in France by his Birth and Merit." All this is a diversion justifiable perhaps by the strangeness of the tale or, if not otherwise, by the fact that the Abbe de Choisy also wrote an account of the Voyage to Siam which should not be confused with the book of Father Tachard.

Father Tachard's work was published it would seem in 1886. The career of Samuel White has given us occasion to notice the lively interest that Tenasserim and Siam were attracting in England just then from the King downwards. This is further indicated by the promptness with which Father Tachard's book was translated into English under "the express orders of His Most Christian Majesty," James II. It was licensed for publication on August 30th, 1687 and the title page bears the legend "Printed by T. B. for J. Robinson and A. Churchill (sic), and are to be sold by S. Crouch, at the Corner of Pope's Head Alley against the Royal Exchange 1688". The Embassy set sail on 1st March, 1885 and it was not until the 22nd September that they "came in sight of the River of Siam." Obviously the reverend father suffered from ennui on board ship and passed his time writing up his diary. He tells us how there are plenty of Fish about the Equinoctial Line, how Porpoises (sic) devour one another and how the Bonitee pursues the Flying Fish, how Spouts are formed, of the Patience and Piety of the Seamen, and how God grants fair weather at the intercession of the Blessed Virgin; with divers other noble events, and divers others that were only noted to relieve the tedium of the daily round of doing nothing. So that we are nearly half way through the book before we reach Siam. But we meet Phaulkon immediately on arrival and the author introduces him with all formality.

"The Lord Constance is properly called *Constantin Phaulkon*, and so he writes his name. He is a *Grecian* by Nation born in *Cephalonia*, his Father being a noble *Venetian* the Son of the Governor of the Island, and his Mother a Daughter of one of the Ancientest Families of the Country. About the year 1660, when as yet he was but about twelve

years of Age, he had descretion enough to reflect upon the bad condition into which his parents had reduced the Affairs of his Family. The thought of that made him take a Resolution that could hardly be expected from a Child of his years. Not being able to support his quality in his own Country (sic) he went on Board with an *English* Captain, who was returning into *England*. His wit and sprightliness, his compliant humour, and agreeable Carriage quickly made him be known and gained him the kindness of some of the Lords of Court, but despairing of success there, he went to Sea with a design to go to the *Indies*. His purpose was to raise his Fortune, his Genius put him in the way of it, and if his probity had been less, he might in a short time have got considerable Estate. But he chose rather to pass through all the degrees of Seafaring, and to rise by little and little with Reputation, than to hasten to be Rich all of a sudden by sneaking and unlawful ways.

"Having lived some years at *Siam*, and scraped together a little Estate he resolved to quit the Service of the *English East-India-Company*, to get a Ship of his own, and to Trade by himself. He had much ado to get out of *Siam*, being detained by his Friends, and by his effects which he could not as yet get in. At length he put out, but was beaten back again by bad weather, and was cast away twice in the mouth of the River.

"Putting out again to Sea once more, he was Shipwrecked a third time and much more unfortunately, upon the Coast of *Malabar*; he was in danger of having perished there and could not save of all he had above two thousand Crowns. In this sad condition being oppressed with sorrow, weariness and sleep, he had laid himself down upon the Shore, when, whether he was asleep, or awake, for he hath protested to me oftener than once he could not tell himself, he thought he saw a Person full of Majesty, who looking upon him with a smiling eye, most mildly said unto him; *Return, Return from whence you came*. These words so wrought upon him, that it was impossible for him to sleep all the rest of the night and his thoughts were wholly taken up about finding a way to return to *Siam*.

"Next day whilst he walked by the Sea side, musing upon what he had seen in the night time, and uncertain what to think of it, he saw a Man coming towards him dripping wet with a sad and dejected countenance. It was an Ambassador of the King of *Siam* who upon his return from *Persia* had been cast away, without saving anything but his life. Since both of them spoke *Siamese*, they soon acquainted one another with their adventures. The Ambassador discovered himself and told what extreme necessity he was reduced to. The Lord *Constance* condoling his misfortune, offered to carry him back to *Siam*: and with the two thousand Crowns that he had saved after his Shipwreck, he bought a small Barque, cloaths for himself and the Ambassador, and Victuals for their Passage. This so obliging a Conduct charmed the Ambassador of *Siam*, who from that time forward cast about every way how he might testify to him his gratitude."

“When they arrived at *Siam*, and that the Ambassador had given account of his Negotiations and Shipwreck to *Barcalon* who is the first Minister of State in the Kingdom, he told him all the good Offices which he had received from *Monsieur Constance*, with so great applause to his merit, that the Minister had a mind to know him. He entertained him in discourse, liked him, and resolved to keep him about him; where he soon gained the confidence and esteem of his Master. This *Barcalon* was a witty Man, and well versed in business, but he avoided trouble as much as he could and loved his pleasures. It ravished him that he had found an able, faithful and industrious person on whom he might repose the cares of his place. Nay he often spoke of him to the King; but that which contributed most to beget a good Opinion of him in the mind of that Prince, was the occasion that I am about to relate.

“The King of *Siam* had a design to send an Ambassador into a Foreign Kingdom; and seeing he loves Magnificence and Grandeur, he was willing to spare no cost that he might render it famous by rich and splendid presents. The *Mores* to whom he usually addressed himself on such occasions, demanded of him prodigious sums of Money to set out that Embassie in the manner he desired it should be. The *Barcalon* to whom the King complained of it, told it to the Lord *Constance*, who promised him, that if the King would honour him with that Commission, he would make much finer presents, and at less Charges than what the King offered the *Mores*. The King being informed of this, sent for him; and charged him with his orders. He obeyed them with so much exactness and good success, that from that time his Majesty conceived a great esteem of his ability. The *Mores*, in the mean time, taking it ill that they had not the summ which they demanded given them, presented a Petition to the King, praying him to order them payment of the Money which his Majesty owed them. In that Petition they had given a particular account of what they had received, and what they had laid out. So that according to their account he stood indebted to them in a great summ, which, as they said, they wanted. The King would here-upon know the opinion of the Lord *Constance*, and put the memoirs of the *Mores* into his hand, so soon as he had examined it, he told the King that he was cheated, and that his Majesty was so far from owing them any thing, that they stood indebted to him in threescore thousands Crowns. The *Morish* Captain was fain to acknowledge it before the Commissioners whom the King deputed to enquire into the business, that they had been mistaken in their accounts.

“The *Barcalon* dying not long after, the King would needs put *Monsieur Constance* in his place. He declined it, and made answer to his Majesty, that that post would raise him the envy of all the great Men, that he most humbly besought him not to raise him higher than he was, for that was all his Ambition, being happy enough in that he stood fair in his favours. His modesty, his skill in affairs and diligence in despatching them, his Fidelity in managing the public Revenues, and his disinterestedness in refusing both the appointments of his Office, and all

presents from private people, have more and more encreased the King's confidence in him. At present everything passes through his hands, and there is nothing done without him. However his greatness hath not at all changed him, he is easie to be spoken with, mild and affable to all People, always ready to listen to the poor, and to do justice to the meanest of the Kingdom. He is the refuge of the wretched and afflicted; but the great Men and Officers who do not do their Duty, think him severe and morose.

"Seeing he left his own country when he was young, and by consequence but little instructed in the Catholic Religion, wherein he was bred, it was no hard matter for the *English* to make him embrace the Protestant Religion, which seemed to him to differ but little from his own. But having had since some Conferences with Father *Thomas* and Father *Maldonat* of our Company, for whom he still retains a kind Friendship, and being convinced in his own Judgment of the bad way he had been put into, after full instruction he left it, and abjured his Heresie to Father *Thomas*. Since that time he hath led a very regular and edifying Life, and by his Examples and Credit contributes much to the establishment of the Catholic Faith, as will appear by the Sequel to this History."

But the Embassie was after larger fish than Phaulkon. The cause of the Embassie was the conversion of the King of Siam. It was known to all that the King had publicly said to my Lord Ambassador that he was in hopes, that by his prudent Conduct he would accomplish that great work which was so far advanced. How far the good work really had advanced and how far my Lord Ambassador was able to further it will also appear "in the Sequel of this History."

It took the mission a fortnight to get up from Bancoek to Siam i.e. Ayuthia where they called on this French Bishop.

"From thence we went to the House of Father *Suarez*, the only Jesuit that was then at *Siam*; Father *Maldonat* being gone for some time before to *Mecao*, from whence he was to return towards *March* following. We passed by the French Factory, and there saluted the Officers of the Company. Then we were conducted to the Palace which was preparing for my Lord Ambassador; where we met with the Lord *Constance*, the first, or to say better, the only Minister of the Kingdom. We knew before that he was a man of Merit, and had a kindness for us; but we had the experience of both far beyond our expectation. In that first Interview, he gave us many Testimonies of Goodness; we thanked him for the *Balon* which he sent to meet us, and for the Chambers that he was pleased to order to be built for us near to Father *Suarez*, whose house was too little to accommodate us with Lodgings. He told us that it was pleasure to him to oblige us; and that he did but his Duty, when he built an

The Lord *Constance* receives the Jesuits with extraordinary goodness.

Appartment for his Brethren (for so he did us the honour to call us) seeing he could not lodge us in his own house; that moreover he expected more Jesuits, whom he had demanded from the Father General at least a year ago. Then he showed us all the Appartments of the Ambassador's Palace, which we thought very handsome and neat."

Their early days were occupied with making arrangements for a ceremonial call upon the king. The king of his own motive (prompted, one feels, by Phaulkon) was willing that the Ambassador should wear his sword and sit at the audience "which had never been before granted to any ambassador." Phaulkon was commissioned to announce his Majesty's condescension.

"The Lord Constance thought himself much honoured by that Commission, and came to wait on his Excellence. After their first Compliments *M. de Chaumont* spoke of the King's Conversion as the chief Subject of his Embassy. The Lord Constance seemed astonished at it, and told the Ambassador, that it was the thing in the World which he most desired, but that there was no appearance of effecting it; that the King was extremely addicted to the Religion of his Ancestors, and that he would be strangely startled at an Overture for which he was not at all prepared; that he adjured the Ambassador not to speak of that Affair, which without doubt, would cause Disorder in the present junctures, and could produce no good. The Ambassador made answer, that he would consider of it, but that he could hardly suppress the most considerable, and almost Sole Reason of his Voyage."

Phaulkon managed to stave off the difficulty; he wanted to enhance the credit of the Europeans with his royal master, but any open attempt of the Ambassador to explain the purport of his mission would do no good and might seriously annoy the king while it would certainly impair Phaulkon's reputation for common sense. But he was a tactful man.

"The Lord Constance, who is no less ready to embrace the Occasions of advancing the Glory of God, than of procuring Advantages to his Master, communicated to us another View, which he thought might contribute much to the Conversion of the *Siamese*. He pretends that if once their Esteem and Affection can be gained by Zeal, Meekness and Learning, it will be no difficult matter to dispose them to hearken to Instruction: That he thoroughly knew the temper of that Nation, and no man better; why Christianity hath made no greater progress at *Siam* after so many years endeavours of having it planted there; that besides the Observatory, there must be another House of Jesuits, where they should as much as lay in their power lead the austere and retired Life of the *Talapouts*, that have so great credit with the people; that they should take their

Habit, visit them often, and endeavour to convert some of them to the Christian Religion ; that in short, it was well known how that Conduct had succeeded with the *Portuguese* Jesuits who are at *Madura* towards *Bengal*."

This suggestion attracted the missionaries but the Ambassador himself had been sent to convert the king and not to dress up like a pongyi and he still agitated for permission to address the king on the advantage of Christianity. When the scheme failed Phaulkon endeavoured to postpone the evil day by a succession of strange and gorgeous spectacles.

"Amidst all those diversions the Ambassador was wholly taken up about the Subject of his Embassie, which was the Conversion of the King ; but perceiving that he had no solid nor positive answer as to that, he resolved to draw up a short memoir, which he intended should be presented to the King by the Lord *Constance*. He spoke of it to that Minister, who in a long conference they had together dissuaded him from pressing the King upon that point ; but the Ambassador very prudently still persisted in his opinion, and prayed the Lord *Constance* to present that writing to his Majesty, wherein he besought him to give him a positive answer that might be acceptable to the King his Master. The Lord *Constance* having received the Memoir from the Ambassador, went to the Palace in the Evening, and there prostrating himself at the King's feet, made him a discourse full of that *Asiatic* Eloquence that was so much esteemed in ancient *Greece*. Here you have a true translation of the very words he used.

Sir,

The Ambassador of France hath put into my hands a Memoir, which contains certain propositions whereof
The Harangue of the Lord Constance to the King of Siam. *he is to give an account to the King his Master; but before I read it to your Majesty,*
suffer me, Sir, if you please, to lay before you the principal motive that engaged the most Christian King to send you so solemn an Embassie. That so wise a Prince, your good Friend, Sir, knowing the greatness of your Soul and the generosity of your Majesties Royal heart by the Ambassadors and Magnificent Presents which you designed for him, without other interest than that of desiring the Royal Unity of a Prince so Glorious, and so Renowned over the World: and then perceiving that your Majesties Ministers had sent to the Ministers of his Kingdom two Mandarins with considerable Presents to congratulate the birth of the Grand-son of their great King, worthy of a perpetual Posterity, which may eternally represent to France the image of his admirable Virtues, and secure the happiness of his People. That great Monarch, Sir, being surprised by so disinterested a procedure resolved to answer those obliging cares, and to do so, devised a means worthy of himself and suitable to the dignity of your Majesty; for to present you with Riches; it is in your Kingdom, Sir, that Strangers come in search of Wealth. To

offer you his Forces! He knew very well that your Majesty is dreaded by all your Neighbours, and in a condition to punish them if they should offer to break the Peace which by their prayers they have obtained from you. Could he have thought of bestowing Lands and Provinces upon the Sovereign of so many Kings, and the Master of so great a number of Kingdoms, as make almost the fourth part of Asia; Neither could it enter into his thoughts to send hither his Subjects only upon the account of Trade, because that would be a common Interest to his People and your Majesties Subjects. So that it would have been hard for him to have hit upon the right course, had he not reflected that he might offer to your Majesty somewhat infinitely more considerable, and which, was congruous to the Dignity of two so great Kings. Having considered what it was that had raised him to that high pitch of Glory where at present he is seated, what had made him take so many Towns, subdue so many Provinces and gain so many Victories, what to this present had made the happiness of his people, and what had brought him from the extremities of the Earth so many Ambassadors of Kings and Princes who Court his Friendship, what, in fine, had obliged your Majesty to prevent this incomparable Prince by so splendid an Embassie which you sent to him; Having, I say, attentively considered all those great things, that King so wise and perspicacious, found that the God whom he adores was the sole Author of them, that his Divine Providence had so disposed them for him, and that he owed them to the intercession of the holy Mother of the Saviour of the World, under whose Protection he hath consecrated his Person and Kingdom to the true God. That view and the extream desire he hath to communicate to your Majesty all those great advantages, hath made him resolve to propose to you, Sir, the same means that have procured him so much Glory and happiness, and which are no other than the Knowledge and Worship of the true God, which is only to be found in the Christian Religion. He offers your Majesty then, by his Ambassador adjuring you and your whole Kingdom to embrace and follow it.

That Prince, Sir, is more admirable still by his Wisdom, Judgement and Prudence, than by his Conquests and Victories. Your Majesty knows his generosity and Royal Friendship, you cannot make a better choice than to follow the wise counsels of so great a King your good friend. For my part, Sir, I never begged any thing of the great God for your Majesty, but that Grace, and I would be ready to lay down a thousand lives that I might obtain it of the Divine Bounty. May it please your Majesty to consider that by that action, you will Crown all the great and Illustrious exploits of your Reign, you will eternize your Memory, and procure to your self immortal Honour and Glory in the next World.

Ah, Sir, I adjure your Majesty not to send back the Ambassador of so great a King with discontent, he begs that in the name of the King his Master, for establishing and rendring your Alliances and

Royal Amities inviolable; at least if Your Majesty hath entertained any good thought, or if you find the least inclination to embrace that Party, that you would make it known. It is the most acceptable news that he can carry to the King His Master. Now if your Majesty hath resolved not to condescend to what I have had the honour to represent to you, or that you cannot give a favourable answer to the Ambassador, I beg of you to excuse me for carrying your Royal answer, which cannot but be displeasing to the Great God whom I adore. You ought not to think it strange that I speak to you in this manner, whosoever is not faithful to his God cannot be so to his Prince, and your Majesty ought not to do me the honour to suffer me in your Service, if I entertained other Sentiments.

The King took all this better than Phaulkon had expected; but he replied at once that it seemed strange for the King of France to be so much busier on God's business than God himself who had seen no reason to interfere with the religion of the Siamese for over 2,000 years. For his part he left such things to God. "The King having

The Lord Constance his Reply to the King of Siam's Objections about changing of Religion.

said so, was silent for sometime, and then eyeing the Lord Constance what do you think (added he) the Ambassador will answer these Reasons which I command you to give him in writing? I shall not fail Sir, answered the Lord Constance to obey your Majesties Orders; but I cannot tell what the Ambassador of France will answer to what you have now said to me, which seems to be of very great weight and consequence. Sure I am, he must needs be surprised at the high wisdom and wonderful perspicuity that he'll perceive thereby in your Majesty." Phaulkon proceeded to urge some consideration on behalf of Christianity which Father Tachard strongly approved when they were related to him. "This answer" he writes, "from a Man of no Studies, who from ten years age had been applied to Trade and Commerce, wrought a great surprise in me, when he did me the honour to acquaint me with it. I confessed to him, without any fear of flattery, that a Divine consummated in the Study of Religion, would have been hard put to it to have answered better. The King was smitten with the discourse of the Lord Constance, and if any knowing Man, who is acceptable to him, hath the happiness to insinuate into his favour, and procure his esteem, it is not to be dispaired but that he may be brought to know and embrace the Truth: and if once he come to know it, seeing he is the absolute Master of his People, who adore him, all the Nations who are under his Dominion, will humbly follow his example."

That was as far as the missionaries ever got towards the fulfilment of their mission. They thought it "strange that the gospel should make so small Progress amongst People, who are zealously and carefully cultivated, who daily see the Majesty of our Ceremonies, so proper for giving an Idea of our Mysteries, who besides have no vice that may make them dislike our maxims and who have so great an esteem for the

Talapoins, because they make profession of an austere life." It was not as if the Siamese were fools or had anything "of blochishness and renticity." In effect, they left the problem where the King of Siam had left it; it did not belong to them "to pry into the second Judgment of God." Meanwhile they could pray to God and put their trust in Phaulkon. The embassy had failed in its mission; the King remained a Buddhist but they had "good ground to hope for the best, like rather than the Lord Constance his Minister is equally able and pious, wanting neither good intentions to forward Designs that are honourable for Religions, nor in trust and credit to make them successful."

With these words Father Tachard's relation of his Voyage to Siam ends. Barely two years had elapsed when the missionary efforts of the French and the suspected favour of the king for Christianity led to a revolution on which the French, Phaulkon and the king were all overwhelmed together in a common ruin.

It seems worth while adding a final note to say that the Siamese are reported to have worn "Longuis which is a piece of very simple stuff about two ells and a half long and three-quarters of an ell broad. They put this longuis about their body, so that it makes as it were, a kind of coat reaching from the girdle below the knee, but the womens (sic) comes down as low as the ankle". The Siamese now wear the *panung*, the Malays wear the *sarong*, and I had always thought *longyi* to be a Burmese word. But what language then is "*longuis*"?

I. S. F

ART AND MYSTICISM.

Everyone knows 'Tyger, Tyger!'. During the last twenty years or so, many English men and women have been stirred at some time or another and in greater or less degree by the challenge of Blake to build Jerusalem. But that is about as much of Blake as most people know. Every one who has been led on to glance at the longer poems must have been struck with dismay at finding them, superficially at least, so unintelligible. Still, even the superficial reader, casually turning over the pages of Blake's works in the hope of finding something comprehensible can hardly fail to light on some tremendous saying that, if it means any thing at all, means such a lot. We are told by students of Blake that what he says means all, and more than all, it seems to mean. We are given keys to the world within,

Opening its gate, and in it all the real substances.

Of which these in the outer world are shadows which pass away.

But to use these keys, and to learn our way about this world requires more than common fortitude and perseverance even in an English man: that a Burman, starting with all the disadvantages of an alien tongue and alien traditions, should be able to thread the maze is sufficiently astonishing, and that he should do so with such assurance as Mr. Ba Han displays in his study of *William Blake: His Mysticism* (10s.) is a feat of remarkable distinction.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part the author sketches, briefly but sufficiently, the historical setting of Blake's work. He recounts the salient features of his life and analyses his position in English philosophy and thought. In the second part he expounds Blake's fundamental theories. Much work has been done on these since Swinburne revealed Blake's genius in his well known essay and the strictly logical consistence of his mythology is now generally appreciated. But, Dr. Berger, whose competence to judge in such a matter is unquestionable, tells us in his sympathetic preface that Mr. Ba Han has gone further than any of his predecessors towards unravelling the difficulties which a student of Blake has to encounter. A notable feature of this second part is a study, section by section, of the three great prophetic books, *Vala*, *Jerusalem* and *Milton*. Mr. Ba Han gives us an analysis of each section and, what is still more valuable, an outline of the leading ideas.

But these two parts are preliminary investigations leading up to the third part, the main theme of the book: a study of Blake as mystic. The mystical experience is ordinarily regarded as characteristic of the religious imagination. Mr. Ba Han traces in the life of Blake the normal features of mystical experience, but shows how Blake approaches it through art. With Blake the mystical experience was not an activity or exercise of the religious imagination but of the aesthetic imagination.

The mystic, like the ghosts in Rupert Brooke's psychical research sonnet is 'immediately wise'. He struggles after reality, may struggle, as Blake did, for twenty long years of darkness, but when at length he attains his goal he does so certainly. He knows. Listen to Blake. "I have in these years composed an immense number of verses in one grand theme I have written them from immediate dictation, twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time without premeditation, and even against my will . . . and an immense poem exists which seems to be the labour of a long life, all produced without labour of industry." (p. 171) Or, again, take his drawing of the Ghost of a Flea. "I asked him" writes Varley, "if he could draw for me the resemblance of what he saw. He instantly said, 'I see him now before me'. I therefore gave him paper and a pencil, with which he drew the portrait of which a facsimile is given in this number. I felt convinced, by his mode of proceeding that he had a real image before him; for he left off and began on another part of the paper to make a separate drawing of the mouth of the Flea, which the spirit having opened he was prevented from proceeding with the first sketch until he had closed it. During the time occupied in completing the drawing, the Flea told him that all fleas were inhabited by the souls of such men as were by nature blood-thirsty to excess, and were therefore providentially confined to the size and form of insects; otherwise, were he himself, for instance, the size of a horse, he would depopulate a great portion of the country" (p. 58). (Here, perhaps, we have an explanation of the mosquitoes in the Delta; what a bloodthirsty set the former inhabitants must have been!) For Blake, then, the artistic vision is not 'a cloudy vapour or a nothing'. It is 'determinate and perfect.' Indeed it is 'organised and minutely articulated beyond all that the mortal and perishing nature can produce'. This is due to the fact that the artist copies not nature but imagination which 'is a representation of what actually exists really, and unchangeably' (p.95). As artist, Blake has attained reality. He knows.

Mr. Ba Han's study, then, is valuable, not only for the light it throws on Blake but as a contribution to the theory of mysticism. William James, in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, showed how a simulacrum of the mystical experience can be achieved by drugs. But, as we have suggested previously in a review of Dr. Ba Maw's *Buddhist Mysticism* (JBRs XV, p. 89) such a phenomenon appears distinguishable from the true experience in being sterile. This view is supported by Benard Shaw's account of his recovery from anaesthetics, when he noticed that his critical intellectual faculties return to consciousness later than his emotional faculties. But the mystic transcends reason rationally. This is apparent in the Christian mystics, and even more clear, as may be seen in the work of Dr. Baw Maw just cited, in the Buddhist mystics. The experience of Blake, however, seems identical with that of the religious mystics, not only in its external characters but in its result. It was not sterile but fruitful; it was through his mystical experience, and through that only that Blake achieved the perfection of his art. Other poets have written from dictation, as Coleridge wrote

Kubla Khan. And all poets, or almost all, have claimed to be at times and in greater or less degree inspired. Think again of the efforts of Cézanne *de pouvoir réaliser ! 'Peindre 'd après nature, ce n'était pas copier l'objectif, mais seulement réaliser ses sensations.'* Compare this with Mr. Ba Han's remark that according to Blake 'the artist copies not nature but imagination'. There is, however, one distinction between the aesthetic and religious mystic, and that distinction is fundamental. The artist as mystic is stupendous egotist, his personality expands until it embraces the whole universe; the experience of the religious mystic is a sublime abandonment of self.

But we can best do justice to Mr. Ba Han's views by attempting to summarise them briefly. He finds that with Blake, as with the religious mystic, the crown of the mystic effort is a sense of completed achievement as well as a sense of peace and power, but that he is in complete opposition to the Christian mystic for whom God is the Supreme Being who is distinct and separate from himself, as well as to the Buddhist mystic who eliminates both God and the soul. His second conclusion is that the artist who considers art as essentially religious and pursues it with profound fervour achieves an experience that is purely mystical. Finally, he finds that Blake's mysticism is characterised by taking a sunny view of life.

As Dr. Berger remarks, Mr. Ba Han has made a great step in the scientific study of Blake. The book, he says, "has all through the qualities that the French universities require of their students: accuracy of facts, intimate knowledge of the subject, numerous references to texts and authorities, clearness of exposition, logical order and arrangement in the argument, absence of anything that is merely fanciful and ungrounded, in fact all the qualities that make a book reliable and useful to future students". It would be superfluous to add our own humble commendations. But we can reflect with pleasure that some of Mr. Ba-Han's earliest work was published in the pages of this Journal, and we would venture to express a hope that, now he has returned to Burma, he may find leisure for further contributions.

J. S. F.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee held at the University College on Friday, the 18th December 1925 at 6-30 p.m.

P R E S E N T.

1. J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I. C. S. (ret'd.) in the Chair.
2. C. W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.F.
3. S. G. Grantham, Esq., I.C.S.
4. U Tun Pe, M.A.
5. U Po Sein, A.T.M.
6. Prof. Pe Maung Tin, I.E.S.
7. Prof. G. H. Luce, I.E.S.
8. A. Cassim, Esq., (*Honorary Secretary*).

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 3rd April 1925.

2. Recorded the minutes of the meeting of the Dictionary Sub-Committee held on the 18th October 1925 and a letter dated the 26th October 1925, from Mr. H. F. Searle.

3. Recorded the minutes of the Sixteenth meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee held on the 6th August 1925.

4. Regarding the printing *in extenso* by the *Rangoon Gazette* of a paper read to the Society.

Resolved (i) that the papers be recorded, and (ii) that for the future the question of reporting papers read at the Society's general meetings be left to the discretion of the Society's editors.

5. Considered Mr. Duroiselle's request to be supplied with a dozen copies of the Society's edition of Maung Kala's Mahayazawingyi.

Resolved to instruct the Text Publication Sub-Committee to supply twelve copies to Mr. Duroiselle provided that if any expense is involved he consents to bear it.

6. *Resolved* that pending the election of Officers at the next Annual meeting Mr. J. Furnivall be appointed President of the Society in place of Sir James Mackenna proceeded on leave.

7. Agreed to Prof. Pe Maung Tin's proposal to appoint Messrs. Probsthain & Co., London, agents in Europe and America for the sale of publications issued by the Text Publication Sub-Committee on the same terms as arranged with them for the Journal.

At this stage, Mr. Furnivall left the meeting temporarily for the discussion of the next item, and Mr. Luce was voted to the chair.

8. Considered the request of the Burma Book Club to be appointed local agents for the sale of the Society's publications.

Resolved to reply that the Society had no reason to be dissatisfied with its present arrangements with the British Burma Press for the sale of its publications, but that it had no objection to the Burma Book Club making its own arrangements with the British Burma Press to obtain its supplies of the publications.

9. *Resolved* to circulate to the Executive Committee the opinions received from the members of the General Committee in regard to Mr. Harvey's proposals about page-headings of the Journal and reprints for contributors.

10. *Resolved* that Prof. Pe Maung Tin be requested to submit for the consideration of the Executive Committee a detailed proposal with regard to his suggestion for the award of a triennial gold medal by the Society.

11. *Resolved* to requested Prof. Meggitt to submit to the Committee detailed proposals to obtain a subsidy from the Government for the scientific numbers of the Journal.

12. *Resolved* to inform U Tin (2), K.S.M., A.T.M. that the Committee regrets it cannot see its way to purchase his surplus stock of the Kabyabandhathara Kyan.

13. The fixing of the date for the Annual meeting was left to the Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee held at the University College on Tuesday, the 2nd March 1926, at 6-30 p.m.

P R E S E N T

1. J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I.C.S., (retd.) President (in the Chair)
2. Prof. G. H. Luce, I.E.S.
3. Prof. Pe Maung Tin, B. Litt., I.E.S.
4. U Po Sein A.T.M.
5. U Tun Pe, M.A.
6. Dr. G.R.T. Ross, M.A., D. Phil., I.E.S.
7. S. G. Grantham, Esq., I.C.S.
8. Prof. F. J. Meggitt, I.E.S.
9. Prof. W. N. Elgood, I.E.S.
10. A. Cassim, Esq., (*Honorary Secretary*).

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 18th December, 1925, with the amendment that in Item 8 "journals" be substituted for "publications."

2. Recorded letter No. 553U25 dated the 22nd January 1926 from the Government sanctioning a grant of Rs. 2,500 per annum for 4 years towards the Dictionary.

3. Approved the Honorary Secretary's draft of the Annual Report.

4. Resolved to invest (i) Rs. 4,000 for 3 years with the Upper Burma Provincial Co-operative Bank (ii) Rs. 2,000 for 6 months at Dawson's Bank, and (iii) Rs. 1,000 repayable at short notice in Savings Bank Account at the latter Bank.

5. Made arrangements for the Annual Meeting on 8th March.

6. Considered Prof. Luce's proposal to amend Rule 13.

Resolved that the amendment of Rule 13 to read as follows be placed before the next General Meeting for consideration :—

"For any meeting of the Executive Committee five members shall constitute a quorum. If within half an hour from the time appointed for the meeting a quorum is not present, the meeting shall stand adjourned to the same day in the next week at the same time and place and if at such an adjourned meeting a quorum is not present those members who are present shall be a quorum and may transact the business for which the meeting was called."

7. Fixed Rs. 7/8 as the sale price of copies of the "Glass Palace Chronicle" for non-members.

8. Sanctioned a grant of Rs. 500 to Prof. Luce for the purchase of books for the Society's library.

9. Considered Prof. Luce's suggestion to have the latter half of the second Chinese number printed in Europe.

Resolved that the matter be left to his discretion.

10. Considered letter dated the 1st February 1926 from U Po Byu asking to be permitted to publish in book form certain contributions of his to the Journal.

Resolved to grant permission provided that due acknowledgements are made to the Society and the works issued as part of the Text Publication Series.

11. Resolved that Messrs. G. Coedes and A. Waley be invited to accept the position of Corresponding Member of the Society.

12. Considered and approved Prof. Luce's note on the Dictionary scheme and resolved that action be taken at the General Meeting to give effect to his proposals.

13. Resolved to send Messrs. Probstain & Co., London, one copy each of the publications issued by the Text Publication Sub-Committee with a statement of the local price and to enquire the terms on which they would be willing to act as the foreign agents for them.

Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee held at University College on Tuesday, the 30th March 1926, at 6-30 p.m.

PRESENT

1. The Honorable Mr. Justice U Ba, B. A., President (in the Chair.)
2. C. W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
3. W. G. Fraser, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.
4. Prof. Pe Maung Tin, B. Litt., I.E.S.
5. D. J. Sloss, Esq., C.B.E., I.E.S.
6. Prof. F. J. Meggitt, I.E.S.
7. S. G. Grantham, Esq., I.C.S.
8. U Po Sein, A.T.M.
9. A. Cassim, Esq., B.A. (*Honorary Secretary.*)

MINUTES.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 2nd March 1926.

2. Elected the following to form the Sub-Committee for 1926:—S. G. Grantham, Esq., U Tun Pe and U Po Sein.

3. The following were elected to form the Text Publication Sub-Committee for 1926:—Prof. Pe Maung Tin, U Tun Pe, Mr. A. Cassim, U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M. and Mr. J. A. Stewart, I. C. S.

4. The Advisory Board to the Text Publication Sub-Committee to consist of:—U Po Sein, Saya Lin, A.M.P., and Saya Pwa.

5. *Resolved* that with a view to give wider publicity to the Dictionary project, the Secretary, Dictionary Sub-Committee, be requested to prepare a circular on the subject and to send it with the Instructions to Readers to the Honorary Secretary of the Society to print.

6. Recorded letter No. 242/D. F. dated the 8th March 1926 from Mr. J. A. Stewart, and approved the Honorary Secretary's action in connection with it.

7. Considered a letter dated the 5th March 1926 from the British Burma Press regarding the sale of the Journal stocked with them.

Resolved that in consideration of their undertaking to give greater publicity to the Journal, they be offered a commission of 50% on the sales as a temporary measure for two years.

8. Approved the action of the General Editor of the Text Publication Sub-Committee in coming to an agreement with the Manager, Pyi Gyi Mundyne Pitaka Press, to the effect that the Society shall be entitled to a royalty of 8 annas on every copy the 1st edition of Maung Kala's Mahayazawingyi sold at Rs. 4 per copy.

AHMED CASSIM,
Honorary Secretary,
Burma Research Society.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General meeting of the Society was held at University College on Monday, the 8th March, 1926, at 6-30 p.m., with the President Mr. J. S. Furnivall, I. C. S. (ret'd.) in the Chair. There was a fair attendance of members, among those present being

Mr. Justice U Ba, Messrs. Dunn, Elgood, Sloss, Page, Collis, Pe Maung Tin, Luce, Fraser, Meer Suleiman, Bhimani, Purser, U Tun Hla, U Ba Thein and U E Maung.

The President made an interesting statement on the New Burmese Dictionary in the course of which he indicated the method by which it was possible to make the project a success. He also appealed to the members to assist in the undertaking. Messrs. Page, Purser and Cassim took part in the discussion which followed.

The Honorary Secretary moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Furnivall which was responded to heartily. The meeting then considered the following resolution of the Executive Committee to amend Rule 13 of the Society to read as follows :—

“For any meeting of the Executive Committee five members shall constitute a quorum. If within half an hour from the time appointed for the meeting a quorum is not present, the meeting shall stand adjourned to the same day in the next week at the same time and place and if at such an adjourned meeting a quorum is not present those members who are present be a quorum and may transact the business for which the meeting was called.”

The resolution was passed unanimously.

The Honorary Secretary next presented the Annual Report for 1925 which was as follows :—

ANNUAL REPORT 1925

Roll of Members.—

The total number of members at the end of 1924 was 353 made up as follows :—

Honorary Members	2
Corresponding Members	4
Life Members	54
Ordinary Members	293

353

During the year under report two ordinary members died and 8 members resigned. Ten new members were elected of whom one became

a Life Member. One ordinary member became a Life Member. Seven libraries were on the list of subscribers :—

The roll therefore at the end of 1925 was as follows.

Honorary Members	. . .	2
Corresponding Members	....	4
Life Members	..	56
Ordinary Members	. . .	291
		<hr/>
		353

Obituary.—

The Committee regrets to report the death of two of its oldest and most valued members, Bishop Cardot and Mr. J. T. Best. Both of them were original members of the Society and served on the Committee till 1916. Mr. Best was also a Vice-President from 1916 to 1920. On his departure from Burma he was made an Honorary member. Both took the greatest interest in the Society which has sustained a severe loss by their deaths.

Officers.—

With the exception of Sir James Mackenna, Kt., C.I.E., who proceeded Home on leave the other officers elected at the last Annual meeting held office throughout the year. In December last Mr. J. S. Furnivall, I.C.S., (retd.) was elected President *pro tem.*, in place of Sir J. Mackenna.

Meetings.—

The Society's meetings during the year were as follows :—

- (1) Annual General Meeting held on February 11th, 1925, at which Mr. J. S. Furnivall, I. C. S. (retd.) read his paper "Word-making and Word-taking".
- (2) An ordinary meeting held on the 17th September, 1925, with U Set, B A., Offg. Commissioner, Rangoon Municipal Corporation, in the Chair when Mr. M. S. Collis, I.C.S. read his paper entitled "Dom Martin 1606—1641. The first Burman to visit Europe".

Both the meetings were well attended.

The Executive Committee met three times during the year.

Text Publication Sub-Committee.—

The Text Publication Sub-Committee during the year was composed of the following :—

The President (<i>ex-officio</i>)	U Po Byu
Prof. Pe Maung Tin, I.E.S.	Prof. G. H. Luce, I.E.S.
U Tun Pe, M.A.	Mr. A. Cassim, B.A. (<i>Honorary Secretary</i>)

The Advisory Board attached to the Sub-Committee remained the same as last year, the members being—

U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M.	Saya Phi
U Po Sein, A.T.M.	U Thein
U Saw Kywe	Saya Pwa
Saya Lin, A. M. P.	Saya Yeik
U Ba, B.A., A.T.M., F.C.S.	

Prof. Pe Maung Tin, I.F.S., held the office of General Editor of the Series throughout the year.

Publications :—

Since the last report the Kandawmingyaung Myittāzā has been issued as No. 4 of the Text Publication Series. The work of the Sub-Committee is beginning to be appreciated by the presses interested in the publication of Burmese books. The Hanthawaddy Press has recently asked to be permitted to put the Sub-Committee's cover on the following works which it is publishing, viz.,

1. Nawarat Pyo.
2. Kyama Daik Min Vatthu.
3. Udeinna Pyo.
4. Yezagyo Khon Maung Hmaing Kaukchet.

So far the first two have been approved by the General Editor for inclusion in the series and the permission asked for has consequently been granted; the other two are still under consideration. It has been learnt that other presses are similarly desirous of seeking the assistance of the Sub-Committee. Their co-operation, for which the Society and all lovers of Burmese literature will be thankful, should result in the publication and preservation, of a larger number of the best types of Burmese literature than has been possible in past years. Still more gratifying is the fact that abroad also, in Europe and America, the demand for works edited under the auspices of the Sub-Committee is fast increasing. Messrs. Prosbthain & Co., London, the foreign Agents for the sale of Society's Journal, have recently been appointed selling agents for the texts issued by the Text Publication Sub-Committee.

Maung Kala's Mahāyazawingyi which has been edited for publication in the series is practically ready and will be available shortly.

Further with the object of bringing out a critical edition of U Ponnya's Myittāzā the Sub-Committee has been in communication with owners of manuscripts of the work for a loan of their copies.

The New Burmese Dictionary.

As reported last year the executive Committee appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. C. W. Dunn, I.C.S., J. A. Stewart, I.C.S.,

H. F. Searle, I.C.S., and C. Duroiselle, M. A. to undertake the control of the compilation of the Dictionary and agreed to finance the scheme for the first year at the same time applying to the Government to subsidize the project. Very valuable information regarding similar schemes assisted by Governments in and outside India was obtained and forwarded to the Local Government who called upon Mr. J. S. Furnivall to appear before the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council in support of the Society's request. Your Committee has pleasure in announcing that the Local Government has sanctioned an annual contribution of Rs. 2,500 for a period of your years towards the scheme conditional on the receipt of an annual report indicating satisfactory progress. Provision for the payment of this grant for this year is being made in the Provincial Budget Estimates for 1926-1927.

The University of Rangoon has been approached for co-operation and has appointed a small committee consisting of Prof. G. H. Luce, Prof. Pe Maung Tin and Mr. J. S. Furnivall to report on the best way in which the University may be able to assist in the work.

Meanwhile the Dictionary Sub-Committee report that 38 persons had agreed to read for the Dictionary and that 22 books had been allotted to them for the purpose. It is obvious however that the number of readers—fair enough for a start—is by no means adequate to the vastness of the scheme and your Committee therefore appeals very strongly to each individual member to come forward and help.

The Journal.—

Two Journals have been issued during the year—Vol. XV, parts I and II. The “Chinese Numbers” (Vol. XIV, parts II and III) have not yet appeared but half of the first number has actually been printed and the whole of the first, and half of the second of these numbers have for long been in a state of final proof. The delay is due to the difficulty of the Chinese characters, many of which being rare, are not available in Rangoon and have therefore to be specially engraved. As the type required is barely within the range of the presses in Rangoon, the editor proposes to have the latter half of the second number printed in Europe if the cost is not too high.

Vol. XV, Part III, will be the Society's first “Science Number”, and thanks are due to the contributors who have initiated this branch of the Society's activities, and in particular to Dr. F. J. Meggitt, I. E. S., who has kindly undertaken to see this number through the press. It is expected to appear in a few days. Another number, Vol. XVI, Part I, has already gone to press.

The Library.—

The number of books excluding periodicals has risen from 1289 to 1346. Only Rs. 92-15 have been spent on the purchase of books

and periodicals. Books have been kindly presented by the Government of Siam, by the Manchuria Research Society, by Phra Khan Chandakant of Siam, and by Prof. D. G. E. Hall, Dr. h. c. Renward Brandstetter, Mr. L. F. Taylor, Mr. W. Archibald and Mr. G. E. Harvey. To all of these the Society is greatly indebted.

Finances.—

The balance carried forward from last year was Rs. 15,701-3-6 and closes this year with 17,160-2-6. The Owadahtu Pyo brought in during the year a sum of Rs. 42-9-0 which with the sale proceeds of previous years exactly totals its cost of printing. The proceeds are credited to the Text Publication Fund which now stands at Rs. 500. The sales of the Journal and the "Glass Palace Chronicle" have not been so good as in the previous year. At the end of the year balance at the bank stood at Rs. 7,145-2-6. This amount included Rs. 2000, withdrawn from the Upper Burma Provincial Co-operative Bank for the purpose of financing the Dictionary scheme. Now thanks to Government's contribution the Committee have decided to re-invest the floating balance as follows.—Rs. 4,000 for 3 years with the Upper Burma Provincial Co-Operative Bank, Rs 2,000 for 6 months at Dawson's Bank, and Rs. 1,000 repayable at short notice in savings Bank account at the same bank.

Revenue and Expenditure Account for 1925.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Balance from previous year	Clerk's pay	...	...	...
Members' subscriptions	Peon's pay	...	...	...
Interest on investments	Typing fee	...	...	...
Sale of Journal	Printing of Journal (2 issues)	...	...	...
Sale of Glass Palace Chronicle	Stationery	...	...	...
Sale of Owadahtu Pyo	Books, Periodicals &c.	...	...	...
Recovery of postage charges	Postage stamps	...	...	...
Sale of maps	Contingencies	...	...	...
Withdrawal of Fixed Deposits from Upper	Printing and purchase of forms	...	...	...
Burma Provincial Co-operative Bank	Book-binding	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	Advertising	...	...	...
				Miscellaneous	...	...	...
				Subsidy to new Burmese-English Dictionary	...	...	...
				Fund, 1st instalment	...	...	...
				Reading of proof of Chinese Number of the	...	...	...
				Journal	...	...	...
				Investments transferred to Current Account	...	...	...
				Balance	...	...	...
				Details of balance at 32-12-25.	...	...	...
				Govt. 10 years 6 per cent Bonds	4,500-0-0	...	...
				Deposit in Burma Provincial Co-	...	...	...
				operative Bank at 7½ per cent.	1,000-0-0	...	...
				Post Office Cash Certificate	...	...	...
				(purchase price)	4,500-0-0	...	...
				Balance at Bank	7,145-2-6	...	...
				British Postal Order not yet	...	...	...
				cashed	15-0-0	...	...
Total	17,160-2-6	...	...	...
				Total	...	...	...
				22,247 14 6	...	...	...
				5,087 12 0	...	...	...
				17,160 2 6	...	...	...

The Report was adopted unanimously.

The election of Officers and Committee members for 1926 was then proceeded with and resulted as follows.—

PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice U Ba, B.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

U Shwe Zan Aung, A.T.M., K.S.M.

The Hon'ble U May Oung, M.A., LL.M.

C.W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

HONORARY SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

A. Cassim Esq., B.A.

HONORARY EDITORS AND LIBRARIANS.

Prof. Pe Maung Tin, M.A., B. Litt., I.E.S.

Prof. F. J. Meggitt, M.Sc., Ph.D., I.E.S.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

U Po Byu

U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M.

L. F. Taylor, Esq., I.E.S.

Dr. G. R. T. Ross, I.E.S.

U Po Sein, A. T. M.

U Tun Pe, M.A.

D. J. Sloss, Esq., C.B.E.

Prof. D. G. E. Hall, I.E.S.

S. G. Grantham, Esq., I.C.S.

W. G. Fraser, Esq., I.E.S.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq.

M. S. Collis, Esq., I.C.S.

D. B. Petch, Esq., I.C.S.

U Set, B.A.

Prof. W. N. Elgood, I.E.S.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

J. L. McCallum, Esq., I.C.S.

U Thein

Major C. M. Enriquez

U Kyaw Dun, K.S.M.

Taw Sein Ko, Esq., C.I.E.

H. F. Searle, Esq., I.C.S.

Dr. O. Hanson

R. C. J. Swinhoe, Esq.

San Shwe Bu, Esq.

Ch. Duroiselle Esq., M.A.

U Tha Tun Aung, B.A.

J. A. Stewart, Esq., I.C.S.

Capt. G. H. M. Medd

U Tha Kin

G. E. Harvey, Esq., I.C.S.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the Chan.

AHMED CASSIM,

Hon. Secretary.

THE NEW BURMESE DICTIONARY.

Gentlemen, I feel a little diffident about my task this evening. I take it that you are all acquainted with the nature of my task and perhaps you will guess the reason of my diffidence. I have, as President, to make a statement on the subject of the New Burmese Dictionary which the Society, not without prolonged deliberation, has recently undertaken. Now it is usual on such occasions as the present for the lecturer to be introduced by some one whose function it is to make a few well chosen remarks that serve as an *hors d'oeuvre* or rather perhaps as gin and biters to stimulate the appetite and promote the flow of intellectual digestive juice for the heavy meal to follow. Well . . . it seems rather absurd for any one to introduce the President, or even, as in the present case, the officiating President, and modesty forbids my introducing myself with the encouraging remarks that I should have expected in the ordinary course of such a meeting as the present. However, I will preface my statement with some remarks from Mr. Stewart who ought by rights to be delivering this lecture, and whose absence all of us regret; no one more than myself. "If I can possibly manage it," he writes, "I will let you have a note on the work being done for the dictionary with a few cheerable extracts from contributors' letters and perhaps a few sample slips" You will note I trust his promise of "cheerable extracts" and take advantage of any opportunity that may arise to signify your approval with all the decorum proper to a learned society.

Some Old Burmese Dictionaries.

Before we pass on to the New Burmese Dictionary it may be worth while to recall what has already been accomplished in this direction. The first attempt in this direction was made by a Burman Thilawuntha at the end of the 15th century. But he confined his attention to old Burmese and compiled a list of *Poranas*, or obsolete words, some of which, strangely enough, such as *lulin*, are still current at the present day. The first dictionary of current Burmese was the work of an Italian missionary, I think in 1742. You will find this mentioned in the Official account of the Roman Catholic Mission in Burma. Unfortunately I have just packed my copy of the work and have been unable to verify the reference. The next dictionary was the work of an English scholar, John Leyden, who published in 1810 a Comparative Vocabulary of the Burma, Malayu and Thai languages. This work, as you may imagine, is extremely rare, and I am sure you will all be gratified to learn that the Society is now fortunate enough to possess a copy of it, which was made over to me some time ago by Mr. Law of the Excise Department to be presented to our Library and which I have brought with me this evening to give to the Librarian. The annexation of Tenasserim and Arakan was followed immediately by the publication of an English-Burmese

Dictionary compiled by Hough in 1825 and Judson laid the foundations of his great work in 1826. But it was not until 1852 that there was any comprehensive attempt at a Burmese-English dictionary. It was in that year that Judson published the first edition of what is still the standard work. This was revised by Stevenson in 1893 and again by Eveleth in 1914. These have been the land marks in the course leading to our present undertaking.

The Project of a New Dictionary.

As I have remarked already, our present undertaking is no hastily adopted scheme. It has been under consideration for many years; almost in fact, from the foundation of our Society. The suggestion originated with Mr. C. W. Dunn, who took advantage of the presence of many people interested in Burma and the Burmese language at a Co-operative Conference at Mandalay in 1913 to ventilate a proposal for a new edition of Stevenson's Burmese Dictionary. The suggestion received a large measure of support and the upshot was that Mr. Carey and other members of the Society were suggesting that the Society should undertake the work. The proposal went in due course before the Sub-Committee who resolved that U May Oung and Professor Maung Tin should report on the likelihood of obtaining sufficient help from Burmese scholars to make the task feasible. But as the then President remarked at the next Annual Meeting the Society was passing through a period of stagnation. The Committee was comfortably asleep and seems to have resented an attempt on the part of up country members to wake it up. It woke up sufficiently however to take notice of what the Sub-Committee had been doing and resolved that before taking action the matter should be further considered by a special meeting of the Committee. There is no record that this special meeting was ever held. But in the annual report we find the following remarks—"In view of the fact that it is understood that the A. B. M. Press is bringing out a revision of Stevenson's Dictionary and in view also of the fact that such an undertaking would be a matter of great expense and difficulty the Sub-committee is of opinion that the proposal is for the present, at least, premature" This view did not pass unchallenged at the annual meeting. "A short discussion took place over the project of publishing a revised edition of Judson's Dictionary. It was felt, however, that the matter should be left in the hands of the Sub-committee". That was in February, 1914. Shortly after that people had other things than dictionaries to think of, and the proposal remained in the hands of the Sub-committee "for the duration of the war."

Revised Proposals.

It is worth while recalling these facts for since then a new generation has arisen and in Burma memories are very short. But the dictionary had not been quite forgotten. Mr. Dunn had not forgotten it and he was largely responsible for another appeal to the Society to

revive the scheme. Again a letter asking for support to the project was addressed to the Committee by a large number of members and this time, possibly because Mr. Dunn was on the Executive Committee, the response was more favourable. It was resolved to appoint a Dictionary Sub-Committee to start the work and Messrs. Duroiselle, Searle and Stewart were asked to make the necessary arrangements. It was also decided to make a grant of Rs. 2,500 towards the expenditure for the first year of work. An appeal has been made to the general public for assistance; instructions have been drawn up for the guidance of those willing to assist and the collection of material has commenced. Since then the Society has approached Government and has been promised a grant of Rs. 2,500 a year for four years conditional on satisfactory progress being made. We have also appealed to the University for support and have received a very encouraging response. We can claim, I think, that we have made a satisfactory beginning. But it must be remembered that by appealing to Government and to the University for help we have undertaken the responsibility for turning to the best account the help that they will give us. It is for that reason that the Committee has requested me to make the present statement so that we can bring home to members of the society the nature of their responsibility and obtain so far as possible their active co-operation and support. We have felt also that the statement should be made at one of our public meetings so that we can let the general public know what we are attempting and invite their help.

The Dictionary and Burma, Old and New

It is hardly necessary on such an occasion as the present and there is not sufficient time for me to enlarge on the need for a new Burmese Dictionary. Every one who knows anything about the language has long been accustomed to deplore its gradual decay and no one can listen to the hybrid jargon which is replacing it without some concern for the mentality of a people brought up to talk it as their mother—rather perhaps their father-tongue. *A good dictionary will explore the full resources of the Burmese language and thus not only help to preserve it from decay but enable it to develop and respond to, and thus help the speakers of the Burmese language, to respond to the political and economic conditions of the modern world.* It will help the people of Burma to model new Burma in accordance with the genius of the past. But that every member of our Society will be quick to understand and there is no need to deal with this aspect of the question we are now considering. Let us turn then to examine the nature of the task.

The Nature of the Task.

Burmese.

The material for a dictionary may be classed under five heads according to the method that may be employed for collecting it.

First of all there is modern literary prose such as any English man can read who has enough Burmese to look words out in a Burmese-English dictionary;

Then there are modern colloquial words that have achieved currency in print in novels, newspapers and *pyazals*. Not many Englishmen could do much work on these but to collect words from them would be child's play, recreation to a Burman.

Then there are old words in inscriptions and historical manuscripts, which can only be dealt with by scholars.

The next class consists of technical terms which require the collaboration of experts in the subjects with experts in Burmese.

The fifth class consists of dialect forms, which requires training of a special kind to deal with.

There are two stages in the production of a dictionary; collection and compilation. In the first stage words are collected by the largest number of contributors that it is possible to get. In the second stage the material thus collected is made over to an editor or editorial board for compilation and arrangement in the form that the dictionary will finally assume. So far we are only attempting collection.

What is Being Done.

The Sub-committee appointed by the Society to make arrangements for the dictionary issued an appeal for help and has received promise of active support from 38 people. That was the figure as it stood in last December; I know that it has risen since then, but I do not know how many have since offered to help. To each person who is willing to assist the committee allots a book or part of a book to read; though people are allowed if they prefer to choose their own book. The reader then goes through the book allotted word by word and looks each word up in a standard dictionary. If the word is not given, or is not assigned the meaning that the reader finds it to possess he notes the word on an index card with so much of the context as is wanted to explain its use. The whole process is very simple. Any one who knows enough Burmese to pass the Lower Standard can give useful help. There would be few better ways of acquiring a good Burmese vocabulary and facility in Burmese spelling. It would be excellent training for any one studying for the Higher Standard or, for that matter, for the Lower Standard.

Similarly the Burman who knows enough English to pass the High School Final could give useful help and would find that regular practice in word by word translation such as the dictionary needs would greatly rapidly improve his knowledge of English.

I do not wish however to recommend the work merely as a University Extension course, a method of education in the home. Those who have by birth or long residence a wider acquaintance with the Burmese

language will find, I think, *experto crede*, that there is some satisfaction in plodding through a book word by word, ticking off the words done. They may also be surprised to find how many words they do not know.

What the University will do.

The third class of words, old words in inscriptions and historical manuscripts, as I have said above, can only be dealt with by scholars. In this matter the University proposes to assist. I understand that it is proposed to constitute three classes to deal respectively with Inscriptions, Historical MSS. and the more difficult Burmese literature. These classes will be under the guidance of members of the College Staff who are interested in the dictionary and attendance at the classes will be expected as a matter of routine in the ordinary course of study.

But in addition to this it is also proposed to form some kind of an association for private work along the lines undertaken by the Society. This will not get to work until next session but some dozen of the keener students, who can understand what a dictionary means for Burma, and are anxious to play their part in it, have asked for work to do during the coming vacation.

A Burmese or English Dictionary.

Some doubt has been expressed whether the country does not require a dictionary to help Burmans translate English into Burmese rather than a Burmese dictionary. That I think every lover of the country and every one with any sense of the nationality will instinctively repudiate. What ever is the use finally of translating English into Burmese if there is no Burmese language to translate it into? Let us first of all preserve and revive the Burmese language, give it a new impulse by which it can assimilate modern ideas, so that translation will no longer be necessary. Then comes the question whether the dictionary is to be Burmese-English, or purely Burmese, or both. That matter need not be decided yet. The collection of material is the same whatever may be the manner in which it will finally be presented. For collection the use of both languages will certainly be necessary and my impression is that both languages will be needed in the final form of the dictionary. You want for example to have the word *eim*: in the dictionary and you want the derivation of the word if possible. But for its ordinary meaning the shortest way of giving it is to give it in English. Burmese definitions and explanations can, I think, suitably be reserved for the more difficult and unusual words. That matter however need not be decided just at present. Our immediate function is to collect material.

The Responsibility of the Society.

For the collection of the material we have made ourselves responsible. All the offers of assistance that we have received have increased the burden of our responsibility. It is up to us to show that we deserve

and can earn the help of Government and the University. We hope then that members will all of them individually realise their share of the responsibility and help us to discharge it by taking part in the work themselves and encouraging as many others as possible, whether members of the Society or not, to help us in the collection of material. As I have said above, it is an easy matter. It only needs good will. Most people can contribute half an hour a day, every one can spare an hour a week. And every one who knows any Burmese at all can help. Any one who wishes to help need only write to the Secretary of the Burma Research Society at the Beirard Free Library, Rangoon or direct to the Sub-Editor of the Dictionary Committee Mr. J. A. Stewart, Deputy Commissioner, Thaton.

List of Recent Additions to the Library.

By Presentation

Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, 10 volumes (Siamese Texts).

Milinda Pañña (Siamese Text).

Fifth Annual Report of the Trustees for the Development of the City of Rangoon on the working of the Rangoon Development Trust for the year 1924-25.

Ruins of Muhammadpur.

History of Burma, by G. E. Harvey.

A Practical Handbook of the Chin Language (Siyin Dialect), by L. B. Naylor.

By Purchase.

Arts et Archéologie Khmers, Tome II—1925.

Dictionnaire Annamite Française, 2 vols.

History of Burma, by G. E. Harvey (2 copies).

T'oung Pao, Vol. XXIV, No. 1

By Exchange.

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Vol. III, Parts I, II, III—1925.

Indian Antiquary, August 1925, and January to March 1926.

Indian Antiquary—Index to Vol. II (1872—1921) Parts II & III

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New series
Vol. XX, Nos. 5 and 6—1924; Vol. XXI, No. 1—1925.

Journal Asiatique, Tome CCVI, No. 1; Tome CCVII, No. 1.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LV. 1925 (January to June) and (July to December)

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'extrême orient, Tome XXIV—1924
No. 3 and 4; Tome XXV—1925, Nos. 1. 2.

Dājwā, Nos. 5 and 6 October and November 1925; January 1926.

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma for the year ending 31st March 1925.

Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XIX, Parts 2 and 3.

Journal of the Siam Society, Natural History Supplement Vol. VI. n No. 4; and Index to Vol. VI.

Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué, No. 2 and 3, Avril-Juin, and Juillet-Septembre 1925.

Journal of East India Association, October 1925; January 1926.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nos. 15, 20, 21, 27.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1925, 4th Quarter; and 1926, 1st Quarter.

Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien LV Band. VI Heft; LVI. Band I. u II Heft.

Man in India, Vol. V, Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. VI, No. 1.

- Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report 1922-23.
Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. XX, 1924 No. 6, Vol. XXI, 1925, No. 1.
Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1925-26, Vol. VII, Parts I and II.
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Bands 70-79.
Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution. Vol IV, Part I.
Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report 1923-24.
Bulletin of Applied Botany and Plant-Breeding—Vol. XV, No. 1.
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 19.
The Jamī Masjid at Badaun and other buildings in the United Provinces, by F. J. Balckiston.
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THE
GLASS PALACE CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS OF BURMA

(HMANNAN YAZAWIN).

TRANSLATED BY
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AND
G. H. LUCE,

PUBLISHED BY THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
FOR THE TEXT PUBLICATION FUND OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

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THE RHYOLITES AND RHYOLITE TUFFS OF THATON DISTRICT, LOWER BURMA.

BY

H. L. CHHIBBER, M.Sc., F.G.S., F.R.G.S.,
Lecturer in Geology and Geography, University College, Rangoon.

(WITH PLATES I-III.)

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I. Introduction and Previous Observers.

The present communication forms the fifth instalment of the series of papers on the volcanic and allied rocks of Burma. (Stamp and Chhibber 1925, [1] Pinfold, Day, Stamp and Chhibber 1926, [2] Chhibber 1926, [3] 1926a [4] Chhibber and Wadhwana 1927 [5] and Chhibber 1927a [6]). As with its predecessors, the work was done under the auspices of the University of Rangoon and the author wishes to thank that body for a research grant for 1926-27 out of which expenses were defrayed for laboratory work concerning this communication.

The only reference to this area occurs in a general Report in *Rec Geol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XL. Pt. 2, p. 107, where a mere mention of volcanic (probably rhyolitic) rocks has been made on the basis of P. N. Datta's work. The writer took the opportunity of investigating this area in the course of a visit to the Mokpalin Government quarries. In passing it may be mentioned that the petrography of the rocks of these quarries is very interesting. They not only include several types of granitoid gneiss but small dykes of lamprophyric rocks are also seen penetrating the former which present an absorbing interest to a petrologist. The writer in a cursory examination of these rock-sections has observed hornblende- lamprophyres, etc. So far as the author is aware no such rocks have been described from Burma before. An account of them will be shortly published separately.

The area is situated in the township of Sittang, Thaton District, and is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east of the Mokpalin Railway Station situated on Rangoon-Moulmein Railway line. The locality lies in the

north-east corner of the one-inch map sheet No. 94 G3 & 7, (Old No. 353). The band of lava runs for at least six miles in north-south direction and continues on to the north in the unsurveyed territory. One of the southern-most hills of the band of volcanic rocks is marked 500 on the above-mentioned map-sheet. The band of volcanic rocks lies between lat. $17^{\circ} 25'$ and $17^{\circ} 30' N$ and long. $97^{\circ} 2' E$.

II. General Geology.

The general geology of the area consists of the following formations:—

- (1) Alluvium.
- (2) Laterite and similar earth.
- (3) Rhyolites and Rhyolite tuffs.
- (4) Granites and Gneissose Granites.
- (5) Sedimentary series consisting of shales and sandstones partially metamorphosed, probably of carboniferous age.

It should be noted that the granites and the allied gneisses of this area do not all belong to the same age as grouped by Theobald in his Martaban group and some of them are older than the sedimentary series while some appear to be younger and may be intrusive into the shales and sandstones of this area.

The alluvium is very wide spread in this area and conceals the solid geology below it. It is generally argillaceous in character, being largely derived from similar sedimentary rocks. It only assumes a sandy character when produced by the weathering of granitic rocks.

Laterite or similar reddish or yellowish earth forms a cap on the igneous rocks, but occasionally on sedimentary rocks too. Its relations with regard to the underlying rocks are best seen at the Mokpalin quarries where beautiful sections have been exposed by the quarrying of the stone for road-metal. At the top is the layer of laterite about 10-15 feet thick (with hard boulders of the same) which is underlaid by clay having almost the same thickness. The latter merges into partially decomposed rock which is succeeded by the fresh and unaltered rock below. The area is situated in a monsoon area with an annual rainfall of about 190 inches, the whole of which falls from May to November after which follows a period of drought. During the rainy season meteoric water soaks into cracks and fissures and brings about the decomposition of felspar of granite and leaches some of the iron salts from it. Felspar is changed into kaolin or clay while quartz is simply disintegrated. During the dry season water is drawn up by capillarity and it brings salts of iron, etc., with it to the surface where they are ultimately deposited. The upper portions are thus coloured deep-red while the

underlying portion is stained red in patches which probably mark the passages of water through its upward journey. The surface layers or the boulders at the top get hardened on account of the escape of moisture due to the conversion of hydrated oxides into partially or totally anhydrous oxides. In this case the whole process of lateritisation depends upon the alteration of felspar into clay which is converted red by the iron salts. Quartz is either washed away in the form of sand grains; or small quartz pebbles are cemented by ferruginous matrix and partake in the formation of laterite. It seems to the author that water with dissolved iron salts in its upward journey seems to prefer clayey to arenaceous portions as the latter (comparatively rich in sand) are left unstained and are ultimately washed away giving the common cellular appearance to laterite. So laterite in this case is merely an alteration phase of the underlying granitic rocks.

The eastern part of the area is occupied by a coarse grained granite which is porphyritic, gneissose in character and is not unlike an augen gneiss. The author examined this rock near Me Yon village and the specimens collected are not unlike those obtained from some of the P. W. D. quarries situated on the Sittang-Martaban road. It is probable that the same formation extends from here to Martaban.

The volcanic rocks of this area have overflowed the shales and argillaceous sandstones. The sedimentary rocks possess all shades of black, yellowish and reddish colours. At places they are highly metamorphosed and have almost changed into slates or argillites. They are very hard especially in the neighbourhood of lava. The shales are highly contorted, flexured and show high dips at places, becoming almost vertical *e.g.*, west of Kyauktaga gorge in Khawa Chaung. Sometimes the sedimentary rocks seem to dip towards the volcanic rocks. The strike of the sedimentary series is NNW—SSE.

It appears that lava has flowed over the contorted, upturned and denuded edges of the sedimentary rocks. Near the contact the shales are generally visible for a short distance (probably due to denudation) but these are hidden below the alluvium or lateritic earth.

In the south there are two hills east of Inkabo (east) village and from the north-western hill a narrow band of rhyolites and rhyolite tuffs extends northwards for several miles when it passes beyond the northern extremity of the one-inch sheet No. 94 $\frac{G}{3-8-7}$ into the unsurveyed region. On account of the hard capping of volcanic rocks a low ridge, slightly broken at places forms the foot-hill of the Tenasserim Yomas. The width of the volcanic band is very small seldom exceeding half a mile and at places dwindles down to about 100 feet. The Khawa Chaung has cut a beautiful gorge in these lavas near Kyauktaga village and it is remarkable that the village derives its name from the existence of this gorge (Kyauk in Burmese = stone, taga = gate).

The tuffs seems to predominate but flows of true rhyolite are not absent though the latter are small and thin. The composition of tuffs is not different from that of the rhyolites only their origin is clastic.

III. Petrography of the Volcanic Rocks.

The rhyolites show various shades of light pink, light grey to almost greyish black and are generally very hard and sometimes break with splintery fracture. They usually exhibit flow structure which becomes very pronounced when the light grey and slightly pink bands alternate. The weathered surface has a reddish appearance but the rock is on the whole quite fresh.

The specimen numbered T/9, hammered from about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile north-west of Kyauktaga village, is light grey in colour showing well marked banded and fluxion structure. The specific gravity is 2.59.

The thin section as seen under the microscope shows a fine crystalline mosaic of quartz and orthoclase feldspar with a similar microcrystalline mosaic forming the groundmass which is holocrystalline. A few tiny microlites of muscovite are present. A few specks of magnetite are also to be seen. Some crystals show staining due to limonite. (Plate II, fig 1.)

Rhyolite.—Locality: $\frac{3}{4}$ mile north-east of Kyauktaga village. Specimen and slide numbered T/14.

Megascopically the rock is greyish black in colour and shows an excellent fluxion and banded structure on account of which a pseudo-slate-like appearance is seen. The rock is very hard but is traversed by cracks along which it breaks with a splintery fracture. The specific gravity is 2.61.

Under the microscope the thin section is seen to consist of a microcrystalline mosaic of quartz and microlites of feldspar and shows a typical flow structure. The rock is rather singular in showing irregular and imperfect crystals of magnetite which in places shows arborescent and branching aggregates. (see Plate 2, Figs. 2, 3 & 4.)

Muscovite Rhyolite.—Locality: one mile south-east of Kyauktaga village. Specimen and slide numbered T/8.

Megascopically the rock is bluish grey flinty rhyolite with fine vesicular structure.¹ In the vesicles the secondary growth of silica has taken place. The specific gravity of the rock is 2.55.

Under the microscope the thin section is seen to consist of microcrystalline mosaic of quartz and orthoclase feldspar. A few irregular flakes of muscovite are scattered in the section. Tendency to flow structure is well seen by the parallel arrangements of the mineral constituents. The section appears to be holocrystalline and has a uniform fine-grained texture absolutely devoid of phenocrysts.

CHIBBER—THE RHYOLITES AND RHYOLITE TUFFS OF THATON DISTRICT.

Another thin section T/4 shows similar characters with the only difference that the vesicles have been filled with roughly hexagonal tablets of tridymite which under crossed nicols show a number of depolarisation bands.

The rhyolite tuffs show pinkish, yellowish, greyish to greyish black colours and are composed of fragments of rhyolite with a siliceous matrix. Sometimes the fragmental rocks include specimens of flow-breccia, etc.

Rhyolite-Tuff.—The specimen taken from near the Kyauktaga gorge in Khawa Chaung near Kyauktaga village is hard, tough, greyish rock with white veins of silica specially seen near the margin of the rock. It is slightly vesicular and vesicles are lined with minute crystals of silica.

The thin section is seen to consist of fragments of rhyolite, some of which show fibrous appearance, probably due to fluxion. (Plate III, fig. 1). Some pieces are composed of a very fine mosaic of quartz and microlites of felspar with a little glass while in others broken crystals of quartz and felspar are clearly embedded. Along the lines of flow are arranged blackish and brownish particles of probably magnetite and hematite respectively. The vesicles are lined with crystals of tridymite and in places the whole vesicle has been filled with a patch of such crystals.

Rhyolite-Flow-Breccia.—The specimen T/16 was hammered from about two miles north-east of Inkabo Kwin (east). The rock is rhyolite-flow-breccia in which dark fragments of rhyolite are welded together with a similar matrix and the flow structure is conspicuous. Fragments of baked shale are also enclosed on the sides. The specific gravity is 2.59.

The thin section is seen to consist of a very fine microcrystalline mosaic of quartz and felspar with some coarse-grained patches also. The remarkable point about this section is that it shows many streaks or irregular patches of colourless mica (sericite) which appears to have developed as a result of contact metamorphism or may be due to the assimilation of the sedimentary material. Irregular patches of a yellowish, somewhat fibrous mineral, are also distributed in the section which may represent palagonite (chlorophaeite?) or viridite, which is only partially acted upon by the polarised light. Bright red hematite is widely distributed in the section. Another section T/10 shows similar characters. The brownish red colour of the section is due mainly to hematite with a little limonite. (Plate III, fig. 4).

Tuffaceous Rhyolite.—Locality: One mile south-east of Kyauktaga village. Specimen and slide numbered T/1.

Megascopically the rock shows grey colour with a network of veins of whitish chalcedony. In the vesicles and other interstices have developed perfect crystals of quartz which are sometimes coated with iron ores. The specific gravity is 2.54.

The thin section under the microscope is very interesting in showing pale yellow bands of chalcedony running in all directions

(See Plate 3, Fig. 2). It appears that thermal waters containing silica and iron salts percolated along the vesicles and interspaces between the different fragments. So rings of chalcedony are seen round the fragments of rhyolite which consist of cryptocrystalline mosaic of quartz and felspar. Colourless aggregates of crystalline quartz have been deposited in the vesicles.

The thin section T/15 also consists of fragments of rhyolite showing fluxion structure while individual broken crystals of quartz and fragments are also present in a siliceous matrix. The main feature of the rock is that the vesicles have been lined with chalcedonic silica and iron ores. The chalcedony shows the usual banded structure as seen in the previous slide also and both hematite and magnetite occur though the former is present in much larger quantities on account of which the section shows brownish black colour. A little viridite with pale green colour and fibrous form is also present. The rock has undoubtedly undergone silicification. The specific gravity of the rock is 2.33.

Ferruginous rhyolite tuff. Locality : one mile south-east of Kyauktaga village. Specimen and slide numbered T/11. (Plate III, fig. 3).

The hand specimen is greyish black in colour with brown patches. The specific gravity of this rock is 2.57. The thin section as usual is seen to consist of fragments of rhyolite which show excellent streaked and fluxion structure. They consist of very fine microcrystalline mosaic of quartz, felspar and hematite. The rock appears to have undergone considerable hematitisation and silicification after consolidation. In places patches of bigger crystals of quartz are to be seen, which is secondary.

IV. Comparison of the Rhyolites of Thaton to those of Pávágad, Kathiawar, Malani, Bawdwin, Kyaukpadaung (Mount Popa) and the Lower Chindwin.

It may be advantageous to compare similar rocks described from India and Burma. These include rhyolitic lavas from Pávágad (Fermor 1906), Khatiawar (Feddou 1885) Malani (La Touche 1902) and Bawdwin (La Touche and Coggin Brown 1913) Kyaukpadaung (Chhibber 1926) and the Lower Chindwin (*op. cit.*) The first two belong to Deccan trap age (uppermost Cretaceous to lower Eocene) while the third is definitely Archaean. Dr. Fermor has described the rocks of the Pávágad hill and shows that they are more basic in character and differ in the following points from the Malani rocks.

(a) "Quartz phenocrysts are much more frequently absent in the lavas of Pávágad than in those of Malani". It should be noted here that the lavas under description are almost wholly devoid of phenocrysts. The bigger crystals seen sometimes filling the vesicles are of secondary origin.

CHIBBER—THE RHYOLITES AND RHYOLITE TUFFS OF THATON DISTRICT.

(b) "The felspar phenocrysts are often plagioclastic, frequently as basic as sanidine in the Pávágad rocks while they are almost orthoclastic in Malanis". The present author could not see any trace of plagioclase felspar in the slides described above and the felspar present is untwinned orthoclase.

(c) "Augite phenocrysts are of fairly frequent occurrence in the Pávágad rhyolites and completely absent except for one doubtful exception noticed by Mr. La Touche in the Malanis". No phenocryst of any other ferromagnesian mineral could be detected except muscovite in the Thaton lavas.

Acid volcanic rocks of almost the same age as those of Malani occur in Burma in the Bawdwin volcanic stage (*op. cit.*) which is no doubt older than Ordovician and offer many points of contrast to the lavas in question. The Bawdwin rhyolites exhibit flow, spherulitic and perlitic structures, corrosion of quartz phenocrysts, etc. The groundmass is always cryptocrystalline having probably undergone a certain amount of devitrification and sometimes exhibit the peculiar breaking up into irregular areas alternately light and dark, under crossed nicols known as a "quartz mosaic". The Bawdwin rhyolites resemble those of Malani in having a preponderance of quartz phenocrysts over those of felspar, and in the absence of plagioclase felspar and of augite. La Touche further remarks that the felspars of the Bawdwin rhyolites are usually decomposed both in the phenocrysts and in the groundmass and are represented by a fibrous felted mass (?) sericite which also fills cracks in the groundmass; sometimes the outlines of the crystal are still preserved and in some cases traces of simple twinning are still visible. No trace of ferromagnesian minerals or of mica was observed in the Bawdwin rhyolites. But the writer's slides did not reveal any spherulitic and perlitic structures; nor were these structures observed in the similar rocks from Mount Popa and the Lower Chindwin. In none of these late Tertiary rhyolites described from Burma (*op. cit.*) were any well marked quartz and felspar phenocrysts observed. With regard to the decomposition of the felspar of the Bawdwin rhyolites the present rocks are quite unaltered. Though no other ferromagnesian mineral has been observed however, muscovite is present in several slides from the present area.

Hence it would appear that the Thaton lavas present a marked contrast to those of the Pávágad lavas and are undoubtedly more acidic in character. They also differ from the Malani and Bawdwin rhyolites and their points of divergence have been outlined above. But it is very remarkable that the Thaton rhyolites appear to form a suite of their own with the Kyaukpadaung (*op. cit.*) (Mount Popa region) and Lower Chindwin rocks (*op. cit.*) with which they seem to resemble in every respect.

V. Tectonics.

The volcanic rocks from their north-south linear arrangement (See Geol. Sketch map Plate I,) appear to have erupted along a strike fault

in the sedimentary rocks produced probably as a result of folding and faulting of the Tenasserim Yomas, which are merely a southern continuation of the Shan Plateau. The volcanic ejectamenta may be only a superficial phase of the deep seated intrusions seen in the neighbourhood. The volcanic line on which this area lies appears to pass along the edge of the Shan Plateau on which the volcanoes of the Kabwet and Malé area [1] are situated in the north and those of some of the outer islands (Elphinstone, Ross, etc.) [6] of the Mergui Archipelago in the south. The basaltic rocks of the Kabwet area have already been shown to be connected with a fault passing along the edge of the Shan Plateau. The ridge formed by the capping of lava also forms the first foot hills, or in other words, the edge of the Tenasserim Yomas to the east.

VI. Age.

There is no means of telling the exact date of eruption of these rhyolitic lavas. They have overflowed the sedimentary rocks which are presumed to be of carboniferous age, so it can be said that they are at least post-carboniferous in age. But from absolute freshness, and from their great similarity with the rhyolites and tuffs of Mount Popa and the Lower Chindwin regions, it may be surmised that the rocks under description may be contemporaneous with the above, about the late Tertiary age of which there is not a shadow of doubt.

VII. Summary and Conclusions.

The present communication, which gives an account of the rhyolites and rhyolite tuffs near Mokpalin, Thaton District, forms the fifth instalment of the series of papers on the volcanic rocks of Burma. The band of volcanic ejectamenta runs for at least six miles in the north-west portion of the one-inch-sheet No. 94 G/3 & 7 and continues on to the north in the unsurveyed territory.

The volcanic rocks which comprise rhyolites and rhyolite tuffs have overflowed the shales and argillaceous sandstones, probably of carboniferous age. The sedimentary rocks, especially in the vicinity of lava are highly metamorphosed. The strike of the sedimentary rocks (NNW-SSE) and the rhyolites and tuffs remarkably coincides. On account of the hard capping of volcanic rocks, a low ridge, slightly broken at places forms the foothill of the Tenasserim Yoma.

The tuffs seem to predominate but flows of true rhyolites are not absent though the latter are small and thin. The composition of the tuffs is similar to those of the rhyolites, only their origin is clastic.

The rhyolites show various shades of light pink, light grey to almost greyish black colour and break with a splintery fracture. The flow structure is commonly seen in groundmass, which is holocrystalline. A few tiny microlites of muscovite are present.

The rhyolite tuffs show pinkish, yellowish, greyish black colours and are composed of fragments of rhyolite with a siliceous matrix. Specimens of rhyolite-flow-breccia are also present among the tuffaceous rocks. Petrology of these rocks as observed under the microscope has been described in the paper.

The Thaton lavas have been compared with similar rocks of Pávágad, Kathiawar, Malani, Bawdwin, Kyaukpadaung (Mt Popa Region) and the Lower Chindwin. The rhyolites described in the present paper present a marked contrast to those of Pávágad and Kathiawar lavas and are undoubtedly more acidic in character. They also differ from the Malani and Bawdwin rhyolites and their points of divergence have been recorded. But it is very remarkable that the Thaton rhyolites appear to form a suite of their own with the Kyaukpadaung (Mt. Popa Region) and Lower Chindwin rocks, with which they seem to resemble in every respect.

The volcanic rocks from their north-south linear arrangement appear to have erupted along a strike fault in the sedimentary rocks produced probably as a result of folding and faulting of the Tenasserim Yoma which is merely a southern continuation of the Shan Plateau. The volcanic line on which this area lies appears to pass along the edge of the Shan Plateau on which the volcanic and doleritic rocks of the Kabwet and Malé area are situated in the north and those of some of the outer islands (Elphinstone, Ross, etc.) of the Mergui Archipelago in the south.

As regards the age of the lavas, they have overflowed the sedimentary rocks which are presumed to be of carboniferous age, so it can be said that they are at least post-carboniferous in age. But from their absolute freshness, and from their great similarity with the rhyolites and tuffs of Mount Popa and the Lower Chindwin regions it may be surmised that the Thaton Lavas may be contemporaneous with the above, about the late Tertiary age of which there is not a shadow of doubt.

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IX. Explanation of Plates and Photomicrographs.

Plate 1.

Geological Sketch-map showing the position of Rhyolites and Rhyolite tuffs.

Plate 2.

- Fig. 1. Rhyolite showing mosaic of quartz and felspar (under crossed nicols).
- Fig. 2. Rhyolite showing flow structure and skeletal crystals of magnetite.
- Fig. 3. Rhyolite showing flow structure and skeletal crystals of magnetite.
- Fig. 4. The same as above but highly magnified to show the forms of skeletal crystals of magnetite.

plate 3.

- Fig. 1. Tuffaceous rhyolite.
- Fig. 2. Rhyolite tuff showing bands of chalcedony.
- Fig. 3. Ferruginous rhyolite tuff. The dark colour is due to the presence of magnetite and hematite.
- Fig. 4. Ferruginous rhyolite tuff. The dark colour is due to hematite with a little limonite.

PLATE II.

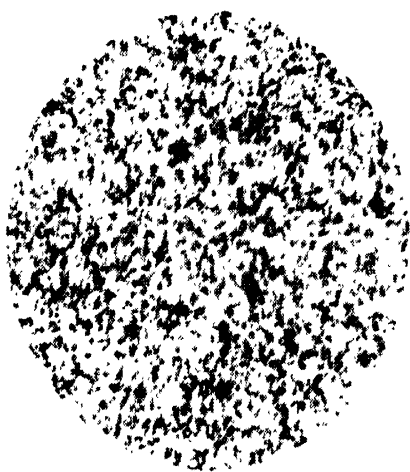


Fig. 1



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

THE SERPENTINES AND THE ASSOCIATED MINERALS OF HENZADA AND BASSEIN DISTRICTS, BURMA,

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(With Plates IV—IX.)

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I. Introduction.

The Serpentine intrusions described in this paper occur in Henzada and northern part of Bassein District. Theobald (3) mapped them on 1 in. = 8 miles scale in the sixties of the last century. But he had the great disadvantage of a small scale old map and consequently the position of some of the patches shown on his map is incorrect. The size of some of the intrusions is also to be taken with great reserve as in certain cases double the size of the intrusion shown on his map would represent the true size on the one inch = a mile scale. References to Theobald's work will be made later on. Dr. Murray Stuart (22) has surveyed the geology of Henzada District, but it appears to the author that Murray Stuart did not traverse the serpentine intrusions in detail as only four patches are shown on his map. Not only are the serpentine intrusions shown on that map incomplete but they are sometimes misleading, as the patches are terminated in cases in the middle of the intrusion, thus indicating that no serpentine exists beyond what is marked on the map. But it was often found that the serpentine rock

extended further than was shown. The same author in the text has devoted a paragraph to the serpentine in which he says: "These masses of serpentine are fully described by Theobald and their position is marked on his map. They do not call for any special mention beyond what has already been given by him". The petrology of these intrusions has never been described before.

The writer spent the whole month of October, 1925, in detailed investigation of the serpentines and mapped them geologically on a scale of 1 in. = 1 mile, so far as the maps were available. It is very unfortunate that the rest of the area has not been surveyed yet.

The petrographical investigation was carried out in the Department of Geology, University College, Rangoon, where specimens and slides described in this paper have been preserved. The author wishes to thank the University College, Rangoon for financial aid for carrying out the field-work. Thanks are likewise due to the University of Rangoon for a research grant for 1926-27, out of which expenses were defrayed for laboratory work concerning this paper.

Area and Extent.—The intrusions of serpentine extend over exactly 26 miles from north to south and roughly occupy an area of about 200 square miles. They lie within latitude $17^{\circ} 24'$ and $17^{\circ} 47'$ north and longitude $94^{\circ} 56'$ and $95^{\circ} 3'$ east.

II. Physical Geography.

(a) *Physical Features.*

The serpentines occur as foot hills on the eastern flank of the Arakan Yomas. Being intrusions they are generally to be seen on the upper slopes, where denudation has removed the upper covering. They occur as bosses forming domeshaped hills (see Pl. 6, fig. 12) e.g., Kywetahndaung and its continuation hills. Sometimes they occur as long ridges e.g., Bagan Gwè-taung ($1034\frac{\Delta}{\Lambda}$).

The last intrusion in the Bassein District occurs on perfectly flat ground, mostly occupied by the Plateau gravel on the east.

The Sitsayan Shales and alluvium, on account of their soft nature occupy low ground, while the other rocks, being more resistant, stand at much higher levels forming a part of the Arakan Yomas.

(b) *Flora.*

The vegetation of the serpentine intrusions gives clear proof of the close relationship of the former with geology and soil. The flora of the serpentine masses stands out by itself and a change in it indicates at once

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the termination of the rock. It is very remarkable that in the northern half covered with long grass *In* (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*) is the characteristic tree. All varieties of bamboo (which flourish so well on the Negrais rocks) are typically absent from the serpentines except "*Myinwa*" (*Dendroclamus strictus*). In the north, as mentioned above, a little "*Myinwa*" is associated with "*In*" at places, but south of latitude $17^{\circ} 37'$ north it is the only characteristic tree, growing on the serpentine, so much so that the presence and extent of *Myinwa* will indicate the presence and extent of serpentine. If one tells a local villager to take him to *Myinwa* taung, he will at once lead him to the serpentine hill. The writer was extremely impressed with the ecological relationships of *Myinwa* with the poor and scanty red soil yielded by the serpentines.

The important trees of the Negrais rocks are *Kyun* (*Tectona grandis*) *Pyinkado* (*Xylia* Sp.), *Kyetyo*, *Myaukchaw* (*Homalium tomentosum*) *Seikchi* (*Bridelia* Sp.) and *Wa*. It is noteworthy that no *In* (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*) exists on the Negrais rocks. The soil yielded by the Negrais rocks is a sandy loam, but often there is an intermixture of both arenaceous and argillaceous material, on account of both sandstones and shales occurring together. It appears that such a soil favours a very dense growth of bamboo as is evidenced in the case of Plateau gravel also.

The vegetation on the Sandstone series comprises the following trees as observed south of Kyibin (East of Δ 1034), *Wa*, *Thitya* (*Shorea obtusa*), *Yon*, *Yamane* (*Gmelina arborea*) *Gwè* (*Spondias mangifera*), *Nabè* (*Odina wodiari*) *Kaung* (*Manglietia insignis*), *Gyo* (*Schleichera trijuga*). No *In* (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*) and a little teak flourishes on this sandstone series in this area. The trees as seen south-west of Wadawkwin are *Thaukkyia* (*Vitex glabrata*), *Pyinkado* (*Xylia* Sp.), *Yon*, *Myaukchaw* and *Gwè*. The Sitsayan shales mostly occupy low ground and are generally occupied by *Kwins* (blocks of rice fields). The characteristic trees are *Kyun* (*Tectona grandis*), *Sha* (*Acacia Catcheu*) (observed only south of Kwingyi), *Thaukkyia* (*Vitex glabrata*) and *Gwè* (*Spondias mangifera*).

The vegetation of the Plateau gravel comprises the following trees: *In* (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*), *Thitya* (*Shorea obtusa*), *Thabye*, several kinds of bamboos and grass.

III. Geology of the Area.

The following geological formations are met with in the area:—

Alluvium	....	Recent.
Plateau gravel	....	Pleistocene and Recent.
Sitsayan shales	....	(Peguan in age) Oligocene.
Sandstone series	....	Provisionally Eocene.
Negrais Rocks	....	Cretaceous.
Serpentine Intrusions	....	Late Cretaceous to early Eocene.

Alluvium.—Alluvium is wide spread on the eastern and southern part of the area and consists mostly of a wash from the Sitsayan shales, Plateau gravel and other rocks.

Plateau Gravel.—The Plateau gravels consist mainly of siliceous pebbles interspersed in finely disintegrated material, approaching coarse sands. The pebbles are generally small, less than three inches in diameter, but in places boulders, exceeding a foot or more, are not wanting. Where the Plateau gravel caps the Sitsayan shales, naturally a little clay is also intermixed with the sand. Sometimes hard boulders of laterite, with siliceous pebbles (*e.g.* south of Wadawkwin on the Legonywa road), are also to be seen.

The siliceous pebbles are derived from the older formations, that is from the Negrais Region, Nummulitic sandstones and the serpentines, as the water-worn pebbles of rocks enumerated above are definitely seen partaking in the constitution of the Plateau gravel. They consist largely of pebbles of Nummulitic sandstones of various colours and black, hard indurated shales, sandstones, quartzites and quartz grits belonging to the Negrais series. Subangular pieces of quartz are also found, which have been derived from the serpentine intrusions. They generally overlie the Sitsayan shales unconformably. But they are also seen abutting against the Nummulitic sandstone series and occasionally against the Negrais rocks. No fossil wood was observed in the Plateau gravel.

The Plateau gravels are generally undisturbed but at one or two places they showed dips, indicating that they have been affected by the Pleistocene earth-movements.

Sitsayan Shales.—The Sitsayan shales, although designated as such by previous workers, really consist of blue clunchy clays, which assume a very pale colour on drying. In places they present a red mottled appearance on account of disseminated iron salts. Occasionally a few septarian nodules can also be picked up. The internal core of these septarian nodules consists of grayish argillaceous limestone, while the exterior border is made up of greenish calcareous clay.

The clays are mostly massive but at a few places, *e.g.*, about one and a half miles east of Wadawkwin, dips can be observed.

Towards the top of the shales, or almost at the junction of the Sitsayan shales and the Nummulitic sandstones series, a fragmentary band of limestone was observed, about two miles north of Wadawkwin, on the Kyibin road. Thin sections of the limestones revealed the presence of *Lepidocyclus*. The writer hopes to study them in detail in the future.

Nummulitic sandstone series.—The Nummulitic sandstone series consists mainly of sandstones. The colour of the fresh rock is bluish-grey, but on weathering various shades of yellowish, grayish, grayish-yellow, reddish tints, etc., are assumed. The sandstones, towards the base, pass into quartz grits as at two miles WNW. of Wadawkwin *en route* Myabintaung. The rock is well bedded and often traversed by jointing, as a result of which it falls into polygonal blocks. At a few places these sandstones enclose beds of shale which enclose seams of impure and friable coal. The shales have been converted into schists with the formation of graphite, where they have been invaded by serpentine as for example at a little more than a mile south-west of Wadawkwin in the main tributary of the Kattu Chaung. The Sandstone series in this area attains a maximum width of a little over two miles, *e g.*, west of Wadawkwin. In the main tributary stream to the Kattu Chaung mentioned above, the best section of this series is exposed with rather high easterly dips. At first the dips are towards the north-east, sometimes becoming vertical and finally the beds dip towards the south-east, often at intervals pointing towards east-south-east and east. Mention may be made of the find of perfect crystal of gypsum, associated with these sandstones near Kyibin.

The series is characterised by carbonaceous markings which at times resemble impressions of leaves. Unfortunately their bad preservation does not give any decisive clue to their nature. However, some of the well preserved specimens in the collection show parallel venation and linear outline, simulating the leaves of the grass family (*Gramineae*).

Dr. Murray Stuart (22) recorded the following observation in his paper on the Geology of Henzada District: "Below the Sitsayan shales is the Sandstone series which has hitherto yielded no fossils other than carbonaceous markings. The exact position of this series is, therefore, difficult to fix with certainty." But the author has been lucky in collecting and cutting rocks belonging to this series which under the microscope have revealed undoubted remains of foraminifera some of which resemble Nummulites. It is intended to investigate these in detail later. This will fix the age of the series provisionally as Eocene.

Serpentina sandstone with fragments of volcanic rocks.—The thin section of the Sandstone specimen S37 (locality: Kattu Chaung, south of the letter "tu" of Kattu marked on the one inch map), consists of quartz, felspar and serpentine. The last mineral forms the great bulk of the rock and is of a light yellowish green colour. (Plate VII, fig. 2). In places it has decomposed with the separation of iron-ores showing that some masses of serpentine were already in position when the sandstones under description were being formed. It is very remarkable that the writer observed undoubted fragments of volcanic rocks showing trachytic arrangement of felspar laths (see Plate VII fig. 3) in several

slides of these sandstones. This will tend to prove the existence of some pre-tertiary volcanic rocks in the Arakan Yomas, probably of the same age as the serpentines. The writer has lately discovered a big area of volcanic rocks in the Irrawaddy delta, Myaungmya district. The rocks include several kinds of tuff and boulders of trachyte. In the oldest tuffs well preserved nummulites are to be seen.

The Negrais Series.—The Negrais series consist of yellowish and greyish sandstones, quartz girts and highly indurated shales which become very hard and slaty in places. Black shales are very common, sometimes with carbonaceous markings, which are so characteristic of the Sandstone series described above. The series as a whole is highly indurated and submetamorphosed and is locally highly folded, crumpled, bent and contorted. Acute synclinal and anticlinal flexures are not uncommon while in places overfolding and thrust-planes on a small scale are also observed. Injections of compact and extremely fine-grained siliceous and cherty beds occur frequently, and, sometimes, a little calcareous material is also associated with these beds. It is noteworthy that these cherty beds are of inorganic origin as thin sections of these rocks, examined under the microscope, did not reveal the presence of any organisms. It is highly probable that the silica was deposited by thermal waters consequent upon igneous activity, which manifested itself in the form of the serpentines in question. It is probable that the silicification of some of the serpentines, as observed under the microscope, was brought about by the same agency. As will be shown later these rocks have been altered near their contacts. Sometimes typical chlorite and talc-schists are developed while elsewhere only induration, hardening and baking of the country rock is to be observed.

IV. Serpentine Intrusions.

Description of the Intrusions.—Twenty-three exposures of massive and schistose serpentine occur along a north-south line, that is, along the strike of the Negrais and Nummulitic rocks, with which the serpentine is associated.

The northernmost intrusion is the largest of all and extends over a length of four and a half miles with an average width of about half a mile though at places it slightly exceeds a mile. Murray Stuart on his map has shown this intrusion as occupying a length of about 2 miles and terminating half a mile south of the Taung Chaung, while that stream has cut a picturesque gorge in the serpentine at right angles to its general direction, about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a mile north-west of Kyibin village. Theobald (3) has recorded on page 148 in his Memoir that "the first and largest display of this rock is a broad belt of it crossing the Nungathu stream". This stream is known locally as, and marked on the one inch map as the Taung Chaung, while the Nangkathu stream is at least 5 miles north of it. This intrusion comprises several distinct ridges and hills

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which have local names of their own. Starting from the north the intrusions are briefly described below:—

- (1) West of Kyibin and Kyauktalon, lat. $17^{\circ} 43'$ and $17^{\circ} 47'$ N. and long. $95^{\circ} 1' 30''$ and $95^{\circ} 3' 13''$ E. The southernmost hill formed of this intrusion is locally known as Sandele taung and the ridge $\Delta 1034$ marked on the map is locally called Bagan Gwe taung while the northern-most hill 1192 is marked Kywetahnadaung (Plate 6, fig. 2).
- (2) (a) 654 marked on the map lat. $17^{\circ} 42' 30''$ N and long $95^{\circ} 1' 15''$ E is called locally Indaung taung. The outcrop runs in the Ngrais rocks mostly in a northerly direction (NNW-SSW) with small offshoots forming low spurs. As usual, the rock is jointed simulating bedding in places.
 (b) The last intrusion continues across the small stream and is known as Myabintaung. Theobald appears to have shown (a) and (b) separately.
- (3) Setalontoung, 862 lat. $17^{\circ} 42'$ N and long $95^{\circ} 1'$ E.
- (4) Shwedintutaung 609, lat. $17^{\circ} 41'$ N. long. $95^{\circ} 2' 15''$ E. It is an elongated dome-shaped hill with an ENE-WSW elongation. The intrusion is surrounded by a well-marked aureole of metamorphism and on the south-eastern slopes chlorite schists are very clearly exposed. The rock is irregularly jointed and at places jointing becomes regular, for example on the south-eastern slopes, dipping at 18° (10° N. of East). Microdiorite was found associated with serpentine here.
- (5) Myinwataung and its southern continuation lat. $17^{\circ} 38' 45''$ and $17^{\circ} 40'$ N. and long $95^{\circ} 1' 40''$ E.) The southern continuation of Myinwataung is known as Gyobintaung, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NW of Kyeikkwin. The serpentine is very highly foliated at places, some fibrous asbestos and a little steatite occur as lentils. A little chromite was also found. Near the contact Garnet and Amphibole-rocks occur.
- (6) Pingalinga taung, west of (5). 675, lat. $17^{\circ} 40'$ N and long. $95^{\circ} 0' 80''$ E. This intrusion crosses the Chingyaung, Chaung, a tributary to the Gyat Chaung. Here the black, carbonaceous Ngrais shales have been metamorphised into a schist as a result of the intrusion of serpentine.
- (7) Δ 744 and 406 lat. $17^{\circ} 37' 30''$ N. and long. 95° E. A little chromite occurs associated with serpentine.
- (8) WSW of Kwingyi 642, lat. $17^{\circ} 37'$ N and long. $95^{\circ} 0'$ E. Chromite is associated with this intrusion.

- (9) '473 Zeitaung lat. $17^{\circ} 35' 45''$ and long. 95° E. Here micro-diorite occurs as a marginal phase of serpentine.
- (10) North of Shwelaungyin, nodules of chromite occur associated with serpentine.
- (11) About $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Chinle village, lat. $17^{\circ} 24'$ N. long $94^{\circ} 58' 35''$ E.
- (12) Just north of Kyet-Sha village near the junction of the two streams. The serpentine is schistose at the contact and the country rock has been altered into a talcose-schist. Theobald has not shown this mass and seems to have missed it.
- (13) and (14) West of Kwingalay village. Some light green soapstone (*Kingusan*) is found associated with serpentine.
- (15) and (16) About $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Sinthè village.
- (17) About 4 miles west of Methalin.
- (18) WSW. of Methalin. The serpentine is schistose in character.
- (19) About 2 miles NNW. of Nyaungbintha village.
- (20) About one and one-third miles north-west of Nyaungbintha village. This patch seems to have been mapped along with (21) by Theobald but the writer observed undoubted Negrais rocks between (20) and (21)
- (21) About two-thirds of a mile west of Nyaungbintha.
- (22) A little over one mile south-west of Nyaungbintha.
- (23) About 3 miles west of Kya-Kat village.

V. Petrography.

The serpentine generally possesses a dark green colour, sometimes with blotches or streaks of apple-green tint. Not infrequently the rock is characterised by conspicuous, glistening crystals of bastite and sometimes the rock appears porphyritic. At times it is traversed by narrow veins of light green chrysotile or whitish steatite. Sometimes the serpentine is schistose at the junction but in places the whole mass has been foliated and the resultant rock is a soft, soapy schistose variety. It is, therefore, evident that powerful earth movements have affected the area since the date of intrusion.

Sometimes as a result of meteoric weathering the rock assumes a leek-green colour. This is often observed in water courses, etc. It has a pitch black or reddish weathering on the surface. The rock is highly jointed, as a result of which it cannot be used as an ornamental stone, though sometimes the coarse jointing becomes regular and simulates bedding. Petrologically the rocks represented by the serpentine of this area vary from wholly or partially altered peridotites, saxonites, and lherzolites to pure dunites. Interesting types like hornblende granulite and

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hornblende-eclogite have also been described by the author from the area. At times microdiorite occurs at the periphery of the serpentine masses. The rock is called micro-diorite because of its fine-grained nature. But it should be noted that saxonite is the most prevalent rock in the area with which chromite is sometimes associated.

Serpentine after Dunite. *Locality.*—From the slopes of Setalontaung, specimen and slide numbered S/57.

Megascopic Characters.—The rock is of leek-green colour with blackish or brownish patches.

Under the microscope the thin section is seen to consist wholly of serpentine with a well marked mesh-structure. The iron ores, largely magnetite with a little haematite, have also separated. Spinel (Picotite) also appears to be present. The rock originally seems to have been dunite.

Locality: serpentine patch about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Chinle. Specimen and slide numbered S/151.

Megascopic Characters.—The specimen presents the usual green colour in which veins and patches of dark green material are seen. Crystals of fibrous bastite are also to be seen. The specific gravity is 2.49.

Under the microscope the thin section is seen to consist of two minerals: serpentine derived from olivine and bastite derived from enstatite. The rock however provides some evidence of silicification, as there are patches of serpentine, which seem to have been replaced by silica. They present a clouded appearance appearing whitish by reflected light and are isotropic. This change is also observed in several other slides. The silica may have as well been derived by the further alteration of serpentine. The slide is traversed by fibrous asbestos with bright polarisation colours and straight extinction and appears to be chrysotile. An opaque mineral of the spinel group, probably picotite, is also present.

Locality: About two miles NNW. of Nyaungbintha, specimen and slide numbered S/101.

The hand specimen is bluish-green or light green in colour with altered foliated basite. Under the microscope it shows extensive silicification. Veins of chalcedony penetrate the rock in all directions. At places borders of the minerals have been replaced while the interior is left unaltered. Chalcedony has often been deposited along the cleavage cracks of the rock and the mineral being already fibrous, such injection of silica imparts a superficial appearance of twinning. A little original olivine is also seen with patches of magnetite.

Locality : From the second serpentine intrusion, w.s.w. of Sinthe. Specimen and slide numbered S/118.

The bastite in thin section shows wandering extinction and bent lamellae proving that the rock has been subjected to strain. The rest of the characters are of a serpentinised saxonite described above.

Locality. From Myabintaung, where serpentine begins.

Wholly Serpentinised Saxonite, The hand specimen is of a greenish-black colour and the specific gravity of the rock is 2.38.

Under the microscope the original rock is entirely altered into green serpentine with a little dark brown isotropic picotite. The former mineral shows a typical mesh structure an indication of its derivation from olivine but a few pseudomorphs exhibit a fibrous structure and are bastite.

The specimen S/63 hammered from the base of Setalotaung, besides showing the two usual kinds of serpentines (after olivine and enstatite), contains a fair quantity of an opaque mineral which may be either cromite or picotite. Associated with this dark opaque material is green isotropic pleonaste with a high refractive index.

Pale-brown Serpentine Locality : South-eastern slopes of Δ 1192 marked on the one-inch map. Specimens and slides numbered S/312.

Megascopic Characters —The rock is pale brown in colour with veins of greenish serpentine or steatite.

Microscopic Characters.—Under the microscope a thin section consists entirely of serpentine with a well developed mesh-structure; some of the meshes are brownish in colour. (Plate VIII, fig. 3). By reflected light the brownish colour appears to be due to limonite or haematite. It is very probable that either the rock has been acted upon by ferruginous solutions or vapours, or the further decomposition of the rock has resulted in the production of this light brown tint. Most of the light green veins which traverse the section in all direction are isotropic and may be steatite.

Locality.—About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Kyet Sha village, specimen and slide numbered S/140.

The thin section is characterised by banded veins of chysolite (Plate VII, fig. 4 and Plate VIII, fig. 1). In the centre of the veins there is a band of light green olivine, which in places shows the presence

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of needle-like crystals of the same mineral projecting from the margin inwards. This is succeeded by pale yellow to dark brown bands which are fibrous in structure. Magnetite also occurs. It appears that these veins are of later origin than the main mass and these bands probably represent several stages of alteration.

Locality.—Near Katku-Chaung, about $1/3$ mile south-west of. 473, specimen and slide numbered S/184.

Megascopic Characters.—The rock is highly foliated and splits very easily along the foliation planes. It is light green in colour with dark patches.

Schistose Serpentine.

Microscopic Characters.—Under the microscope the rock appears to be highly schistose with a dark brown mineral probably picotite. It is remarkable for its dendritic growth which appears to be a direct result of metamorphism of the rock and is very probably due to iron ore (limonite) having been compressed along the foliation planes (Plate VIII, fig. 2). It may be due though to subsequent percolation of iron salts. In the section S/128 (about 2 miles NNW. of Nyaungbintha) brownish isotropic serpentine is seen with veins of anisotropic serpentine crossing it in all directions. In some cases the former has separated in circular or irregular spherules.

Picotite.

Locality.—From the main ridge Δ 1034, $3/4$ of a mile north-west of Δ 1034. Specimen and slide numbered S/294.

The thin section consists of diallage and serpentine after olivine. The mineral is completely altered. Serpentine too, is isotropic in places. There is a great deal of dusty opaque material with the iron ores. As this appears to be whitish by reflected light, it may be opal (Plate VIII, fig. 4).

Another thin section S/122 (serpentine patch w.n.w. of Sinthe) shows the following minerals:—Serpentine after olivine, bastite after diallage containing veins of chrysolite.

Locality.—From the main ridge Δ 1034 west of Kyibin village.

Serpentine with talc.

The thin section consists of serpentine with the characteristic mesh structure but with irregularly small stellated clusters of talc in addition.

Locality.—One mile north-west of Nyaungbintha, specimen and slide numbered S/98.

Serpentinised Lherzolite.

Megascopic Characters.—The rock is dark green in colour with large lustrous crystals of diallage. The specific gravity is 2.52.

Microscopic Characters.—Under the microscope a thin section is seen to consist of a very coarse granitoid aggregate of augite, enstatite

(bronzite at places), diallage and olivine with picotite. The augite is colourless and has an extinction angle of 47° . The enstatite is colourless and shows slight pleochroism at places (bronzite) with straight extinction. This mineral changes into fibrous bastite. In places the lamellae of bastite are bent and wandering extinction is seen, indicating that the rock has undergone some strain. An intergrowth of diallage and clino-enstatite is also observed. Brown picotite is present. All the above minerals have altered to serpentine enclosing kernels of the original minerals and with the liberation of magnetite (Plate IX, fig. 1).

A similar Ilherzolite has been described by Dr. Pascoe (23) from the Naga Hills. The specific gravity of the specimen described by him was 2.809. Probably the lower specific gravity in this case is to be explained by the almost complete serpentinisation of the rock.

Hornblende-eclogite
and Garnet-rock.

Locality.—About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west of Kyeikkwin, associated with serpentine.

Megascopic Characters.—The rock is of a light pink to pale yellow colour and was found near the junction of serpentine associated with schists and probably represents a product of contact metamorphism. The specific gravity is 3.15.

Microscopic Characters.—The section consists mostly of pale and colourless garnets with a small quantity of a granular mosaic of quartz and felspar. In places the felspar shows a radiating fibrous arrangement. There is also present a reddish-brown mineral with fine cleavage and strong pleochroism which appears to be altered hornblende. The rock may be compared with the hornblende-eclogite described by Prof. Bonney (3a.). The formation of eclogite in this case at once points to high temperature metamorphism under conditions of high pressure and differential stress that the rocks have undergone. Another specimen from the same locality is seen under the microscope to consist mainly of two minerals: garnet with a little colourless to pale coloured steatite which occurs in irregularly stellated crystals and is both isotropic and anisotropic. Some felspar is also present. In places the garnet is very slightly doubly refracting, a condition probably due to strain. The brown mineral, hornblende, is present in much smaller quantity in this slide, (Plate IX, fig. 2).

The specimen S/249, taken from about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west of Kyeikkwin, is very highly metamorphosed and is remarkable for containing felspar. At places the rock appears to be highly crushed and then consists of an irregular mosaic of hornblende and felspar (Plate IX, fig. 3). In other places the rock shows patches consisting of coarse aggregates of hornblende and felspar. At times the irregular mosaic of hornblende alone is to be seen which is undoubtedly a product of metamorphism and shows a

Hornblende granulite.

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streaky and ragged appearance with pale green to reddish-brown pleochroism and appears to belong to the actinolitic variety. The rock, on the whole, presents a rich reddishbrown colour, perhaps due to the subsequent deposition of haematite. The specific gravity of the specimen is 2.80.

Locality: Near 173, west-south-west of Zibinkwin. *Specimen and slide numbered* S/170.

Microdiomite. *Megascopic Characters:* The rock is of a grey colour with white felspar and brownish black hornblende. The rock has a medium texture. The specific gravity is 2.96.

Under the microscope a thin section is seen to consist of a microgranitoid aggregate of felspar and hornblende. The latter is light brown in colour and occurs in prismatic or hexagonal sections. The latter show a characteristic double cleavage. The mineral is pleochoric, and the pleochroism varies from light brown to deep brown. The extinction angle ZAC -axis is 21° . In places a greenish tinge is also to be noticed in the rock, but this is due to alteration, probably a change towards serpentinisation. In places fine needles of hornblende are also distributed in the felspar. The rest of the section is composed of felspar which is very largely saussurised and is rendered almost opaque.

In places the hornblende has also been rendered opaque. No twinning can be observed in the felspar and hence nothing can be said about the species of the mineral (Plat. IX, fig. 4).

Sphene is also present in the rock, sometimes with characteristic lozenge-shaped outlines showing a very high refractive index and high polarisation colours.

It is noteworthy that a band of this rock was observed on the periphery of the serpentine intrusion, representing most probably the marginal phase of the intrusion as a result of magmatic differentiation. Other similar specimens numbered S/70 were found associated with the serpentine of Shwedintutaung. The specific gravity is 2.91. The thin section consists of the same two minerals, hornblende and felspar, but in this case the hornblende is a little more altered and in places shows a brownish-red colour due to haematite. The rest of the characters are similar to those of S/170, and do not call for any special mention.

Locality. About $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles north-west of Kyeikkwin.

Amphibole rock (Amphibolite of Lacroix.) *Megascopic Characters.* The rock is light green in colour with patches of dark green actinolite. It weathers into a reddish crust. Under the microscope the thin section is singularly interesting as it is seen to consist mostly of amphiboles—actinolite with some tremolite. The former is

strongly pleochroic, from pale to green in colour with its hexagonal idiomorphic outlines, characteristic double cleavage and pale to dark brown pleochroism with straight extinction. All these minerals have changed to serpentine (antigorite) with a little talc which occurs in stellated or fibrous aggregates.

VI. Serpentine Intrusions and their Contact Effects.

As already remarked these serpentine intrusions occur generally in the Negrais series but sometimes they have erupted into the Nummulitic sandstone series also. They often appear on the higher slopes, while the lower slopes are composed of the country rock. But the last patch (the southern-most occurrence) about three miles west of Kya-Kha village, occupies flat land. Roundabout the igneous intrusions there is a well-marked aureole of metamorphism, in which typical chlorite and talc schists are sometimes developed which are highly stained with iron salts occasionally, and then present various shades of red and yellow. At other places only induration, hardening, and baking of the country rock is to be observed. Theobald (3) remarked in his Memoir that "this difference in metamorphism is rather due to the composition of the invaded rocks than to any other occult cause". The author has studied this phenomenon very carefully in the field and has arrived at the conclusion that wherever the country rock consisted of shales, the schists were the result of metamorphism. When sandstones formed the country rock, however, there resulted only baking, hardening, induration and crushing. In places the sandstone, as a result of igneous action, has become hard enough to ring under hammer. This conclusion was arrived at as a result of the schists grading into the shales and the altered sandstones into normal sandstones. Not infrequently, as a result of the metamorphism of black carbonaceous shales, graphite has been formed and pieces of impure graphite-schist are not rare in the streams near the contact. In places the black schists on weathering and fracture yield blocks of rock, which simulate the trunks of petrified trees.

It appears that the serpentine is exposed as far as the overlying rocks have been denuded away. Sometimes the schists are seen covering the serpentine, as on a large occurrence of the latter, the former appear to intervene on the surface for short distances.

It is singular that a very great quantity of quartz is associated with these schists, the size of quartz boulders varying from a few inches to a few feet in diameter. Sometimes quartz is seen occurring in the form of veins. The author considers that the injection of so much quartz in the neighbouring schists is a phenomenon directly connected with the serpentine intrusions. It may be due to the differentiation of magma into ultra-basic (serpentine) and associated rocks on the one hand and ultra-acid (quartz) on the other. Sometimes perfect crystals of quartz are also to be observed, e g., at Myabintaung.

Dr. Stoliczka (1) also noted the association of quartz with the serpentines of Puga valley in the following words: "What is still remarkable and perhaps worthy of notice, are large spheroidal masses of quartz, which, in addition to numerous quartz veins, occur throughout the serpentine-rock." In this connection it is interesting to notice what Sir Thomas Holland (15) remarked in his Memoir on the "Geology of the neighbourhood of Salem, Madras Presidency: "There are many such examples of peridotite in South India largely altered to magnesite and they are often accompanied by masses of white quartz containing liquid carbonic acid. The association of two such extremes dunite and quartz is far too frequent to be merely fortuitous and it is not unlikely that the two are genetic relatives, the quartz representing the siliceous end-product of the eruption, which in the absence of alumina and alkalies, must consolidate as simple quartz instead of forming alumina-alkaline silicates".

VII. Tectonics.

The area, on the whole, forms a part of the eastern limb of this Arakan Yomas which constitutes a big geoanticline with several subordinate tight folds. The writer is of the opinion that the intrusions of serpentine are connected with the folding of the Arakan Yomas and their continuation of the hill ranges in the north. As graphically summarised by Dr. Coggin Brown (27) a belt of serpentine intrusions extends from the Andaman Islands in the south to the Patkoi range in the north. Intrusions of serpentine are also found in Prome and Thayetmyo Districts and, as Dr. Cotter has shown there are numerous out-crops of it in the Minbu and Pakokku Districts. They are known to extend further north into the Manipur and the Naga hills as investigated by Oldham (4) and Dr. Pascoe, (23) respectively. According to Bion (24) "the belt of intrusive serpentine which occurs along the boundary of the so-called Axials of the Arakan Yoma, Manipur and the Naga hills, extends to the west of the Tertiary basin and crosses the Chindwin river, a few miles above the Kyaukse rapids."

The serpentine extends further north still into the valley of the Dehing river as large blocks of this rock were seen by La Touche (6) who wrote. "I found none of the rocks *in situ* at the head of the Dehing. It must be brought down from the higher hills to the north of the river."

It appears to the author that all these serpentine intrusions lie on an important tectonic line running from the Patkoi range in the north to the Andaman Islands in the south. This is illustrated in sketch map Plate V.

VIII. Age of the Serpentine Intrusions.

The serpentines, described above, have been intruded as a rule into the Negrais rocks, but in places they appear to bear the same relations

with the lower portion of the Nummulitic sandstone series (Eocene), a fact recorded by Dr. Murray Stuart also. It appears that the Nummulitic sandstones overlap across the Negrais series as one proceeds southwards and the writer thinks that igneous activity extended over some period from late Cretaceous to early Eocene. It is probable that while some masses of serpentine were already undergoing denudation, others were still to be erupted into the newly deposited Sandstone series.

It may be of advantage to review the geological age of the other serpentine deposits of Burma and India. Tipper (21) in his memoir has made the following remarks about the age of the serpentines of the Andaman Islands: "These rocks have been considered as intrusive into the Tertiary sediments. There is no evidence in support of this conclusion but a good deal to show that the serpentines are pre-Tertiary."

"Fragments and pebbles of serpentine often form part of the Eocene conglomerates of the North Andaman Island. The serpentines were therefore undergoing denudation while the Eocene conglomerates were being formed. The igneous rocks must be at least anterior to the sediments of Upper Ypresian or Lower Lutetian age considering the great intrusions of serpentines, peridotites, gabbros and diorites in Baluchistan and elsewhere in India are of Upper Cretaceous age. I think that similar rocks in the Andamans are of the same age. Also associated with the serpentine are rocks which I believe are in part of Lower Cretaceous age and into which the igneous rocks were intrusive."

It is very interesting and noteworthy that Oldham (4) found serpentines similar to those of Henzada and Bassein Districts in the Manipur and Naga hills. This perfect similarity of characters and position of the rocks, on which Oldham laid great emphasis, is most probably due to community of origin. With regard to the date of the out-burst of serpentine Oldham used the following words: "The date of this intrusion is as I have already said, posterior to that of the rocks to which I have assigned a triassic age, possibly also to those to which a cretaceous age has been attributed, and it is worthy of notice as an additional evidence that these rocks in which it is intrusive are not of Nummulitic age that in Pegu the trap is nowhere found intrusive in rocks of undoubtedly Nummulitic age and is hence probably of prenummulitic age." However, Oldham seems to follow Theobald in this matter, but reference to the latter's map shows that he (Theobald) marked one patch (lat. $19^{\circ} 1' N.$ and long. $94^{\circ} 58' E.$) just at the junction of the Negrais and Nummulitic series.

By reading carefully the description given by the late Sir Henry Hayden (12) it appears that serpentines are also intrusive into the Eocene rocks in Minbu District. "At about half a mile west of Shauktaung the sandstones are underlain by thick beds of shales with very finely laminated dark shales with occasional carbonaceous bands. In these shales occur

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at first narrow bands of sandstone, and beneath these a thick bed of grey limestone, with *Nummulites* in places : as a rule, however, in this neighbourhood, the limestones have been altered to such an extent by outbursts of a dark green serpentine, that the fossils are not recognisable."

Dr. Murray Stuart (26a) found serpentine similar to those described by Oldham and Dr. Pascoe, intrusive into the Disang series. The age of the Disang series is not certain but it is regarded as equivalent of the part of the Negrais rocks of the Arakan Yoma. Murray Stuart wrote : "The youngest rocks that I know of at present that are traversed by serpentine intrusions are the coal-bearing sandstones of Henzada, which I correlated provisionally with the Laki Stage" (22).

As regards the geological age of the jadeite and serpentine of Tawmaw in Upper Burma, Noetling (9) believed that jadeite and serpentine penetrate the surrounding Tertiary sandstones but Bauer (9), from the petrological nature of the rocks and the amount of metamorphism they have undergone, regarded them as representing a member of the crystalline-schists, overlaid by Tertiary sandstones and probably denuded by erosion. The writer is of the opinion that it is always advantageous to rely on field-work on the question of geological age rather than to depend solely upon petrological characters, as the serpentines described in the present communication have also undoubtedly undergone dynamic metamorphism in places.

The following remarks apply to the geological age of the serpentine and other allied rocks found in India. Colonel McMahon (7) placed the following on record in connection with the eruptive rocks of the central Himalayas. "Dr. Stoliczka proceeds to detail the finding of Nummulitic fossils in the sandstones a little to the north of the Markha river, between Rumbag (Rumbak) and Skiut; and I further gather from his descriptions that the Peridotites of the Puga and Markha valleys are intrusive in sedimentary rocks of lower Tertiary age. Mr. Lydekker in his recent Memoir on Kashmir has also mapped the rocks at the mouth of the Puga river, and those a little to the north of the Markha river, as belonging to the Eocene period". Associated with these peridotites McMahon in the paper cited above has described diorites, intrusive into Nummulitic strata, north of Sirkia Hundes.

Similar serpentines and other igneous rocks are intrusive into the Tertiary rocks of Waziristan as described by the late Sir Henry Hayden (13). "The specimens about to be described form part of a collection made in Waziristan by Mr. Smith of the Geological Survey of India. They are to a great extent derived from dykes and intrusions occurring among the Tertiary beds of the Tochi valley and represent a very fine series of varying texture and basicity, varying from a compact and glassy porphyrite, through trachyte, basalt, dolerite and gabbro to serpentine and bronzite.

According to Smith (10), "the majority of the pebbles, even at Tochi village, are of diorites, gabbros and basic rocks. No indication of their being anywhere *in situ* is met with till one arrives within about three miles of Mahomed Khel. Here Lower Eocene limestones and shales are seen to rest abruptly but conformably on a series of beds and are doubtless part of the latter, which are altered by igneous action, but with evidence of having been interbedded with igneous rocks, which in many cases form massive intrusions in the former.

"In some cases the shales have undergone very slight alteration only, but unfortunately I have not found any traces of fossils in beds connected with the igneous rocks, as the only clue to the age of these beds rests on their relative position to other beds. On the west the igneous series is overlaid by the lower Nummulitic Dotoi beds with the bedding more or less parallel: on the east the Idak series of Lower Eocene rocks rests conformably on altered shale beds with igneous intrusions.

"Upper and perhaps middle Nummulitic beds directly overlay the igneous rocks between these two junctions; the disturbance in the basal beds makes it impossible to see from a distance what connection there is between the Upper Nummulitics and igneous series. It is singular that nothing but shaly beds should be found within the area of igneous disturbance. The natural conclusion to be drawn seems to be the supposition that igneous action, in the form of intrusions and deposition of ash-beds, began some time before the beginning of the Tertiary period; and lasted, with occasional variations causing interbedding up to the end of middle Eocene times." These words of Smith support very strongly, the foregoing remarks of the author.

Lately Dr. Fermor (28) has observed: "In Baluchistan, however, there are some large laccolite intrusions of chromiferous peridotite to which a Deccan trap age has been assigned." The age of Deccan trap has not been fixed with certainty but at any rate it is considered to be of Upper Cretaceous to Lower Eocene age.

From the foregoing discussion it will appear that the conclusion drawn as to the age of the serpentines is not erroneous. It appears true that the serpentine intrusions are, at least, of late Cretaceous age, but it is noteworthy that the igneous activity extended up to the early Eocene period. The igneous activity manifested itself either at the close of the Mesozoic period, or the beginning of the Tertiary period, probably about the time when the Arakan Yomas were first upheaved.

IX. Economic Geology.

(a) The most important mineral associated with these serpentine deposits is chromite. It is surprising that this mineral escaped the notice

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of both Theobald and Dr. Murray Stuart. Besides the several minor occurrences at Myinwataung, and elsewhere it occurs at three localities where its economic possibilities are worth consideration. The first is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-west of Legonywa south, near Kwingyi, on the road from the Mezali Chaung. Leaving out of consideration the numerous small pieces, big boulders of chromite, more than a foot in diameter were found. Some of the boulders weighed about 150 lbs. and in about half-an-hour's time the author collected about 500 viss ($500 \times 7/2 = 1750$ lbs.) of ore. All this ore was found on the surface as a result of weathering and no definite lode was observed. From the study of other localities the author is of the opinion that chromite occurs as segregated patches in serpentine, which on weathering yield large and small pieces of pure mineral with a little serpentine. Chromite occurs associated with serpentine, etc. in a similar manner in Southern India and Baluchistan.

The other localities where chromite occurs in some quantity are Zeitaung 473, W S W. of Zibinkwin village and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Shwelaungyin.

No true estimates of the quantity of chromite can be made without detailed prospecting operations. But these localities are believed to be worth further attention. The lack of easy communications and transport and the absence of any works in the country requiring the mineral are, at present, some of the difficulties in the way of mineral enterprise. According to Messrs. Steel Brothers, a ton of chromite is worth only Rs. 90 at Rangoon at the time of writing and, as remarked above, its occurrence in patches and the absence of good roads, are great hindrances in the way of its exploitation. However, the ore is sufficiently pure and contains about 57 per cent. of the chromium oxide against 68 per cent. as compared with the theoretical quantity.

(b) *Pyrites*.—The other mineral of economic importance, associated with serpentine is iron pyrites. The locality is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Kwingyi and is locally known as Dok-hta Chaung (Dok-hta in Burmese = vitriol, chaung = stream). A lode of pyrites is associated with a vein of serpentine, which is intrusive in the Negrais shales and sandstones where they are very much altered at the contact and highly indurated. The pyrites lode has an average thickness of about six feet and runs roughly in a north-south direction, but I think, more in a north-east south-west direction. The lode crops out at four places in a distance of about quarter of a mile in a stream which is a tributary of the Kanazo Chaung and finally disappears beneath the Negrais rocks in the hills. At one place the known width of the lode was forty feet and it is hoped that on further cutting the width may become greater. At one or two places, beautiful sections of the lode with the overlying and underlying rocks are open to view in the stream channel (Plate VI, Fig. 1). Overlying the lode is the ferruginous cap or gossan, which consists of red ferruginous material.

more clayey in nature. Intervening between the gossan and pyrites lode brownish black iron-ore, probably haematite mixed with magnetite, occurs, as octahedral crystals of the latter were observed on the surface of pyrites. There seems to be some copper pyrites associated with the mineral as pieces of malachite were also found there. Quartz, as usual, is also present, sometimes in a well crystallised condition. In places the lode is quite compact and massive but at others it is of a conglomeratic nature, *i.e.*, small pieces of pyrites cemented by the same matrix.

The following is the chemical analysis of pyrites :—

Iron	...	...	42.84
Copper	...	..	1.68
Sulphur	...	...	45.42
Silica	...	...	10.08
			<hr/>
			100.02
			<hr/>

The area is held under mining lease by Mr. D'Attalides of Bassein, and the author met his manager Maung Po Than who assisted him in examining the ground.

It will appear from the above description that Theobald's remarks that the serpentine never occurs in veins does not hold good in this case as the pyrites lode is associated with an undoubted vein of serpentine.

It may be mentioned that this pyrites (Dok-hta) is used by the natives as a cure for tooth-ache, etc.

Pyrites also occurs in small isolated pieces in the Negrais rocks.

(c) *Graphite*.—Besides the numerous small occurrences of graphite-schist in the Negrais and Nummulitic rocks, two localities are important and deserve mention. The first is in the main tributary to Kattu Chaung a little over a mile south-west of Wadawkwin. The country rock is chlorite schist, in which both graphite and quartz occur as lenticles. Just above the point where the mineral vein crops out, a small water channel exists exposing this graphite-bearing schist for some distance above. Indeed graphite seems to be present to a height of about 75 feet. The quartz boulders increase as the hill is ascended.

The graphite seems to have originated by the contact metamorphism of an impure coal seam in a carbonaceous shale or sandstone. Boulders of the graphite-schist and sandstone are found side by side and there seems to be some quantity of impure graphite which cannot be of great value as it occurs in a fine state of intercalation with chlorite-schist and quartz.

Another locality, where graphite is found associated with schists, in the form of lenticles, is found a little more than a mile south of Kyibin, a little south-west of the road to Wadawkwin. The section of the schists

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is exposed in a small stream called Thitva Chaung and the hill is known as Subutk-taung. Much quartz is found associated with the schists and small pieces and boulders are scattered about. The incoming of quartz, here, as elsewhere, indicates the approach of the aureole of contact metamorphism. The schists on the east are covered by Plateau gravel.

Both these deposits of graphite were formed as a result of intrusion of the serpentines.

(d) *Coal*.—The only outcrop of coal in this area is that near Kyibin, it suffices to mention that the occurrence is absolutely worthless and the description given by Dr. Murray Stuart is quite enough.

In passing mention may be made of what was believed by the natives to be coal. On examination it was found that it consisted of highly indurated and friable black serpentine at the contact.

In conclusion it may be said that mineral prospects are not good from the Negrals rocks themselves, but sometimes minerals have developed in the igneous rocks, wherever the former have been invaded by intrusions (e.g. serpentines.) From this it appears that it would be, advantageous to prospect the igneous rocks of the Negrals region.

(e) *Road Metal and Building Stones*.—There is an unlimited supply of road metal in all the formation except the Sitsayan shales. The sandstones of Eocene age and the Negrals rocks furnish excellent road metal, which is not difficult to quarry on account of bedding and jointing, but the lack of good communications is a serious problem. Nummulitic sandstone is being worked at several places for use as road metal in Henzada and Bassein Districts. Plateau gravel has been used as ballast on the railway on the Henzada-Myogwin line. There is very little demand for building stones except for bridges, pagodas, etc., in the district as the houses are mainly made of timber. In the latter they sometimes use bricks also.

(f) *Serpentine and Soapstone*.—The serpentine cannot be used for big ornamental purposes because of the brittleness of the rock and difficulty of procuring large blocks free from joints. However, it may be employed for small ornamental purposes as it takes good polish. Light green soapstone (*Kingu-san*) occurs associated with serpentine in places in the form of veins and was used by Burmans for writing purposes. Sometimes veins of fibrous asbestos are also seen in serpentine, e.g. Gyobintaung, about one and a half miles north-west of Kyeikkwin.

X. Summary and Conclusions.

The serpentines of Henzada and Bassein districts have been described in this paper and in all twenty-three intrusions occur in the Negrais and Nummulitic sandstone series over a distance of 26 miles. The serpentines yield very little soil and hence support a specialised type of vegetation comprising *In* (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*) and *Myinwa* (*Dendroclamus strictus*).

Petrologically the intrusive rocks include wholly or partially altered peridotites, saxonites, lherzolites and dunites. Interesting types like hornblende granulite and hornblende-eclogites have also been described from the area. Sometimes diorite (micro-) occurs at the periphery of the serpentine masses. Quartz occurs in considerable quantities in the neighbourhood of intrusions and is believed to be of magmatic origin. In places the contact effects are well-marked. It has been observed that wherever the country-rock consisted of shales, it has been transformed into schists but otherwise only hardening, baking, induration and crushing are seen when the previous rock was a sandstone.

A belt of serpentine extends from the Andaman Islands to the frontier of Burma in the north and has been depicted on a sketch map. The writer has arrived at the conclusion that serpentine intrusions are of late Cretaceous to early Eocene age, because the rocks are intrusive in Negrais as well as Nummulitic sandstones (provisionally referred to Laki stage). The latter also enclose fragments of this mineral showing that the denudation of serpentine was going on while some masses were still to be intruded in the newly deposited rocks.

Chromite occurs associated with serpentine as segregated patches and on weathered surface big nodules of this mineral are to be seen. It appears in places, that the mineral is present in some quantity but lack of proper communications is a hindrance in the way of its exploitation.

A lode of pyrites about 6 feet thick and in places about 40 feet wide has been found associated with a vein of serpentine. Impure graphite also occurs generally as a product of contact metamorphism. The coal deposits of the area are worthless.

Light green soapstone (*Kingu San*) is associated with serpentine in places and was used by Burmans for writing purposes. The serpentine cannot be used for big ornamental purposes because of its fatal defect of jointing, however, it may be employed for small ornamental purposes as it takes a good polish.

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XII. Explanation of Plates and Photomicrographs.

Plate IV. Geological sketch map.

Plate V. Sketch-map, showing the belt of serpentine and the central volcanic line of Burma.

Plate VI.

Fig 1. Section showing the outcrop of the pyritic vein in Dok-ha Chaung.

Fig 2. Serpentine intrusions, photographed from Kyauktalon village.

Plate VII.

Fig 1. Nummulitic sandstone showing a distorted foraminifera.

Fig 2. Nummulitic sandstone with enclosed fragments of serpentine.

Fig 3. Nummulitic sandstone showing a fragment of volcanic rock in the centre.

Fig 4. Serpentine with a band of chrysotile showing banded structure (in ordinary transmitted light).

Plate VIII.

Fig 1. The same as above under crossed nicols.

Fig 2. Pale brown serpentine showing dendritic markings.

Fig 3. Serpentine after dunite showing mesh structure.

Fig 4. Serpentinised peridotite showing granitoid aggregate of serpentine (often olivine), diallage and bastite.

Plate IX.

Fig 1. Serpentinised ilmenite, showing serpentinised olivine augite and enstatite.

Fig 2. Garnet-rock.

Fig 3. Hornblende-ganulite.

Fig 4. Microdiorite showing granitoid aggregate of hornblende and altered felspar.

PLATE VI.

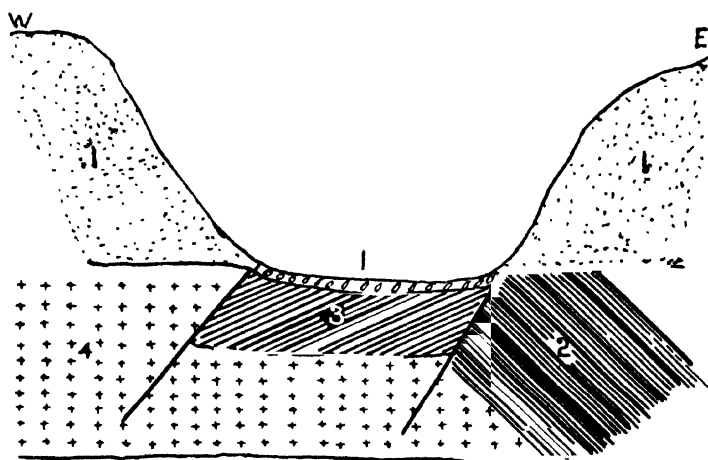


Fig. 1.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1 GOSSAN. | 3 MINERAL LODGE. |
| 2 NEGRAIS SHALES | 4 SERPENTINE VEIN. |

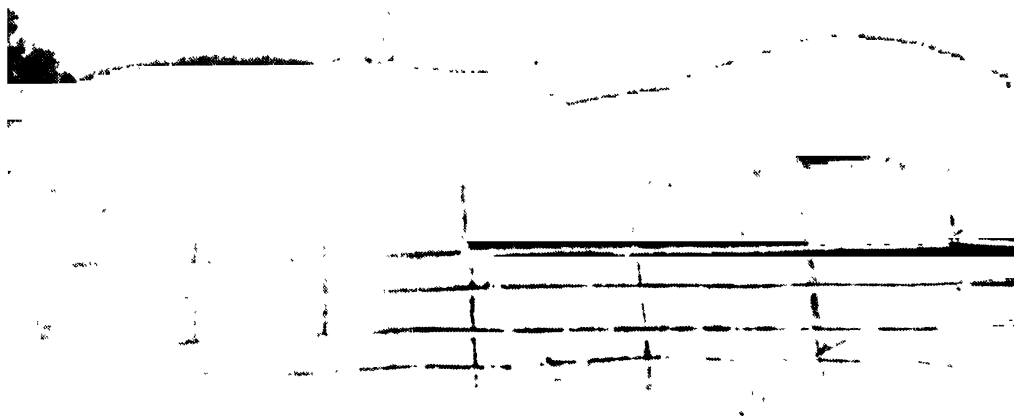


Fig. 2.

PLATE VII



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

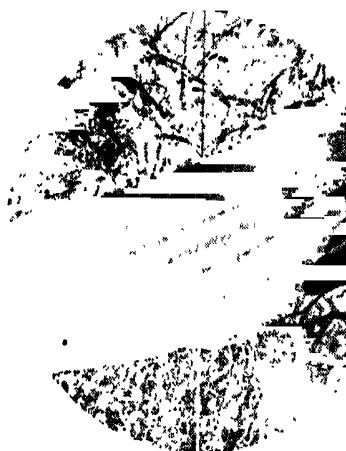


Fig. 4

LIST OF CESTODES COLLECTED IN RANGOON DURING THE YEARS 1923-26.

BY

F. J. MEGGITT,
(University of Rangoon.)

SYSTEMATIC.

ORDER CYCLOPHYLLIDEA Braun 1900.

Family Anoplocephalidae Fuhrmann 1907.

Sub-family Anoplocephalinae Blanchard 1891.

Anoplocephala Blanchard 1848.

manubriata Railliet, Henry and
Bauche 1914.

Elephas maximus (Toungoo.)

Moniezia Blanchard 1891.

expansa (Rudolphi, 1810).

Capra hircus.

expansa (Rudolphi 1810).

Camelus.

Sub-family Avitellinae Gough 1911.

Stilesia Railliet 1895.

globipunctata (Rivolta 1874).

Capra hircus.

Sub-family Linstowinae Fuhrmann
1907.

Oochoristica Lühe 1899.

agamae Baylis 1919.

Hemidactylus gleadowii.

amphisteteta Meggitt 1923.

Herpestes albopunctatus.

crassiceps Baylis 1920.

Calotes versicolor.

† *fibrata* Meggitt 1926.

Boiga cyaneus.

Dipsadomorphus multimaculatus.

† *figurata* Meggitt 1926.

Crocidura murina.

Thysanotaenia.

† *incognita* Meggitt 1926.

Family Davineisae Fuhrmann 1907.

Sub-family Davaineninae Braun 1900.

Cotugnia Diamare 1893.

brotogerys Meggitt 1915.

Platycercus eximius.

cuneata nervosa Meggitt 1924.

Columba livia dom.

• • *cuneata tenuis* Meggitt 1924.

Columba livia dom.

In press.

Larval stages.

† Host from Victoria Memorial Park, Rangoon.

digonopora (Pasquale 1890).

seni Meggitt 1926.

Davainea Blanchard 1891.

proglottina (Davaine 1860).

Raillietina Fuhrmann 1920.

aruensis (Fuhrmann 1911).

birmanica Meggitt 1926.

corvina (Fuhrmann 1905).

facile Meggitt 1926.

† *famosa* Meggitt 1926.

† *flabralis* Meggitt 1926.

† *flaccida* Meggitt 1927.

fuhrmanni (Southwell 1922).

leptosoma (Diesing 1850).

microsolecina (Fuhrmann 1909).

parviuncinata Meggitt and Po Saw
1924.

pseudoechinobothrida Meggitt 1926.

reynoldsae Meggitt 1926.

tetragona (Molin 1858).

torquata Meggitt (1924).

sp. Meggitt 1926.

Gallus ferrugineus G. *gallus*
dom.

Psittacus eximius.

Gallus gallus dom.

Lorius lory.

Gallus gallus dom.

Corvus splendens insolens.

Tragopan satyra.

Electus pectoralis.

Dichoceros bicornis.

Pterocles orientalis.

Crocopus phoenicopterus.

Platycercus eximius

Cacatua moluccensis.

Anas boschas dom.

Gallus gallus dom.

Corvus splendens insolens.

Gallus gallus dom.

Columbia livia dom.

Gallus ferrugineus.

Family † *Biuterininae* n. fam.

† *Deltokeras* n. g.

† *ornitheios* n. sp.

Urocissa occipitalis.

Family *Hymenolepididae* Railliet and Henry 1907.

Sub-family *Dilepininae* Fuhrmann 1907.

Amoebotaenia Cohn 1899.

sphenoides (Railliet 1892).

* *sphenoides* (Railliet 1892).

Gallus ferrugineus.

Pheretima peguana.

Choanotaenia Railliet 1896.*

barbara Meggitt 1926.

galbulae (Gmelin 1790).

innominata Meggitt 1926.

magnicirrosa Meggitt 1926.

Passer montana.

Corvus splendens insolens.

Finch.

Acridotheres tristis.

Sub-family *Dipylidiinae* Stiles 1896.

Dipylidium Leuckart 1863.

caninum (L., 1758).

Canis familiaris.

MEGGITT—CESTODES COLLECTED IN RANGOON DURING THE YEAR 1923-26

Sub-family Fimbriariinae Meggitt 1924.*Fimbriaria* Frolich 1802.*fasciolaris* (Pallas 1781).*Anas boschas dom.***Sub-family Hymenolepidinae** Ransom
1907.*Hymenolepis* Weinland 1858.*clerci* Fuhrmann 1923.*rugosus birmanicus* Meggitt 1924.*Passer montana.**Columba livia dom.**Weinlandia* Mayhew 1925.*farciminosa* (Goeze 1782).*Acridotheres tristis.**Corvus splendens.*†*ficticia* Meggitt 1926.*Pelican.*†*furcata* (Stieda 1862).*Crocidura murina.**rustica* (Meggitt 1926).*Gallus gallus dom.**minutissima* Meggitt 1926.*Crocidura murina.*†*solitaria* Meggitt 1926.*Crocidura murina.***Family Taeniidae** Ludwig 1886.*Multiceps* Goeze 1782.**multiceps* (Leske 1780)*Sus cristatus.**Taenia* Linnaeus 1758.*hydatigena* (Pallas 1766).*Canis familiaris.***hydatigena* (Pallas 1766).*Capra hircus.**taeniaeformis* (Batsch 1786).*Felis domestica.**†*sp.* Meggitt 1926.*Semnopithecus entellus.***ORDER PSEUDOPHYLLIDEA** Carus 1763.**Family Diphylobothriidae** Lühe 1910.**Sub-family Diphylobothriinae**, Lühe 1910.*Diphylobothrium* Cobbold 1858.*ranarum* (Gastaldi 1854).*Canis familiaris.***ranarum* (Gastaldi 1854).*Rana tigrina.**reptans* (Diesing 1850).*Canis familiaris.***reptans* (Diesing 1850).*Boiga cyaneus.**Nerodia piscator.**Ptyas mucosus.**Rhabdophis ceylonensis.**R. stolatus.* **Tropidonotus sp.*

Several unknown snakes,

Sparganum Diesing 1855.

sp. Meggitt 1923.

sp. ii.

Herpestes albopunctatus.

Dichoceros bicornis.

ORDER TETRAPHYLLIDEA Braun 1900.

Family Ichthyotaeniidae Ariola 1899.

Acanthotaenia Linstow 1903.

* sp. Meggitt 1926.

Crepidobothrium Monticelli 1899.

† *fima* Meggitt 1926.

† *fixa* Meggitt 1926.

mönnigi Fuhrmann 1924.

sp.

Bungarus fasciatus.

Rhabdophis stolatus.

Rhabdophis stolatus.

Unknown snake.

Oligodon purpureus.

SYSTEMATIC POSITION UNKNOWN.

Dithyridium Rudolphi 1819.

sp. i.

sp. ii.

sp. iii

sp. iv

sp. v

Rhabdophis stolatus.

Mabuia carinata.

Ophites jara.

Bungarus multicinctus.

Oligodon purpureus.

Cestode.

*sp.

Corvus splendens insolens.

LIST OF ANIMALS DISSECTED. MAMMALIA.

Primates.

† *Hyalobates hoolock* Harlan 1834.

† *H. lar* (L. 1771).

Papio hamydryas (L. 1766)

† *Semnopithecus entellus* (Dufresne 1797).

Trematoda (intestine).

Nematoda (intestine, coecum : 2 species).

* *Taenia* sp.

Nematoda (duodenum and intestine).

Carnivora.

Canis familiaris.

Dipyllobothrium ranarum (Gastaldi 1854).

D. reptans (Diesing 1850).

Dipylidium caninum (L. 1758).

Taenia hydatigena (Pallas 1766).

Nematoda (duodenum, intestine, stomach : 3 species).

MEGGITT—(ESTODES COLLECTED IN RANGOON DURING THE YEARS 1923-26.)

- † *Felis bengalensis* Kerr 1792. Nematoda (intestine, stomach,
mesenteric ulcer 3 species).
F. domestica. *Taenia taeniaeformis* (Batsch 1786).
† *F. leo* L. 1766. *Belascaris mystax*.
† *F. tigris* L. 1766. Nematoda (intestine).
Herpestes albopunctatus Hodgson 1853. Nematoda (cyst, stomach wall).
Oochoristica amphisbeteta Meggitt 1923.
Ursus malayanus Raffles 1882. * *Sparganum* sp. Meggitt 1926.
Pentorchis arkteios Meggitt 1916.
Nematoda (intestine).

Ungulata

- Camelus bactrianus* L. 1758. *Moniezia expansa* (Rudolphi 1810).
Capra hircus. *Moniezia* (?) *expansa* (Rudolphi 1810).
Elephas maximus L. 1758. *Stilcsia globipunctata* (Rivolta 1874).
† *Sus cristatus*. * *Taenia hydatigena* (Pallas 1786).
Anoplocephala manubriata Railliet
Henry and Bauche 1914.
Sus cristatus dom. * *Multiceps multiceps* (Leske 1780).
Nematoda (2 species).

Rodentia

- Mus concolor* Blyth 1859.
M. rattus L. 1766.
Nesocia bengalensis (Gray 1833). *Acanthocephala* (intestine).
Nematoda (stomach, intestine: 2 species).
Sciuropterus sagitta (L. 1766.) Nematoda (coelome).
Sciurus pygerythrus Geoffroy 1832.
† Large Indian squirrel Nematoda (mesentery).

Chiroptera

- Nycticejus kuhli*. Nematoda (intestine).
N. pallidus. Nematoda.
Trematoda (2 species).
N. plicatus (Buchanan-Hamilton 1800).
Pteropus medius Temminck 1827.

Insectivora

- Crociodura coerulea* Kerr 1792.
C. murina L. 1726. *Oochoristica figurata* Meggitt 1926.
Weinlandia furcata (Stieda 1862).
W. minutissima Meggitt 1926.
W. solitaria Meggitt 1926.

Marsupialia.

- ‡ *Macropus ruficollis* Desmarest 1817. *Thysanotaenia incognita* Meggitt 1926.
 ‡ *M. robustus* Gould 1840. Nematoda (liver, stomach : species).

AVES.**Accipitriformes.**

- Hieratus pennatus*.
Strix candida Tickell 1833. Nematoda (mesentry).

Anseriformes.

- Anas boschas* dom. *Fimbriaria fasciolaris* (Pallas 1781).
Raillietina parviuncinata Meggitt and Po Saw 1924.
 ‡ *Aythya ferina* (L.) Trematoda (coecum).
 ‡ *Cygnus cygnus* (L.) Nematoda (coecum).
 ‡ *Nettion crecca* (L.)

Columbiformes.

- Columba livia* dom. *Coturnia cuneata nervosa* Meggitt 1924.
C. cuneata tenuis Meggitt 1924.
Hymenolepis rugosa birmanica Meggitt 1924.
Raillietina torquata (Meggitt 1924).
 ‡ *Crocopus phoenicopterus* (Latham 1790). *Raillietina fuhrmanni* (Southwell 1922).
 Nematoda (trachea).

Coraciiformes.

- ‡ *Dichoceros bicornis* (L.) *Raillietina flabralis* Meggitt 1926.
Sparganum sp. ii.
 Nematoda (duodenum, diaphragm : 2 species).
 ‡ Hornbill. Nematoda (mesentry, stomach and oesophageal wall : 2 species).
 *Nematoda (intestinal wall).

Galliformes.

† <i>Chrysolophus pictus</i> (L.)	Nematoda (coecum).
† <i>Gallus ferrugineus</i> (Gmelin 1788.)	<i>Amoebotaenia sphenoides</i> (Railliet 1892). <i>Cotugnia digonopora</i> (Pasquale 1890). <i>Raillietina</i> sp. Meggitt 1926. Nematoda (intestine).
<i>Gallus gallus</i> dom.	<i>Amoebotaenia sphenoides</i> (Railliet 1892). <i>Cotugnia digonopora</i> (Pasquale 1890). <i>Davainea proglottina</i> (Davaine 1860). <i>Raillietina birmanica</i> Meggitt 1926. <i>R. pseudoechinobothrida</i> Meggitt 1926. <i>R. tetragona</i> (Molin 1858). <i>Weinlandia rustica</i> (Meggitt 1926).
† <i>Gennaeus lineatus</i> (Vigors 1831).	Nematoda (coecum).
† <i>G. nycthemerus</i> (L.)	Nematoda (coecum).
† <i>Lophura rufa</i> (Raffles).	Nematoda (duodenum, coecum : species). *Nematoda (intestinal wall).
† <i>Phasianus torquatus</i> (Gmelin).	Nematoda (coecum).
† <i>Pterocles orientalis</i> .	<i>Raillietina flaccida</i> Meggitt, 1926. Nematoda (intestine, rectum).
† <i>Tragopan satyra</i> (L. 1766).	<i>Raillietina facile</i> Meggitt, 1926. Nematoda (coecum).
†Somett's jungle fowl.	Nematoda (intestine, stomach : species).

Gruiformes.

†*Grus grus* (L.)

Passeriformes.

† <i>Acridotheres tristis</i> (L. 1766).	<i>Choanotaenia magnicirrosa</i> Meggitt 1926. <i>Weinlandia farciminosa</i> (Goeze 1782). <i>Acanthocephala</i> (intestine). Nematoda (coelome, rectum, connective tissue : 3 species).
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Corvus splendens insolens Hume 1874. *Choanotaenia galbulae* (Zeder 1803).

Raillietina corvina (Fuhrmann 1905)

R. reynoldsae Meggitt 1926.

Weinlandia farciminosa (Goeze 1782)

*Cestode sp.

Acanthocephala (intestine).

Trematoda (duodenum, intestine, rectum, gall-bladder : 4 species).

‡*Garrulax leucolophus* (Hardw).

Passer montana (L. 1766).

Choanotaenia barbara Meggitt 1926

Hymenolepis clerci Fuhrmann 1923.

Acanthocephala (intestine).

‡*Pycnonotus analis* (Hors. 1820).

Urocissa occipitalis (Blyth).

Deltokeras ornitheios Meggitt 1926.

Nematoda (intestine, bronchii :

2 species)

‡*Urolonchus punctulata*

Finch

Choanotaenia innominata Meggitt

1926.

‡Zebra finch

‡Himalayan blackbird

‡Jarva sparrow

Pelicaniformes.

‡Pelican

Weinlandia ficticia Meggitt 1926

Nematoda (stomach)

Psittaciformes.

‡*Cacatua moluccensis* (Gmelin)

Raillietina microscolecina (Fuhrmann 1909).

‡*Electus pectoralis* (P. S. L. Müller).

R. fumosa Meggitt 1926.

‡*Lorius lory* (L.)

R. aruensis (Fuhrmann 1908).

‡*Melanopsittacus undulatus* (Shaw).

‡*Platycercus eximius* (Shaw).

Cotugnia brotogerys Meggitt 1915.

C. seni Meggitt 1926.

Raillietina leptosoma (Diesing 1850)

Nematoda (intestine).

Ralliformes.

Amaurornis phoenicea (Penn 1769).

Nematoda (intestine).

*Nematoda (intestinal wall, mesentery).

Scansores

† *Rhamphastos carinatus* Swains.

Systematic position unknown.

† *Porphyriopolice phallus*.

† *Psephonotus haematonotus* (Gould)

REPTILIA.**Chelonia.**

Batagur baska.

Nematoda (intestine, rectum :
species).

Lacertilia.

Acanthosaurus major.

Trematoda (liver).

Calotes mystaceus.

C. versicolor (Daud).

Oochoristica crassiceps Baylis 1920.

Nematoda (intestine, rectum).

Trematoda (liver).

Pentastomida (liver).

Gecko verticillatus.

Trematoda (intestine).

Nematoda (intestine, stomach : 2
species).

Hemidactylus gleadowii.

Acanthocephala (liver, muscle).

Oochoristica agamae Baylis 1919.

Mabuia carinata.

Dithyridum sp. ii.

Nematoda (connective tissue).

Trematoda (intestine).

M. dissimilis.

Nematoda (intestine).

Trematoda (intestine, gall-bladder :
2 species).

Ophidia.

Boiga cyaneus.

* *Diphyllobothrium reptans* (Diesing
1850).

Oochoristica fibrata Meggitt 1926.

Acanthocephala (mesentery).

B. caeruleus (Schneider).

Nematoda (intestine).

Bungarus fasciatus (Schneider).

B. multicinctus.

Dipsadomorphus multimaculatus.

Nerodia piscator.

Oligode purpurescens.

Ophites jara

Ptyas mucosus.

Rhabdophis Ceylonensis

R. stolatus.

Simotes torquatus.

Tropidonotus sp.

Typhlos diardi.

**Acanthotaenia* sp. Meggitt 1926.

Nematoda (stomach, intestine,
lung : 3 species).

Pentastomida (fat).

Dithyridium sp. iv.

Nematoda (connective tissue).

Pentastomida (connective tissue).

Oochoristica fibrata Meggitt 1926.

Crepidobothrium sp.

**Diphyllobothrium reptans* (Diesing
1850).

Dithyridium sp. v.

Nematoda (rectum).

Dithyridium sp. iii.

Nematoda (intestine, stomach,
tissues : 3 species).

Trematoda (intestine).

Pentastomida (liver, connective
tissue).

Diphyllobothrium reptans (Diesing
1850).

Nematoda (lung, duodenum,
rectum : 3 species).

Acanthocephala (mesentery).

Pentastomida (connective tissue).

**Diphyllobothrium reptans* (Diesing
1850).

Nematoda (intestine).

Crepidobothrium fixa Meggitt
1926.

C. fixa Meggitt 1926.

**Diphyllobothrium reptans* (Diesing
1850).

Dithyridium sp. i.

Nematoda (intestine, rectum,
gall-bladder : 3 species).

Acanthocephala (intestine).

Nematoda (intestine).

**Diphyllobothrium reptans* (Diesing
1850).

Nematoda (connective tissue,
coelome, stomach : 3 species).

Acanthocephala (intestine).

Trematoda (intestine).

Pentastomida (lung, connective
tissue).

MEGGITT—CESTODES COLLECTED IN RANGOON DURING THE YEAR 1923-26.

Unknown snakes.

Crepidobothrium mönnigi (Fuhlmann 1924).

AMPHIBIA.

Anura.

Bufo melanostictus.

Mesocoelium sociale (Lühe 1901), intestine.

Nematoda (lung: 2 species).

Pentastomida (lung, muscle: 2 species).

Rana tigrina.

**Diphyllobothrium ranarum* (Gastaldi 1854).

Mesocoelium sociale (Lühe 1901) intestine.

Acanthocephala (mesentery).

Nematoda (rectum, liver: 2 species).

ANNELIDA.

Pheritima peguana.

**Amoebotaenia sphenoides* (Railliet 1892).

ARTHROPODA.

Periplaneta americana.

**Moniliformis moniliformis* (Bremser 1819), body cavity.

Fly.

*Nematoda (head).

Notes on the Larvae *Centrorhynchus aluconis* (Muller 1780) [*Acanthocephala*] found in Rangoon toads.

By

K. SUBRAMANIAN, 'B.A.

(*University of Rangoon*)

During July and August a large number of toads were dissected in the Laboratory for the purpose of investigating their *Acanthocephala* fauna. No adult *Acanthocephala* were found in the intestine. The toads contained large numbers of a larval *Acanthocephalan* belonging to the genus *Centrorhynchus*. Almost all the toads dissected were heavily infected with these larvæ, few being free from infection. The larvæ were found encysted in the various internal organs, stomach, intestine, liver etc, the bladder being a favourite haunt for them for, while in some specimens all the other organs were uninfected, the walls of the bladder invariably contained a number of these encysted forms.

It is my pleasant duty here to thank Prof. F. J. Meggitt who helped me at every stage of work.

Centrorhynchus aluconis (Müller 1780)

The adult form of *Centrorhynchus aluconis* has been recorded from the following hosts: *Circus aeruginosus*, *Haliæetus albicilla* and *Mergus albellus*. The larva occurs in *Hyla arborea*, *Rana esculenta* and *Tropidonotus natrix* (Lühe 1911, p. 43) In Rangoon it is very common in *Bufo melanostictus*, less common in *Rana tigrina* and rare in *Rhabdophis Ceylonensis*.

The larva in *Bufo melanostictus* is enclosed in an oval tough cyst, the size of which varies with the age of the larva. Measurements of four of these cysts are given below.

Length.	Diameter.
2'5 *	2
3'0	2
2'5	2
2'0	2

The cysts from *Rhabdophis Ceylonensis* were longer with the larva inside fully extended. They were also filled with a white powdery substance. Another peculiarity was the preponderance of female larvæ, males being extremely rare. The following description applies to the female.

* All measurements in millimeters.



The larva enclosed in the cyst is white, spindle-shaped when fully extended, measures 3 long and, thick, posteriorly the body of the female terminates in a bluntly pointed conical process, while in the male it is rounded off.

The proboscis varies in total length from 0.85—0.91. At the point of insertion of the proboscis receptacle approximately at the middle of the proboscis, the proboscis is constricted, diameter of proboscis at constriction 0.385, anterior to constriction 0.4375, posterior 0.4725. There are 30 longitudinal rows of hooks with 15 hooks in each row. Anteriorly the hooks are provided with well developed rectangular roots, posteriorly the root is recurved, root and hook being continuous, curved and S-shaped. The longest hooks have roots measuring 57.5'—60.5 μ , spines 35.75 μ long and are 16.5' broad at base. The proboscis receptacle is two layered, cylindrical and 0.7 long, Retractors of proboscis well developed.

In some of the specimens examined situated 0.175 below posterior end of proboscis receptacle are two ovaries, which break down in the adult, into the so-called "floating" ovaries or "placentulae." They are 0.14 long and 0.07 broad, placed side by side the anterior one a little above the posterior. The female reproductive system can be clearly seen.

The lemnisci are two club shaped bodies 0.7 long extending a little beyond the posterior end of the proboscis receptacle.

The method of infection of the load is not clearly known. The cysts on being swallowed by the permanent hosts directly develops into the adult.

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THE NWESHIN

By

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That animals may originate from plants is a popular belief in Burma. The animal is regarded, not as a metamorphosed plant, but as a portion budded off, the plant itself remaining as a separate entity. The classical example is that of the charming Princess Padonmadevi who issued forth from a lotus flower (padonma). Again, the "mwesein" (literally "green snake") is believed to arise from certain creepers and correspondingly to differ in its reproduction from the normal type of snake. As evidence many a person is prepared to swear to having seen a creeper shoot, the outer part of which had already changed into the head and neck of the "mwesein" while the remaining portion continued vegetable. Lastly there is the nweshin" (literally "live creeper") which is believed to become alive and motile on reaching water. A slightly different version holds that the metamorphosis is not actually effected, the "nweshin" remaining a creeper but becoming so active as easily to be mistaken for a snake.

(Specimens of "nweshin" submitted for examination were found to belong to the phylum Nematelminthes, Family Gordiidae. The habit of this worm of coiling—often in masses—round stems of water-plants and occasionally becoming detached, and of the larval form, hatching from egg-strings wound round water-plants and departing in search of its host, afford a ready explanation of the above belief.—Editor).

LIFE HISTORY OF *Thuja Occidentalis*

BY

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I. Introduction.

A. General Description.

Thujas are evergreen trees and shrubs. They are natives of China, Japan, Formosa and North America. They form trees of shapely pyramidal outline.

Thuja occidentalis is a tree, 50-60 feet high and usually 4-9 feet but occasionally 18 feet in girth, the trunk often forked from near the ground and prominently buttressed. Bark reddish-brown or orange-brown, fissured on old trees, the thin outer bark scaling off in small rolls. Branches horizontal, turning upwards at the ends. Branchlets slender, tough, flexible, divided near the apex into fine spray, smaller branchlets deciduous with the leaves after several seasons. Buds hidden by leaves. Leaves small, scale-like, overlapping, in four ranks of two opposite sets, the upper and lower ranks flattened, the side ranks rounded; dark green above, pale green below; those on leading shoots about $\frac{1}{6}$ inch long, sharp pointed, rounded on the back; those on lateral shoots smaller, about $\frac{1}{10}$ inch long, rounded or bluntly pointed.

Male and female cones on different branchlets of the same tree. A large number of forms have been given varietal names. Some are doubtfully distinct and become difficult to distinguish from the type with age.

Thuja orientalis is easily known by the vertical arrangement of its branchlets and by the strongly hooked cone scales. *Cupressus* is distinguished by the fact that the cones are rounded and the scales are usually four-sided with a distinct boss in the centre of each.

A few economic aspects of *Thuja* may be considered. Wood is light in weight, soft and fragrant, easy to work, very durable. It is widely used for building purposes, telephone and telegraph posts, furniture etc. The slender branches are sometimes woven into baskets and ropes. In *Juniperus*, oil is expressed by distillation from wood and leaves. That from the wood is often used for perfumery, sometimes in medicine. They have powerful diuretic properties. Wood of *Cupressus* is used for a wide range of purposes as in *Thuja*. Several of the cypresses are important timber trees. The wood of *Callitris* is valuable for building purposes, furniture, pedestals etc. Other economic products are tannin

from the bark, fragrant oils by distillation of shoots, leaves and cones, and resin from wounds on the bark. The species of *Callitris* are peculiarly adapted to dry, arid regions and apart from their value in arid places, the resistance of the wood to the attacks of white ants makes it specially valuable (Dallimore and Jackson, 1923).

B. Material and Methods.

The present work was conducted in the Botanical Laboratory of the Government College, Lahore. The tree from which the writer obtained his material for investigation is situated in the Botanical Garden of the same college. He began his collections in the beginning of the month of November, 1924, and continued till the end of March, 1925. Then again, the collections were begun in the middle of October, 1925 and ended near the end of February, 1926. Stray collections were made during the month of March, 1926, but owing to the shortness of time at the writer's disposal and to the long time taken for the material to get infiltrated, the writer simply preserved them in 70 per cent. alcohol plus glycerine mixture.

The writer is sorry to observe that he has been able to elucidate very few facts during the time at his disposal. He has been able to follow the sequence of development of the microsporangium. In the female cone the writer has only been able to see some of the earliest stages in the development of the ovule, such as the nucellus, megaspore-mother cells and the megaspores. This is partly referable to the fact that all his collections of the female cones last year got completely burnt down; and partly to the difficulty he experienced in the fixing of dates for particular stages.

It was on the initiative of Dr. S. L. Ghose, then Lecturer in Botany at Government College, Lahore, that the present work was undertaken. The need was also felt since very little work had been done on *Thuja*, the only paper on record being by Land (1902) on the "Morphological study of *Thuja occidentalis*". The writer wishes to express his indebtedness for many valuable suggestions to Dr. Ghose. He also begs to convey his sense of gratitude to Mr. Mohanlal Sethi M.Sc. under whose supervision and able guidance, the writer carried on his course of investigation.

The collections were made at least once a week, quite often bi-weekly and on occasions of need they were repeated more often.

The fixatives used were Flemming's weaker solution and Corrosive sublimate. The former gave by far the best results. Later the writer had to interpose Cornoy's fluid which proved useful in that it facilitated the penetration of Flemming's weaker fluid in the material.

The chief stain used was Haidenhain's Iron Alum Haematoxylin.

In the beginning four μ thick sections were cut and in the end six μ and sometimes eight μ which were particularly suitable for large blocks such as those of female cones.

II. Life History.

A. Male cone.

Male and female cones are found on the different branchlets of the same tree. The male cones are initiated about the middle of September. They arise from branchlets near the base of the shoot. They are when mature more or less cylindrical measuring $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long. The microsporophylls are numerous and follow the leaf arrangement *i.e.* arranged in decussate pairs. Each stamen consists of a blade-like tip from the abaxial side of which arise four sporangia which are more or less slightly elongated, being $681\ \mu$ in length and $534\ \mu$ in breadth.

In the cones fixed on October 15, 1925, a sporangium shows a distinct sporogenous tissue and two layers of the wall. The cells of the sporogenous tissue are filled with dark staining granules. They are polygonal and are distinguishable from the outer two layers of rectangular cells (Plate X, Fig 1).

On November 15, 1925, the inner-most layer in contact with the sporogenous tissue forms the nutritive jacket—the so-called tapetum (Plate X, Fig 2). The cells of this tapetal investment could be easily distinguished from the cells of the sporogenous tissue. They are lightly stained, larger in size, elongated in the radial direction and possess small nuclei whereas the sporogenous cells are smaller in size, deeply stained, more or less polygonal in shape and possess large nuclei.

Later, on November 23, 1925, two wall-layers can still be made out, the outer-most layer being quite distinct while the inner second layer seems to have been pressed (Plate X, Fig 3), while the tapetum continues to be distinct.

In early December, the mother cells become quite well organised, lying loose in the sporangial cavity. Two wall layers can still be made out though the tapetum is not so clear (Plate X, Fig 4.)

On December 30, 1925, next stage after mother cell stage shows well formed spores and the tapetum becoming inconspicuous and unimportant (Plate X, Fig 5), showing signs of disintegration. No reduction divisions have been observed. During 1924-25 the reduction divisions were suspected between 11th of December (when the cones showed the mother cell stage) and 17th, of December (when the spores were evident). During 1925-26 the writer made daily collections during the days reduction divisions were expected to take place, unfortunately he was not able to secure them. The cones collected on December 27 showed the mother cells while those collected on December 30, showed the spores. Thus it is clear that there has been a shifting forward of the days when reduction divisions take place and that they are completed within three days. This is hard to explain but it may very tentatively be suggested that this state of affairs may be due to annual climatic variations.

A later stage, January 28, shows the entire disappearance of tapetum with spores in the sporangium (Plate X, Fig 6). All that is left of the wall layers is a single outermost layer of it. The second wall layer and the tapetum are absorbed by the developing spores. Microspores measure 27.5μ in diameter, the first division takes place into the generative and tube nuclei before they are shed. They are further characterised by the absence of vestigial prothallial cells or of nuclei representing such cells (Lawson, 1907).

B. Female cone

Female cones when mature are oblong, measuring $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, green and erect when young, brown and pendent when mature; sporophylls in 4-5 pairs, the second and the third pairs larger than the others. The number of ovules is rigidly two and the ovules are erect (Plate X, Fig 7). Ovules near the extreme proximal and distal ends of the cone are abortive

On December 10, 1925, the nucellus was quite large, consisting of uniform cells, with no evidence of sporogenous tissue in the form of mother cells. The micropyle was long and fairly broad. The integument was free from the nucellus for a great distance and as the nucellus was young, the pollen chamber was deep and narrow. The integument showed no differentiation into the three characteristic layers but it showed four layers of undifferentiated cells (Plate X, Fig 8).

On February 7, 1926, two megaspore mother cells were seen to be clearly differentiated from the surrounding tissue by their conspicuously large nuclei and their densely granular cytoplasm. One of the two mother cells was in the resting condition, the other showing an early prophase (Plate X, Fig 9). These deep-lying mother cells were surrounded by a single layer of cells distinct from the rest, which may represent a tapetum. In the more recent literature of the subject, it has been referred as the "spongy tissue" (Coulter and Chamberlain, 1921, p. 257). Pollen grains were seen resting on the tip of the nucellus. Short pollen tubes were also seen about to penetrate the nucellar tissue.

The megaspore mother cells deeply placed in the nucellar tissue undergo the two reduction divisions and tetrads are formed. The writer could easily count five megaspores, two still enclosed by a common wall and the other three lying free from one another (Plate X, Fig. 10). In another section, all the eight megaspores are seen. The tetrads formed by the division of a mother cell is not linear but tetrahedral.

A few brief observations may be added as illustrative of the life history of *Thuja occidentalis* as supplying the the stages which the writer failed to find.

- (i) No male prothallial cells or nuclei are formed,

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- (ii) The pollen tube while penetrating the nucellar tissue shows no indication of branching.
- (iii) Two male cells of equal size are organised.
- (iv) The archegonia are six in number and are arranged in a single group—archegonial complex with a common layer of jacket cells.
- (v) No separating wall is formed between the egg nucleus and the ventral canal nucleus.
- (vi) Walls appear in the proembryo at the eight-nucleate stage.
- (vii) The cells of the proembryo are arranged in three distinct tiers—one tier of free nuclei open to the egg. The cells of the middle tier elongate and develop into the suspensors. The cells of the end tier form the embryo proper.

III. Summary

1. Male cones are initiated in the middle of September.
2. Microsporangia on October 15 showed two distinct wall layers and a well organised sporogenous tissue.
3. In the beginning of December, the mother cells become well defined.
4. Reduction divisions took place between 11th and 17th of December in 1924 and between 27th and 30th of December in 1925.
5. Pollen is ripe by the end of January.
6. Pollination takes place in the beginning of February.
7. The wall layers of microsporangium are two to three in the young condition but only one when mature.
8. The pollen is shed in the two-celled condition and no prothallial cells are formed (Lawson, 1907).
9. On December 10, the ovule showed well defined nucellus, integument free from the nucellus for a long distance, micropyle quite open and the pollen chamber deep and narrow.
10. On February 7, the two megaspore mother cells were seen lying deep in the nucellus and are surrounded by the so-called "spongy tissue."
11. The tetrads formed by the division of a mother cell was not linear but tetrahedral.
12. Eight megaspores were clearly seen.

IV. Description of Plates

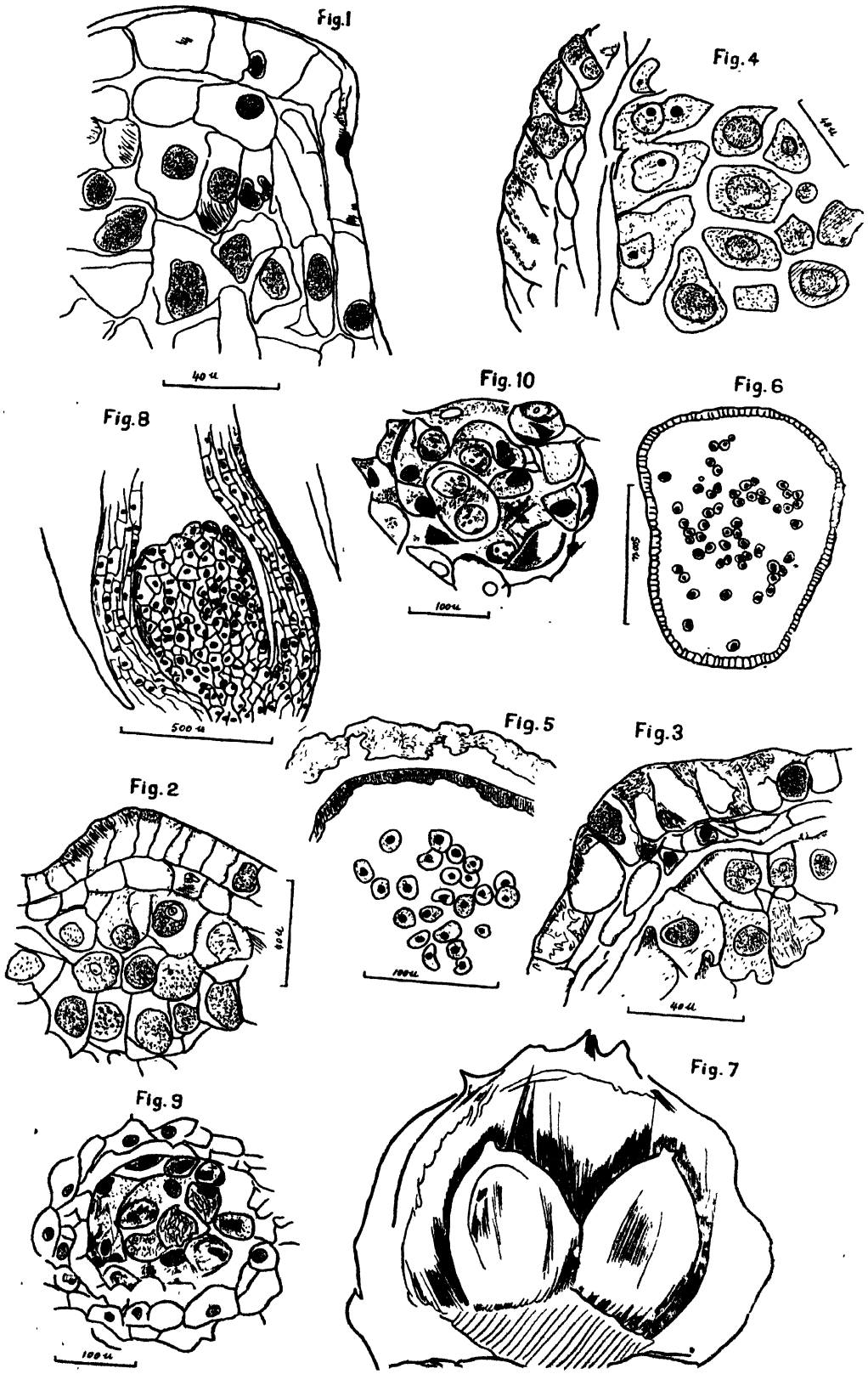
PLATE X.

- Fig. 1. T. S. of male cone. Shows sporogenous tissue of polygonal cells and two layers of rectangular cells.
- Fig. 2. Sporogenous tissue surrounded by a distinct tapetum. The two wall layers distinct.
- Fig. 3. Tapetum distinct but the inner wall layer seems to have been pressed.
- Fig. 4. Mother cells lying loose in the sporangium.

- Fig. 5. Shows spores. Tapetum inconspicuous, wall single layered.
 Fig. 6. Tapetum quite absent. Wall single layered. Spores lying free in the sporangium.
 Fig. 7. A megasporophyll with two erect ovules.
 Fig. 8. Shows nucellus and the open micropyle. Integument free from the nucellus for a long distance.
 Fig. 9. Two megaspore mother cells surrounded by the so-called "spongy tissue".
 Fig. 10. Five megaspores clearly seen, two enclosed by a common wall and the remaining three lying free from one another.

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THE MYXOPHYCEAE OF RANGOON. II.

By

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INTRODUCTION.

In an earlier paper, (Ghose 1926) were described 20 of the commonest species of Myxophyceae from Rangoon. In the present paper 10 more species, of which 3 varieties are new, are dealt with, and observations on their usual habitat are noted down. It is intended that as complete a record as possible of all the blue-green algae found in Rangoon may be made so as to enable future workers on the group in Burma and elsewhere to carry on their systematic and ecological investigations without the initial difficulty of the expenditure of a large amount of labour in the identification of their specimens, a task which, at present, can only be done with the help of rather rare and much scattered literature on the subject. For this reason, a yearly contribution towards our knowledge of the Myxophyceae of Rangoon will be made in this journal, and it is hoped that foreign workers on the subject will have ample opportunities of reviewing or criticising each of the instalments as it comes out.

Since the preceding paper on the subject a very useful and comprehensive book on the Blue-green Algae has been published at Jena, mainly through the efforts of Dr. Lothar Geitler of Vienna, and in the preparation of this paper it has been used frequently and profitably for the identification of species (Pascher 1925).

SYSTEMATIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SPECIES OBSERVED

Order I. **Coccogoneae** (*Thürel*) *Kirchner*.

Family **Chroococcaceae**.

Genus **Chroococcus** *Naeg*.

1. *Chroococcus indicus* Zell., in *Hedwigia* 1873, p. 168; Zeller 1873, p. 176; De Toni 1907, p. 17; variety *epiphyticus* var. nov.

Plate XI, Fig. 1.

Cells not found in a definite thallus but scattered on the surface of the substratum sometimes forming small irregular groups. Colonies generally 2-celled, occasionally single-celled, rarely 4-celled. Cells globose, 12-15 μ in diameter, bluish-green. Sheath hyaline or conspicuous, smooth, broad. Cell-contents granulose.

Habit. On the bark of *Moringa pterygosperma* intermingled with a species of *Penium* and *Scytonema miabile*, the latter forming a felt-like layer on the tree.

The type species was first described by Zeller in 1873, as occurring in a forest stagnant pond near Prome. The new variety differs from the type in three things, firstly, it does not form a thin gelatinous stratum as the type-form does, secondly, it has epiphytic habit, and thirdly its cells are very much broader, those of the type-species being only $3.5-7.5\ \mu$ in diameter. The species should not be confused with *Chroococcus indicus* of Bernard, which has been described from Buitenzorg and is characterised by thin sheaths and peculiar colony-formation (Bernard 1908, p. 47, plate I, figs. 4-5.)

Genus *Gloeocapsa* Kütz.

2. *Gloeocapsa conglomerata* Kütz., Tab. Phycol. I., p. 16, plate 20, fig. 8; De Toni 1907, 56; Lemmermann 1910, p. 63; Pascher 1925, p. 89, fig. 88; Tilden 1910, p. 18, plate 1, fig. 21; Ghose 1923, p. 336.

Plate XI, Fig. 2.

Stratum gelatinous, thin, dark olive-green, expanded. Cells globose, 2-8 or more, aggregated, at first blue-green later brownish, $3-5\ \mu$ in diameter. Sheaths thick, colourless, not lamellose. Cell-contents blue-green.

Habit. Generally on damp soil, during the rainy months. The stratum, as it gets drier, takes on a darker colour, hardens a little and then disappears. No spores were seen to be formed, but the walls of the cells become hard and brown and probably in this state the alga perennates. It is also sometimes found on the bark of some trees and shrubs.

Genus *Aphanocapsa* Nag.

3. *Aphanocapsa bififormis* A. Br., in Rabenh. Alg. No. 2453; De Toni 1907, p. 68; Lemmermann 1910, p. 60; Pascher 1925, p. 67; Ghose 1923, p. 336.

Plate XI, Fig. 3.

Stratum thin, gelatinous, olive-green, much expanded. Cells spherical, or slightly elongated before dividing, $4-7\ \mu$ in diameter, single or associated in pairs. Sheaths gelatinous, confluent. Cell-contents pale blue-green.

Habit. On damp sandy soil, during the rainy months. The stratum behaves in very much the same way as that of *Gloeocapsa conglomerata*, and cells have not been seen to form spores. The alga evidently flourishes in warm climates, as in Europe it is generally found on moist walls of out-houses (Lemmermann 1910, p. 60; De Toni 1907, p. 68). It has also been recorded from Lahore, as occurring on moist ground or banks of drains (Ghose 1923, p. 336).

GLIOSE—THE MYXOPHYCEAE OF RANGOON, II.

Order II. **Hornogoneae** (Thuret) Kirchner.

Cohort **Psilonemateae** Kirchner.

Family **Oscillatoriaceae**.

Genus **Phormidium** Kütz.

4. *Phormidium ambiguum* Gomont, Monogr. Oscill., p. 198, plate 5, fig. 10; De Toni 1907, p. 240; Lemmermann 1910, p. 127; Pascher 1925, p. 382, fig. 483; Tilden 1910, p. 103, plate 5, fig. 5.

Stratum more or less expanded, thin, blue-green, dark or yellowish-green. Filaments elongate, flexuous, variously entangled. Sheaths firm, or mucous and diffuent, hyaline. Trichomes 4-6 μ in diameter, very slightly constricted at the joints. Cells 2-2.5 μ in length. Apex straight rounded, neither attenuate nor capitate. Cell-contents granular, blue, green.

Habit. On damp soil where water has stood for some time. It is often met with on the sides of muddy roads, where rain-water collects in hollow depressions. In Europe this alga is found attached to water plants in standing water, which may be warm or saltish (Lemmermann 1919, p. 127.)

Genus **Symploca** Kütz.

5. *Symploca cartilaginea* (Mont.) Gomont, Monogr. Oscill., p. 113, plate 2, figs. 13-14; De Toni 1907, p. 306; Lemmermann 1910, p. 143; Pascher 1925, p. 392, fig. 498.

Plate XI, Fig. 5.

Filaments thickly aggregated, forming a dark blue-green stratum which is covered with sub-erect, spine-like bundles, 2-4 mm. high and consisting of upright threads arranged in a parallel manner. Sheaths thick, firm. Trichomes not constricted at the joints. Cells 2-3 μ in diameter, mostly longer than broad, pale blue-green. Apex conical.

Habit. On damp soil, which is more or less protected from direct sun-light.

Genus **Schizothrix** Kütz.

6. *Schizothrix arenaria* (Berk.) Gomont, Monogr. Oscill., p. 312, plate 8, figs. 11-12; De Toni 1907, p. 342; Lemmermann 1910, p. 150; Pascher 1925, p. 48, fig. 536. *Scytonema arenaria* Berkley, Ann. and Mag. of Nat. Hist. III, p. 327. *Hyphothrix arenaria* (Berk.) De Toni 1907, p. 342; Tilden 1910, p. 143, plate 6, fig. 4. *Schizothrix arenaria* (Berk.) Gom., variety *non-constricta* var. nov.

Plate XI, Fig. 6.

Stratum thin, blue-green, not encrusted with calcium carbonate. Filaments firm, strongly flexuous, closely entangled, below trunk-shaped, towards the apex divided and branched. Sheath hyaline, firm, roughened in outline, tapering at the apex, thick and lamellose in lower parts. Trichomes not constricted at the joints, 2-3 μ thick. Cells quadrate or longer than broad, blue-green. Apex acute-conical. Cell-contents pale blue-green.

Habit. On sandy places where rain-water has stood for a short time or where it has frequently been flowing for some time. It is generally associated with species of *Mougeotia* and *Zygnema*.

The new variety differs from the type-form only in having no clear constrictions at the joints of the trichome. It is interesting to note in this connection that Tilden perhaps found these constrictions 'in dried specimens' only (Tilden 1910, p. 143.)

Genus *Microcoleus* Desmaz.

7. *Microcoleus delicatulus* W. et G. S. West, Trans. of the Roy. Micr. Soc. 1896, p. 164; De Toni 1907, p. 378; Lemmermann 1910, p. 156; Pascher 1925, p. 435; variety *attenuatus* var. nov.

Plate XI, Fig. 7.

Stratum thin, bluish-green, made up of entangled threads. Filaments single, not branched, up to 70 μ broad. Sheaths mucilaginous, colourless, containing many trichomes. Cells 1.5-2 μ in diameter, much longer than broad. Apex spine-like.

Habit. On damp earth, occasionally on the outer side of hanging wooden orchid-boxes, and usually associated with other blue-green algae, especially species of *Scytonema*, on the top of which it forms a stratum of intertwined threads.

The new variety differs from the type-species in having broader threads, longer cells, and spine like apices to the trichomes.

Family Nostocaceae.

Genus *Nostoc* Vaucher.

8. *Nostoc muscorum* Agardh; Bornet et Flahault, Revis. des. Nostoc., Ann. Sci. Nat. Bot. VII, 1888, p. 200; De Toni 1907, p. 400; Lemmermann 1910, p. 7, 168; Pascher 1925, p. 299, fig. 349; Tilden 1910, p. 169, plate 7, figs. 12-14; Ghose 1923, p. 340.

Plate XI, Fig 8.

Stratum firm, gelatinous-membranous, at first more or less spherical later irregularly expanded, adhering by under surface, tuberculose, dark

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olive-green or yellowish-brown. Filaments flexuous, densely entangled. Sheaths clear only at the periphery of the stratum, yellowish-brown. Cells barrel-shaped or cylindrical $3-4\ \mu$ in diameter, up to twice as long as broad. Heterocysts globose. $6-7\ \mu$ broad. Spores oblong, in a catenate series, $4-8\ \mu$ in diameter, with a smooth yellowish wall.

Habit. On exposed damp soil, during the rains. In the beginning the thallus is strong and rounded but later it slowly expands and fuses with other thalli. In this way large conspicuous mucilaginous sheets are produced the surface of which is at first tuberculose but later becomes more or less folded.

9. *Nostoc microscopicum* Carmichael; Bornet et Flahault, Revis. des Nostoc., Ann. Sci. Nat. Bot. VII, 7, 1888, p. 210; Lemmermann 1910, p. 170; Pascher 1925, p. 302; Tilden 1910, p. 176, plate 8, fig. 5.

Plate XI, Fig. 9.

Colonies spherical or oblong, $1-5\ \mu$ mm. in diameter, soft, olive-green or brownish. Filaments loosely entangled. Sheaths clear in peripheral filaments, yellowish. Trichomes $5-7\ \mu$ in diameter. Cells somewhat spherical, blue-green, Heterocysts $7\ \mu$ in diameter, somewhat spherical. Spores $6-7\ \mu$ in diameter, $9-12\ \mu$ in length, oval, olive, with a smooth wall.

Habit. On the bark of *Moringa pterygosperma*, during later rainy months. On bright sunny days the stratum dries up and forms a thin dark brown crust, but as soon as it rains again the bark is seen to be covered with minute globular colonies of this alga, which do not grow very much larger but begin to form spores.

Cohort Trichophoreae Kirchner.

Family Rivulariaceae.

Genus *Calothrix* Agardh

10. *Calothrix thermalis* (Schwabe) Hansgirg; Bornet et Flahault, Revis. des Nostoc., Ann. Sci. Nat. Bot. VII, 3, 1886, p. 3; De Toni 1907, p. 625; Pascher 1925, p. 223, fig. 264; Tilden 1910, p. 268, plate 18, figs. 1-5.

Plate XI, Fig. 10.

Stratum mucilaginous, smooth, more or less expanded, deep olive-green, when dried blue-green. Filaments intricate flexuous, up to 3 mm. long, densely crowded. Sheaths somewhat thick, uniform, transparent, sometimes yellowish at the base. Trichome, up to $13\ \mu$ in diameter at the base, tapering at the apex into a long hair, constricted at the joints near the thinner end. Cells equal to or shorter than the diameter. Heterocysts basal and rarely intercalary, spherical or ellipsoidal.

Habit. On cement walls of drains, intermingled with some other species of blue-green algae. The species seems to be confined to rather warm places. In Europe it has been recorded from hotter places of Bohemia, Austria, Hungary and Italy, in Africa from Algeria (De Toni 1907, p. 626), and in America from Wyoming at the crater of Excelsior Geyser where the temperature ranges between 49-54.5° C; at the Fountain Hotel Geyser Basin it was found to be very common in colder portions of overflows at the temperature of 34° C. (Tilden 1910, p. 268).

Conclusion.

In conclusion I have much pleasure in expressing my indebtedness to the Research fund of the University of Rangoon for the provision of literature some of which has been used in the preparation of this paper.

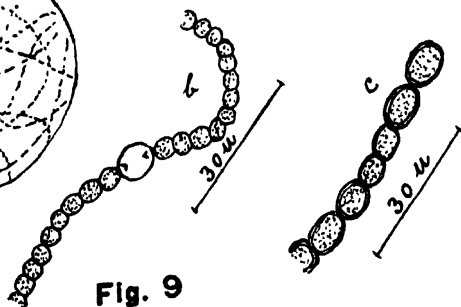
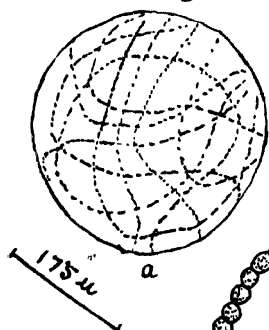
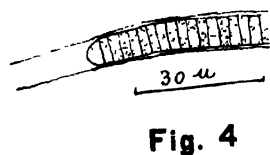
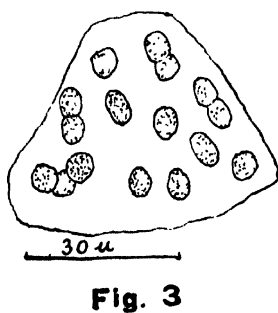
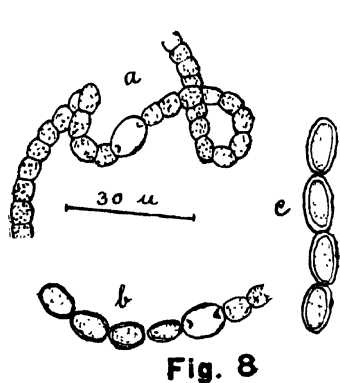
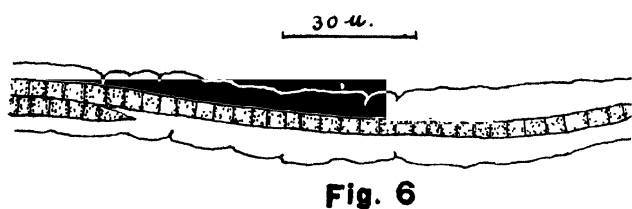
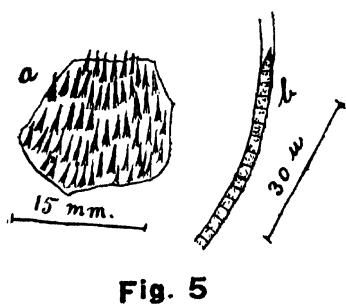
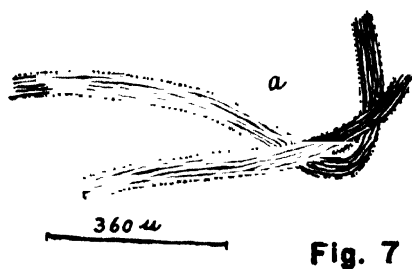
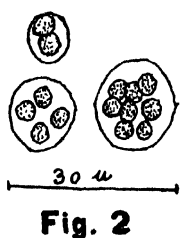
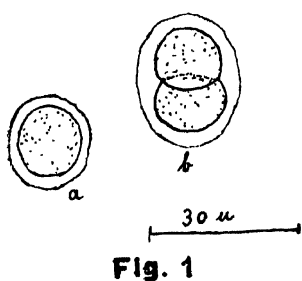
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Explanation of Figures.

PLATE XI.

- Fig. 1.** *Chroococcus indicus* Zell., variety *epiphyticus* var. nov. *a*, single cell; *b*, 2-celled colony.
- Fig. 2.** *Gloeocapsa conglomerata* Kütz.
- Fig. 3.** *Aphanocapsa biformis* A. Br. A portion of the thallus.
- Fig. 4.** *Phormidium ambiguum* Gom.
- Fig. 5.** *Symploca cartilaginea* (Mont.) Gom. *a*, a portion of the thallus; *b*, a filament.
- Fig. 6.** *Schizothrix arenaria* (Berk.) Gom., variety *non-constricta* var. nov.



GHOSE—THE MYXOPHYCEAE OF RANGOON, II.

- Fig. 7. *Microcoleus delicatulus* W. et G. S. West, variety *attenuatus* var. nov. *a*, threads; *b*, a trichome.
- Fig. 8. *Nostoc muscorum* Agardh. *a*, a trichome; *b*, young spores; *c*, mature spores.
- Fig. 9. *Nostoc microscopicum* Carmichael. *a*, a small colony; *b*, vegetative filament; *c*, spore-forming filament.
- Fig. 10. *Calothrix thermalis* (Schwabe) Hansgirg. *a*, a portion of the thallus teased out; *b*, a trichome.
-

Cyathodium cavernarum Kunze from Burma.

By

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Introduction.

The genus *Cyathodium* has been differently named by various authors, *Synhymenium* and *Monoslenium* by Griffith and *Riccia* by Dickson. It was in the year 1834 that the name *Cyathodium* was used by Kunze when he described the species *C. cavernarum* from Cuba. For a long time afterwards no serious work was done, except that two more species, *C. aureo-nitens* and *C. foetidissimum*, were described by Schiffner (3). In 1905 Lang made a thorough investigation into the morphology of *Cyathodium* (2). He re-described *C. cavernarum* and *C. foetidissimum*. Up to 1913 his was the only valuable work on the genus. In 1914 Professor S. R. Kashyap described a new species, *C. tuberosum*, from Mussoorie (1). A little later, Stephani described two more species, *C. mexicanum* from Guadalajara and *C. penicillatum* from Mussoorie; the latter probably is the same as *C. tuberosum* Kash. (4).

Last year a few species of *Cyathodium* were sent from Rangoon to Professor Kashyap, who very kindly gave me the privilege of examining them. This paper embodies the result of the investigation. The material was rather insufficient and therefore many details could not be worked out.

General Habit and Structure

The plants are generally found on sandy soil which is well-protected from direct sun-shine. They closely overlap one another and on an average are 0.8 cm long and 0.3 cm broad. They are dichotomously divided, the lobes being oblong in shape. Seen from above, the dorsal surface is perforated here and there by pores. The pores are circular in outline throughout the entire plant, unlike those of *C. tuberosum*. The size of the pore is nearly the same throughout the whole length of the plant; the average size is nearly 134 μ . In structure the pores are like the dorsal pores of *C. tuberosum*.

There is no distinct midrib, but its position is indicated ventrally by the presence of rhizoids and scales. The rhizoids are of two kinds—the thick-walled narrow and thin-walled wide ones, but the former kind do not possess peg-like thickenings. The scales are simple and show no distinction into an appendage and a basal portion. They are simply made up of a row of cells or cell-plates.

KHANNA.—CYATHODIUM CAVERNARUM KUNZE FROM BURMA.

Adventitious branches are present in this species (Plate XII, Fig. 1.). The branches are marginal in origin. They have a basal cylindrical portion and an expanded upper portion.

Sex Organs

The plants are monoecious (Plate XII, Figs. 2 & 3.) The male receptacle may be terminal or lateral (Plate XII, Fig. 2); it is sometimes found between the angle of the two lobes which bear female receptacles (Plate XII, Fig. 3).

The mature sporogonium consists of a short foot and a seta consisting of a row of cells (Plate XII, Fig. 6). The wall of the capsule is made up of a single layer of cells. The cells of the upper third of the capsule-wall have thickenings all round (Plate XII, Fig. 5), whereas the cells of the remaining two-thirds have thin walls and in young sporogonia are full of starch grains. At the top of the capsule is the apical disc which projects into it (Plate XII, Fig. 4). At the time of dehiscence the apical disc is thrown off and the sporogonium opens by eight blunt teeth formed by the splitting of the thick-walled upper cells of the capsule-wall. The sporogonium is protected by the calyptra till it is fully ripe. The elaters are like those of *Cyathodium tuberosum* and the spores are darkish-brown. The exosporium is spinous, but the spines are not so numerous as they are on the spores of *C. tuberosum*.

The size of mature capsule is about 400 μ . The spores with the spines are about 63 μ in diameter. The elaters are longer than the diameter of the capsule, and on an average reach the length of 487 μ . They seem to be rather few, as the largest number counted was 20.

The writer concludes on the strength of the following characters that the Rangoon species is *Cyathodium cavernarum* Kunze :—

1. The size of the thallus is the same as that of *C. cavernarum*.
2. Adventitious buds are present
3. The plants are monoecious.
4. The size of the sporogonium is nearly the same in both species.
5. The size of the ripe spore and the elater also corresponds with that in *C. cavernarum*.

The species seems to have a wide distribution in Burma, as Dr. Ghose reports that it is also frequently met with in the Mergui Archipelago, growing in comparatively dark and shaded places.

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- (3) **Schiffner. F.** : Hepaticae in Engler and Prantl's Pflanzenfamilien.
- (4) **Stephanie, F.** : Species Hepaticarum, 1917.

Explanation of Figures.

PLATE XII.

- Fig. 1 : *Cyathodium cavernarum* Kunze. Shows marginal buds (a) and sporogonia (b).
- Figs. 2 & 3 : *C. cavernarum*. Monoecious plants. a, antheridial receptacle; b; sporogonium.
- Fig. 4 : *C. cavernarum*. Apical portion of the capsule, showing the apical disc and spore.
- Fig. 5 : *C. cavernarum*. Capsule-wall, showing thickenings in its upper third part.
- Fig. 6 : *C. cavernarum*. Portion of L. S. of the sporogonium, showing the foot and the seta.

2.25 mm.

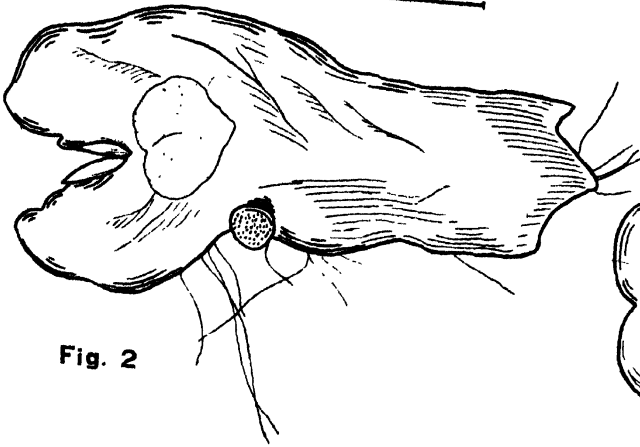


Fig. 2

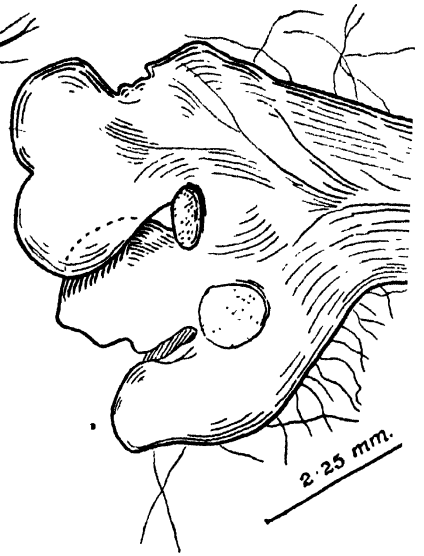


Fig. 3

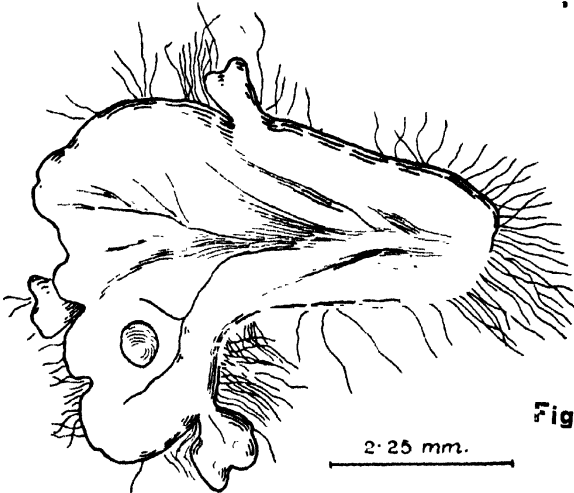


Fig. 1

2.25 mm.

Fig. 4

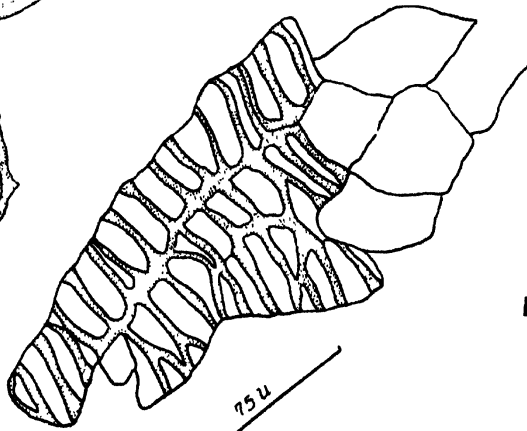
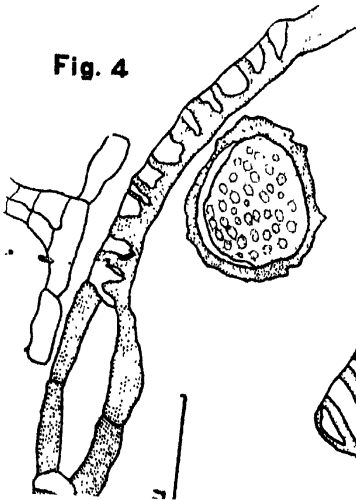
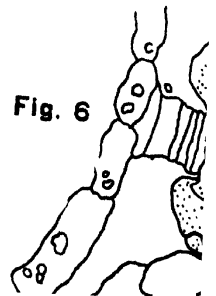


Fig. 5

Fig. 6



HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT

The Economic Factor.

[Based on a lecture delivered to the members of the Engineering Society, University College, Rangoon].

BY

PROFESSOR W. NELSON ELGOOD,
Engineering Department.

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Introduction.

Water-power is one of the chief natural advantages of a country and the development of water-power in civilized countries during recent years is undoubtedly one of the romances of engineering.

A glance at Tables 1, 2, and 3, which have been compiled from figures given in the Chambers of Commerce Atlas, Edition 1925, shows the water-power possibilities of the several countries of the world. While these figures are only approximately correct for certain countries a general estimate of the power available can be obtained.

Continent.	Developed.	Un-developed,
Europe ...	13,123,000	74,935,000
Asia ...	2,027,000	92,863,000
Africa ...	11,000	190,000,000
Australasia ...	124,000	14,466,000
N. America ...	12,868,000	76,358,000
S. America ...	424,000	53,573,000
Total ...	28,577,000	505,218,000

Developed and Un-developed Water-power of Continents in H. P.

TABLE NO. 1.

In arriving at conclusions it must be remembered that potential power is the outcome of climatic conditions combined with topographical

features, and that the continents and countries mentioned cover the temperate and tropical zones and a portion of the arctic zone, and include all phases of temperature and all precipitation factors.

Country.	Developed	Un-developed.	Percentage of Total Developed Power.	H. P. per head of Population.
U. S. A. ...	9,130,000	35,800,000	20.3	0.086
Canada ...	3,227,000	28,850,000	10.0	0.367
Norway ...	1,820,000	10,380,000	14.9	0.687
France ...	2,500,000	6,900,000	26.5	0.064
Sweden ...	1,410,000	7,384,000	16.1	0.238
Switzerland ...	1,490,000	6,510,000	16.6	0.384
Japan ...	1,694,000	4,700,000	26.5	0.030
Spain ...	1,261,000	4,740,000	21.0	0.059
Italy ...	1,450,000	4,050,000	26.4	0.037
Germany ...	1,070,000	280,000	79.0	0.018

Developed and Un-developed Water Power of Chief Countries in H.P.

TABLE No. 2.

In regard to the figures given in the Chambers of Commerce Atlas it is explained that "whenever possible the estimates are based upon the continuous house-power available during the periods of low water level in reservoirs or rivers. Since, however, it is customary to instal hydro-electric plants capable of utilizing the maximum flow of water available at periods of high water level, the figures both for developed and potential sources of water power might well be doubled. Thus while our estimates show not scarcely $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the world's potential water power has been harnessed for industrial purposes it is probably more correct to assume, that, at the present time, it has only been utilized to the extent of about two to three per cent. It has been estimated that the ultimate develop-

ELGOOD—HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT THE ECONOMIC FACTOR.

ment of the world's sources of water power, if fully utilized, would be fourfold the amount of the world's present total production of power for industrial purposes, obtained from all sources"

Country.			Power.	Percentage obtained from Water-power.
Sweden	...	...	1,550,000	91'5
Switzerland	...	...	1,620,000	91'5
Norway	...	...	1,960,000	92'4
Italy	...	...	1,090,000	72'5
Japan	...	...	3,420,000	49'5
France	...	...	3,500,000	71'0
Canada	...	...	3,560,000	90'5
United Kingdom	...	...	3,080,000	6'3
Germany	...	...	4,530,000	23'5
U. S. A.	...	...	33,670,000	27'0

Electric Power of Principal Countries in H. P.

TABLE NO. 3.

Water-power development is now more active than it has been in previous years. Improvements and inventions in transmission and distribution of power by electricity have followed each other rapidly during the past quarter century, and the methods of development of water-power have become standardized. The earning capacity of operating hydro-electric installations has been in the majority of cases, both privately and publicly owned, sustained through periods of acute trade depressions. The earning capacity is reflected in the ease with which money is raised at the present day for capital investment in projected installations. The securities of the greater number of companies have remained firm during the post-war years of depression, and further capital for improvements and extensions has at all times been readily obtained.

The present extensive and growing use of hydro-electric energy is dependent upon the cost factor, which must be lower than that of fuel operated stations, or not higher than that that can be afforded by present

and potential consumers. High tension transmission of electrical energy has enabled power to be transported from its source of development to the site of consumption at a comparatively low cost, and has enabled the cost factor of hydro-electric installations under certain conditions to remain, in general, below the mean level required for economic development.

The problem to be solved in a projected hydro-electric installation is the one contained in the equation involving the terms of capital cost, recurring expenditure and revenue. It must be realised, however, that development may only be possible after combinations of water and other resources have been considered. In India, for example, where during each year there is a dry period of many months which is broken by one or two monsoon periods, irrigation and water-power problems are, in general, united. This country is dependent on stored water, and as its very existence depends upon irrigation, irrigation may have to be considered before any water-power project is involved. Water-power development must at all times give way to irrigation if there is a clashing of their respective claims.

In the following it is proposed to assume that hydro-electric development contains solely the one problem in the economic equation, and that investigation in conjunction with other utility projects is not necessary. It is impossible, here, to consider all cases that can arise, and the author feels that, after a survey of the installations in Canada, United States of America, New Zealand, and several continental countries, the consideration of exceptional cases is not justified in a general treatment of the subject, and that any results obtained from consideration of such cases would lead to deductions of little value. In a large number of cases of combinations of utility projects where one is a hydro-electric installation this installation can be isolated in the economic investigation, and the factors governing its economic side will be, in the main, similar to those of an installation of a simple nature.

The evolution of design of modern water-power plants has occurred during the past quarter of a century. Previous to this period when the means of economical transmission and distribution of power were not known, water was conducted through channels to independent turbines or wheels located on the sites where power was required. The standard design of to-day sub-divides a scheme into as few power units as possible, usually three to five, these units being installed in one power house. The maximum permissible head is utilized and the power house is located as near to the impounded water, or other source of supply, as this condition and the topography of the country will allow. The water may be conducted to the power units by pressure pipe or pressure tunnel, or the power house may be located in the dam or beside the spillway. The consumers of the power may be distant over two hundred miles from the power house.

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The modern development of hydro-electrical schemes appears now to be so perfected that it is doubtful if any revolutionary changes in the recognized standardized lay-outs can occur. Improvements in transmission and distribution will be made. The efficiencies of modern turbines of standard designs have reached 90 to 93 per cent., and to the writer it seems doubtful if much higher efficiencies can be obtained; mechanical and other friction must absorb a maximum of at least 5 per cent.

Hydro-electric projects are usually classified according to the head of water utilized. The classification given by Professor A. H. Gibson shown in Table No. 4 has been in general use during recent years.

Classification.		Head in Feet.	Power unit.
Low Head	...	1½ - 80	Reaction Turbine.
Medium Head	...	80 - 500	Reaction Turbine and Impulse Wheel.
High Head	...	500 - 5000	Impulse Wheel.

TABLE NO. 4.

Low head developments consist, in general, of a dam which creates a reservoir where the water is required to be utilized. The conveyance of the water to the power units is over a short distance, the amount being large. The development consists of the dam and its spillway, the forebay, the intake and the tailrace. Medium and high head developments consist of a diversion dam with an intake at the head waters. The water is led through channels or tunnels to the forebay and thence by penstocks to the power house. It must be noted, however, that the conductor may, for its total length, be of the enclosed pressure design.

Modern turbine design has advanced rapidly within recent years and manufacturers can produce units capable of use with heads varying from 8 to 800 feet, the units being set by the size and weight of the component parts that have to be transported. The units of power are between 60,000 H. P. at about 300 feet and 15,000 H. P. at 150 feet (1). For heads above 500-800 feet the Impulse Wheel is now used, the maximum designed horse-power being about 15,000.

It is realized that the above generalisations are to a certain extent of a fundamental nature, but economical design is based on a sound appreciation of fundamental principles. Although these principles have not

(1) J. R. Freeman, Vol. II, Page 372. Transactions of the First World Power Conference.

been enumerated or described in full it is hoped that an understanding of the essential factors of modern development as seen by the author will be obtained. An introduction to a subject of this nature must necessarily be only a framework which gives to a beholder an impression of the form of the completed structure. The problem of hydro-electric development from the economic viewpoint involves factors both known and unknown. None can be disregarded. The reduction to zero of the number of unknown factors is the duty of the engineer, and in studying a project an attempt is made to achieve this end. Economy in lay-out implies simplicity and strength, in addition to maximum hydraulic efficiency obtained by minimum water disturbance and distortion, and maximum machine efficiency consequent upon correct design and good workmanship. Efficiencies in electrical transmission as well as in generation and transformation are high at the present day but there is possibility of higher efficiency being obtained by the general use of direct current of high voltage. Such improvements cannot, as far as can be seen at present, affect the lay-out of projects.

It is proposed in the following to analyse the capital costs of complete installations representing average practice together with operating costs. For convenience capital cost will be sub-divided into the cost of completion of the scheme up to the low tension switchboard in the power house, and into the cost of transforming, transmitting, and re-transforming. The former will be termed *the construction cost* and the latter *the transmission cost*.

The Construction Cost.

The capital cost of constructing a hydro-electric installation up to the low tension switchboard in the power house is naturally sub-divided into the cost of civil engineering work, and the cost of purchasing and installing the hydro-electric machinery with its accessories. The percentage ratio of each of these costs to the construction cost is dependent upon the extent to which the topography of the country favours the lay-out, the quantity of water, the regularity of flow, and the price of labour and material. Investigations show that the cost of civil engineering work may vary from 50 to 80 per cent, of the construction cost, and the cost of machinery from 50 to 20 per cent,

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Name of Project.	Oak Springs.	Lockit.	Mecca.	White Horse.	Metolius.	Jefferson Creek.
Power Head in feet ..	32	70	90	138	210	400
Flow used for estimate in C. F. S. ..	3700	4500	3400	3700	3400	1000
Total height of Dam in feet ..	50	94	110	122	236	20
Length of Crest in feet ..	480	720	650	440	420	90
Length of Spillway in feet ..	200	225	160	160	125	80
Masonry in Dam in cubic yards ..	15,310	56,014	64,787	56,762	183,000	1000
Forebay Excavation in cubic yards ..	12,000	.....	.....	10,000	8,000	.....
Forebay, Concrete Walls in cubic yards ..	1,500	.....	.....	2,500	1,500	.....
Diversion Line, Dimensions of Canal in feet ..	.....	.....	.....	260,000	.....	41,000 by 30 by 8
Diversion Line, excavation for canal in feet ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Diversion Line, Dimensions of Tunnel in feet ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Number of Head gates ..	10	10	8	10	300 by 15 by 20	.....
Number of Relief Valves ..	10	10	8	10	10	.....
Dimension of Penstocks ..	800 ft. by 12 ft. dia. 12 ft. dia. by $\frac{3}{8}$ in.	1,650 ft. by 11 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in. 1,450 ft. by 10 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in.	1,400 ft. by 12 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in. 600 ft. by 11 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in.	1100 ft. by 11 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in. 600 ft. by 10 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in.	500 ft. by 12 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in. 500 ft. by 10 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in.	1,000 ft. by 10 ft. dia. by $\frac{1}{8}$ in. 1,000 ft. by 2 ft. dia. by $\frac{3}{8}$ in. 1,000 ft. by 8 ft. dia. by $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Brake Horse Power 80 % Efficiency ..	10,824	28,630	27,760	47,200	64,960	39,363
Number of Turbines ..	10	10	8	10	10	4
H. P. of Turbines ..	1,085	2,860	3,470	4,720	6,496	9,091
Output Generators, K. W. ..	750	2,500	2,500	3,500	5,000	7,000
Percentage cost, Dam ..	3,251	35.38	42.00	24.99	40.06	0.86
Percentage cost, Forebay ..	4.26	.....	0.79	1.89	0.72	1.07
Percentage cost, Diversion Line ..	.....	.....	7.21	18.02	1.22	53.00
Percentage cost, Headgates, Penstocks, etc. ..	6.49	8.21	.....	3.77	1.56	4.35
Percentage cost, Power House and Draft Tubes ..	5.57	7.43	8.19	8.58	6.53	5.80
Percentage cost, Quarters, Water Supply etc. ..	3.99	2.02	2.77	1.70	0.94	1.50
Percentage cost, Engineering, Contingencies and Interest during construction ..	17.23	17.41	19.98	21.26	18.20	20.00
Percentage cost, Civil Engineering Works ..	70.05	70.50	80.94	80.21	69.23	66.58
Percentage cost, Hydro-Electrical Machinery ..	29.95	29.50	19.06	19.79	30.77	13.42

Table No. 5 contains the analysis of six projected hydro-electric installations. The estimated costs of these installations are contained in Bulletin 5, prepared in the Oregon State Engineer's office. They are quoted by Messrs. Rushmore and Lof in "Hydro-electric Power Stations". Analysis of the items of expenditure in civil engineering and machinery costs have been made and the percentage ratio of the costs of the main items to the construction cost computed. Great care was taken in the Oregon State Engineers office in preparing the estimates, and there seems no doubt that the deduction that it has been possible to make here would correspond with actual results were the projects completed². The costs of hydraulic and electrical machinery were based on estimates of independent manufacturers, and the unit costs selected for the purpose of estimating the costs of the several items of the civil engineering works represented average practice of good workmanship. Horizontal turbines in pairs are embodied in the schemes, and the electrical equipment includes 3-phase generators, 2300 volts, 60 cycles.

From the results obtained it is seen in Table No. 5 that the percentage ratio costs of civil engineering work to construction cost vary from 69'23 to 86'23 and the percentage ratio costs of hydraulic and electrical plant to construction cost vary from 30'77 to 13'42. Allowances in both cases have been made for engineering and contingencies and for interest during construction as shown in the Bulletin No. 5 referred to above.

It should be noted that the costs of railroad re-alignment in the Oak Springs, Mecca, and White Horse Rapids projects shown as items of expenditure extra to those of civil engineering work and machinery have been omitted in computing the percentage ratios. The omissions have been made after deliberation, and consequent upon a desire to consider representative projects. It is highly probable that were the costs of these re-alignments distributed among the civil engineering and the machinery costs very little difference would be obtained from the figures given in Table No. 5.

In Low Head installations when the power house is located near the spillway the ratio costs of machinery are higher than those obtained for Medium Head installations examined above. In Table No. 6 is contained the analysis of four low head projects, the estimates for which are quoted by Professor A. H. Gibson in "Hydro-Electric Engineering" Volume II, from paper No. 3, Volume I "Water-Power Resources,"

2. Note.—The author has been unable to ascertain to-date if any of the schemes have been completed.

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Department of Interior, Ottawa. As is readily seen, the amount of civil engineering work to be completed is comparatively small, the percentage ratio costs of the dams and power houses emphasizing this point.

Name.	Pine Falls.	Lower Seven Sisters Fall.	Slave Falls.	Upper Pinawa.
Power available at 75 % over all efficiency	63'100	37'900	26'600	12'300
Head, in feet ...	37	37	26	18
Percentage cost Dams and Equipment...	8'65	19'57	11'91	6'55
Ice Sluices ...	1'39	2'52	1'51	1'96
Power Station and Equipment ...	21'71	19'90	22'94	30'07
Hydraulic Installation ...	20'41	15'81	15'43	14'07
Electrical Installation ...	27'20	21'13	22'24	21'07
Dockage Facilities ...	1'16	...	...	...
Permanent Quarters ...	0'57	0'59	0'64	0'78
Contingencies ...	8'14	8'24	8'23	8'21
Engineering and Inspection ...	4'46	4'55	4'55	4'56
Interest during Construction ...	5'15	5'22	5'21	5'22
Flooding Damages ...	1'16	...	...	...
Head Race ...	...	...	3'73	...
Railway ...	...	2'47	3'61	7'51
Totals ...	100'00	100'00	100'00	100'00
Percentage cost of Construction ...	43'8	54'3	53'9	58'4
Percentage cost of Machinery ...	57'2	45'7	46'1	41'6

TABLE NO. 6.

Size of Installation.	Number of Installations.	Installed Turbine H.P.	Civil Engineering Works. Per cent. of construction cost.	Machinery. Per cent of construction cost.
Up to 200 H.P. ...	55	5'896	62'4	37'6
200 to 499 ...	43	13'958	62'3	37'7
500 to 999 ...	39	25'439	65'6	34'4
1,000 to 4,999 ...	58	126'286	69'9	30'1
5,000 to 9,999 ...	9	59'000	74'9	25'1
10,000 to 19,999 ...	4	51'300	81'4	18'6
20,000 H. P and over ...	7	305'825	77'0	23'0
Totals and Averages ...	215	587'704	73'8	26'3

TABLE NO. 7

Table No. 7 shows the percentage ratio costs of civil engineering works and machinery for 215 Swedish installations varying in

horsepower available from under 200 to over 2000. These figures have been obtained from "Power-House Design" by Sir John F. C. Snell, and emphasize how, in this practice, the two ratio costs vary with the sizes of the installations. Sir John Snell points out that further analysis of these 215 projects shows that the power house represents, on an average, 24.5 per cent. of the cost of civil engineering works. The electrical machinery and equipment represent an average of 67 per cent. of the machinery costs, and the turbines the remaining 33 per cent. Under the conditions prevailing in Sweden the average percentage ratio costs to construction costs are:—

Power house	....	....	18'0
Other civil engineering works	....	....	56'0
Electrical equipment	....	....	17'5
Turbines	....	....	8'5

That is to say civil engineering works account for an average of 74 per cent. of the construction cost and hydro-electric machinery an average of 26 per cent.

Description	...	...	...	A British installa- tion.	Canadian Develop- ment on Bow River.	
Reference	...	...	Rushmore and Lof. in "Hydro Electric Power Stations."	A. H. Gibson in "Hydro Electric Engineer- ing."	A. H. Gibson in "Hydro Electric Engineer- ing."	Rushmore and Lof. in "Hydro Electric Power Stations."
Size of installation	...	...	200,000 H. P.	24,500 H. P.	4,500 H. P.	10,500 H. P.
Head in feet	...	...	200	170	215	47
Percentage cost of pressure tunnel	...	...	...	14'95	...	...
" " river division...	...	...	12'15	...	...	...
" " conduct	...	...	...	19'40	14'80	9'15
" " dams	...	...	37'75	22'04	43'60	46'10
" " forebay and penstocks	...	...	6'90	10'08	9'05	8'15
" " Power house...	...	...	3'42	4'65	3'32	9'01
" " Engineering contingences and interest during con- struction	...	...	23'25	10'95	15'81	13'50
" " Accessories	...	...	...	...	9'97	...
Percentage cost of Civil Engineer- ing works	...	...	83'47	82'07	91'95	85'91
Machinery	...	...	18'53	17'93	8'05	14'09

TABLE NO. 8.

Table No. 8 contains the analysis of a number of different types of installations which vary in design and cover a range of lay-outs

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representative of modern practice. The results obtained are as are to be expected from the foregoing.

Information covering actual cost of completed hydro-electric installations is scarce, and it is impossible for this reason, and in view of the wide price fluctuations in all parts of the world to compute unit costs of installations. An attempt has been made solely to obtain ratio costs that are of value in considering the economic aspect of projects, but here again difficulties arise, and it is possible that the ranges of ratio costs obtained do not represent the utmost limits. Exceptional cases, not representative of average design, will give wide variations but it is doubtful if results obtained from these would be of any value for a general survey such as is being made here. The estimation of the construction cost is readily divided into the usual divisions of Development Costs, Physical Costs and Overhead Costs. All main items of expenditure must bear their proportion of overhead costs, and designs, if representative of economic practice, cannot vary in the ratio costs of the main items by wide margins, for lay-outs are now standardized and the factors governing the economic side are known.

Transmission Cost.

The transmission of electricity over a long distance adds considerably to the capital cost of a hydro-electric installation. The cost of transmission is dependent upon both the distance and the peak load, and the proportion of the cost of power due to transmission may vary from 20 to 85 per cent. Curve No. 1 shows the proportions obtained in the Niagara System of Canada. The curves have been plotted from figures quoted from Mr. M. E. M. Kensit in the "Electrical Times," January 2nd, 1919, by Professor A. H. Gibson in "Hydro-Electric Engineering," Volume II. In this system 115 municipalities are served and the distance covered is 251 miles. The average curve drawn shows approximately the variation of the portion of cost of power due to transmission with the distance transmitted for this system. A return will be made later to power transmission cost.

Voltage of transmission, kilovolts	...	66	150
Supports	...	Wood poles	Steel towers.
Conductors	...	Copper	Copper
Percentage cost of right of way	...	20'16	24'67
" " poles	...	7'48	...
" " cross arms	...	2'32	...
" " conductors	...	26'09	20'67
" " insulators	...	12'44	8'20
" " guy wires and archors	...	0'41	...
" " hardware	...	4'11	0'34
" " steel towers	...	...	20'9
" " cement	...	...	0'23
" " other materials	...	1'65	...
" " labour	...	6'24	6'70
" " overhead expenses	...	19'10	18'70
Cost of right of way, per mile, Rs.	...	3,750	15,000

TABLE NO. 9.

Mr. Ernest V. Pannell in "High Tension Line Practice" has summarised estimates for a 150 kilovolt steel tower transmission line and a 66 kilovolt wooden pole transmission line. The percentage ratio costs of the different items shown in Table No. 9 have been obtained from these figures.

The cost of distributing the power produced in the generating station often amounts to several times the cost of production when the transmission has to be made over long distances at high voltages. The stepping down again involves large expenditure, and it is the cost of transmission, transforming and distributing that make the cost of power to a consumer so large in comparison to the actual cost of production at the bus bars in the generating stations.

Development Name	...	...	Pine Falls	A British instal- lation.
Length of transmission in miles	...	...	64	35
Transmission Voltage	...	...	66,000	...
Percentage cost of Transformer House at falls (A)	...	...	5.8	..
Percentage cost of Transformer House at Distribution end (B)	...	...	5.3	} 55.0
Percentage cost of Transformers, Switches, wiring in A	...	...	25.0	
Percentage cost of Transformers, Switches, wiring in B	...	...	22.4	
Percentage cost of Transmission Line	...	...	41.5	45.0
Reference	...	...	A. H. Gibson in Hydro, Electric Engineering.	A. H. Gibson in Hydro, Electric Engineering.

TABLE NO. 10.

In Table No. 10 is contained information regarding the transmission cost of two installations. It is doubtful owing to factors of distance and peak load, if much purpose can be served in analysing the transmission costs of installations. Hydro-electric development demands the concentration of large generating plants at sites which are selected after topography, flow, etc. have been considered. Progress in industrial centre. has caused or, has necessitated, the installations of these large plants. The cost per K. W. installed is less in large generating stations than in small ones, but in designing an installation full regard must be made to transmission cost which will determine if the economic radius of supply has been surpassed or not. It is essential to realise that the economic distance of transmission does exist for all sizes of transmission. The transmission of low load factor units over long distances is seldom economically possible and it is seldom that a suitable site is found for a power station near to the point of densest load. The possibility of splitting up the maximum load into two or more components and of

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introducing a comprehensive system of supply from two or more stations cannot receive consideration here. It is only possible, here, to consider the case of a well placed single station and to assume that economic transmission to the site of distribution is possible.

It is not possible, as far as can be seen, to obtain a connection between the capital cost of installing a transmission system, and also the operating costs with the voltage. There is no doubt, as Mr. E. V. Pannell points out, that below 100 kilovolts an increase of voltage does give an economic saving in the conductor. Transmission distance is not the main factor that governs the choice of voltage; it is the capacity in kilovolt amperes. Increases in voltages upto and perhaps surpassing 220 kilovolts have been made possible, not because of the transmission distance, but because the demand for power has been great. The cost of ultra-high voltages cost more in terms of voltage than do the high voltages and it is only when a considerable block of power is required by consumers that they are possible.

Mr. Pannell in "High Tension Line Practice" has made a complete investigation of the economics of high tension line practice, and he is able to deduce the conclusion that the scientifically designed modern high tension transmission line is cheaper per kilowatt hour than its "primitive predecessors." The transmission line is now one of the most important elements of a hydro-electric installation, and its design offers difficulties that engineering science is only beginning to make overcoming possible.

Curve No. 1 has been plotted from figures published by the commission mentioned in 1916. From the annual balance sheet for this year it is found, according to Professor Gibson, that for the undertaking as a whole, the total cost of transmission amounts to 51 per cent. of the cost of the power sold in bulk. Professor Gibson quoting Mr. M. E. M. Kensit also points out that in a western Canadian installation in which 14,500 K. W. is transmitted 77 miles at 66,000 volts, transmission costs amount to 47 per cent. of the cost of power delivered. Here the total line loss was 13 per cent. and the load factor 46 per cent.

In the estimates of the British installation shown in Table No. 8 the transmission cost accounts for 17.6 per cent. of the total capital cost and the construction cost the remaining 82.4 per cent. Transmission is over a distance of 35 miles. In the Pine Falls Development included in Table No. 6 transmission cost accounts for 22 per cent. of the total capital cost and construction cost 78 per cent. Here the transmission distance is 64 miles and the voltage 66,000; six 6000 K. W. 6600—66,000 transformers are embodied in the scheme for the generating station equipment and corresponding provision with an estimated line loss of 10 per cent. is made at the distributing end,

Cost of Hydro-Electric Power.

In hydro-electric installations capital charges usually account for the greater proportion of the cost of energy. These charges which include interest on capital and all other fixed charges account for 66 per cent. of the total cost of power. Fixed charges do not vary, of course with output. The remaining 34 per cent. of the total cost does vary to a certain extent with output, but these operating costs include the comparatively heavy item of depreciation. Professor A. H. Gibson gives the following percentages on the first cost of the several items of an installation as fair annual contributions to the depreciation fund :—

Civil engineering works	....	....	4'0
Pipe lines and sluice gates	....	....	2'5
Electric generators, transformers and switch gear			4'0
Hydraulic turbines and governors	...	...	4'5
Transmission lines	{ Towers	....	3'0
	{ Cables	....	5'0
	{ Insulators	....	10'0
Operating machinery in power house, including cranes, hoists, etc.	....	....	5'0

The sinking fund method of covering depreciation is probably better applicable to public utility installations, and the amounts to be set aside annually can be computed from the assumed lives of the several items included in the installation using the governing rate of interest. Messrs. Rushmore and Lof give the following figures in years as representing the average lives of these items :—

Dams, masonry	....	....	50'0
Pipe lines, iron	....	....	30'40
Pipe lines, wood, stave	....	....	15'25
Power house building, fireproof	....	....	50'75
Waterwheels	....	....	20'0
Generators	....	....	20'0
Transformers	...	....	20'0
Switching equipment	...	....	12'15
Miscellaneous auxiliaries	....	....	10'0
Transmission lines, steel towers	....	....	25'30
Transmission lines, wood poles	....	....	15'0
Underground cable system	....	....	20'25
Service transformers	....	....	15'0

The operating costs as mentioned above vary with the output and therefore with the load factor, but they do not vary directly. A comparison of operating costs of fuel operated stations with hydro-electric stations is interesting in so far that the fundamental difference in the economics of these two types of power stations is instantly apparent. In steam plants fixed charges are usually much lower than in hydro-electric installations. A curve showing the variation of operating costs

with station capacity is given in Curve No. 2. This curve is obtained from figures given by Messrs. Rushmore and Lof. It must be remembered, however, that the figures are only an approximate representation of what might be obtained. Fluctuations in costs of labour and supplies in different countries makes estimation of percentage ratios impossible.

Dividing, as before, the total capital cost into operation cost and transmission cost the following figures give the average percentages of the two costs obtained in general practice.

1. Annual operating costs of installation upto low tension switch board in power house as percentages of construction costs.

Charge for depreciation, repairs and maintenance of engineering works and machinery	....	3'5
Interest on capital outlay, say	....	6'0
Charge to cover all other working costs	....	4'0
		<hr/>
	Total	13'5

2. Annual operating cost of transmission from low tension switch-board in power house to distribution low tension switchboard as percentages of transmission cost.

Charge for depreciation, repairs and maintenance of engineering works and installations	....	5'9
Interest on capital outlay (say)	....	6'0
Charge to cover all other working costs	....	3'0
		<hr/>
	Total	14'0

It is understood that the above figures can only represent average practice. They, however, serve as a good guide in indicating the annual commitments of an installation and allow an estimate of the actual cost of power to the consumer to be made. Before, however, this actual cost can be made the costs that must be added to the cost of power at the terminal station must be completed. This computation involves the fixed charges and operation costs of the motors and equipment installed by the consumers, and a consideration of the peak load and the diversity factors.

It is not possible, however, to consider here the cost of power to the consumer, the factors requiring consideration vary to too great an extent with individual installations, and no results of value could be obtained. The figures obtained in the above analysis covering capital and operating costs up to the low tension switchboard in the terminal station cover the economic side of an installation providing the length of transmission is within the economic radius.

Conclusion.

The utilization of water-power for commercial purposes is dependent upon the three considerations mentioned directly below :—

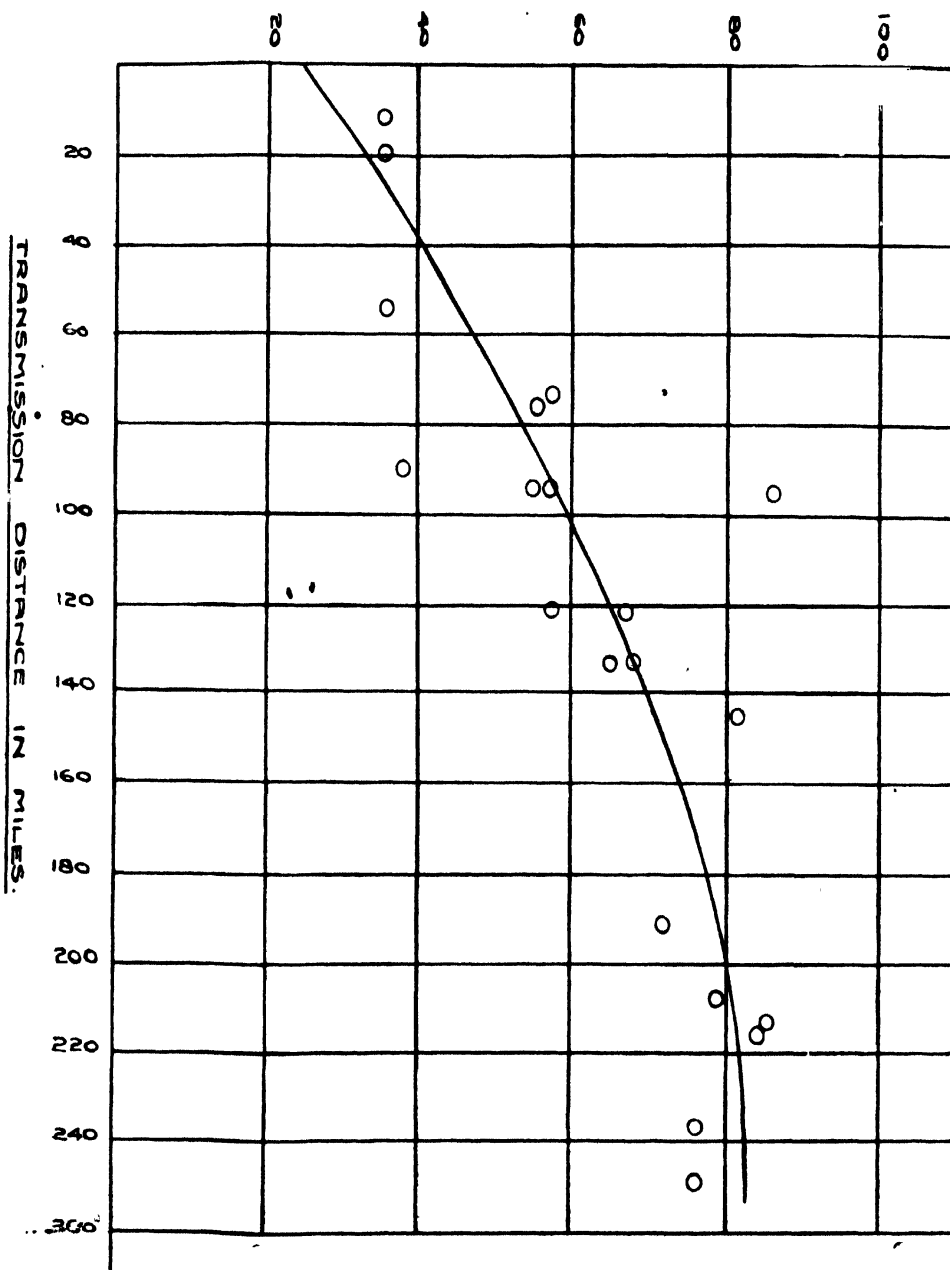
1. The construction cost which includes the purchase of water rights, the cost of civil engineering works and the cost of the hydro-electric machinery.
2. The transmission cost which includes the cost of right of way, the erection of the transmission line, and the cost of the electrical installations.
3. The cost of the generation of power compared with those of full operated stations.

No consideration has been given in this paper to the economic lay-out of installations, or to the design of hydro-electrical plant. The discussion has been confined to those factors which govern the economic aspect of a project. Included in these factors are the proportions of the capital cost borne by the costs of construction and transmission and the operation costs. The application of Williams' economic equation to a proposed installation is essential before expenditure is made on a detailed survey for the lay-out of works. Three of the terms must be known before the fourth can be computed. Percentage ratio cost indicate the lines along which economic investigation can be made. No purpose would be served by including here particulars of unit costs under the different items of expenditure as prices which would have to be obtained from installations widely separated fluctuate to too great an extent. Comparisons of costs of completed schemes in different parts of the world give variations within such wide margins, even if adjustments for fluctuations in rates of exchange from time to time be made, that the writer has been forced to confine himself to percentage ratio costs and to determine if such do lie within limits narrow enough to be of use.

The figures obtained emphasise the costly civil engineering works that have to be completed in all cases except in very low head installations, and in all examples selected it has been assumed that the best locations or all works have been selected. It is not within the scope of paper to consider the economies of location and design of works.

In conclusion the writer wishes to emphasise the danger of applying costs obtained from installations that have been constructed. Percentage ratio costs considered in conjunction with local rates will, it is believed, allow of the economic aspect of a project being fully analysed, and will permit of a discussion being made covering the advisability of making a detailed location survey.

PER CENT TOTAL COST DUE TO TRANSMISSION.



OPERATING COSTS ASSUMING THAT
FOR 2,500 H.W. CAPACITY IS UNITY.

